This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

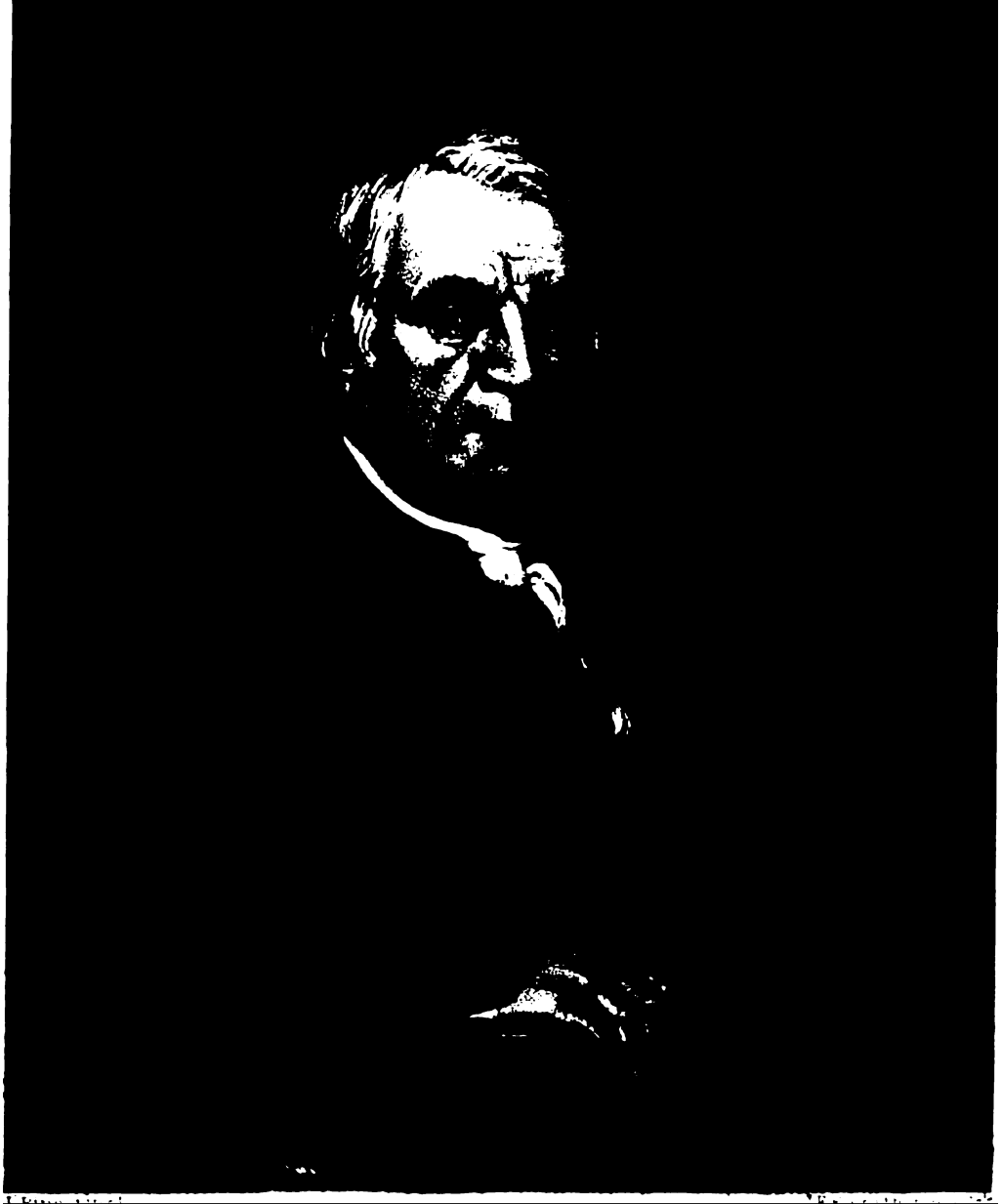
+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

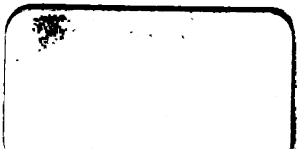
Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`



The Methodist Quarterly Review

Methodist Episcopal Church

Digitized by Google



Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

INDEXED

METHODIST

16998

QUARTERLY REVIEW.

1853.

VOLUME XXXV.—FOURTH SERIES, VOLUME V.

J. M'CLINTOCK, EDITOR.

New-York:
PUBLISHED BY CARLTON & PHILLIPS,
200 MULBERRY-STREET.
1853.

Digitized by Google

Exp. (Bdg. Rm) 5282/06

Digitized by Google

CONTENTS OF VOLUME XXXV.—1853.

JANUARY NUMBER.

ARTICLE PAGE

I. BISHOP HEDDING 9

By the Rev. D. W. Clark, D. D., Cincinnati.

II. INCOMPETENCE OF REASON IN MATTERS OF RELIGION . 29

By Professor H. M. Johnson, Dickinson College.

III. THE CHURCH AND ASIA 44

By the Rev. R. S. Maclay, Missionary at Fuh-Chau, China.

IV. THE NEW FRAGMENTS OF HYPERIDES 58

(MODIFIED FROM THE GERMAN OF SCHAFER.)

ΥΠΕΡΙΔΗΣ ΚΑΤΑ ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ. The Oration of Hyperides against Demosthenes, respecting the treasure of Harpalus. The Fragments of the Greek Text, now first edited from the Facsimile of the MS. discovered at Egyptian Thebes in 1847; together with other Fragments of the same Oration cited in ancient writers. With a preliminary dissertation and notes, and a Facsimile of a portion of the MS. By CHURCHILL BABINGTON, M. A., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge.

V. HENGSTENBERG ON THE PENTATEUCH 75

By the Rev. H. M. Harman, Elk Ridge, Md.

Dissertations on the Genuineness of the Pentateuch. By E. W. HENGSTENBERG, D. D., Professor of Theology in the University of Berlin. Translated from the German, by J. E. RYLAND.

VI. RECENTLY PUBLISHED WRITINGS OF NEANDER 102

1. Allgemeine Geschichte der christlichen Religion und Kirche, von Dr. A. NEANDER. VI. Band. Aus den hinterlassenen Papieren herausgegeben von K. F. T. SCHNEIDER.

2. Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen von Dr. AUGUST NEANDER, herausgegeben von Professor J. L. JACOBI.

VII. CHATEAUBRIAND 107

By H. T. Tuckerman, New-York.

Memoires d' outre Tombe par M. Viscount du Chateaubriand.

Digitized by Google

ARTICLE PAGE

VIII. ON THE RELATION OF INTELLIGENCE TO THE PIETY AND EFFICIENCY OF THE CHURCH 123

By the Rev. T. F. R. Mercein, Rhinebeck, N. Y.

IX. SHORT REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS 135

1. Bohn's Classical Library, p. 135.—2. Illustrated London Geography, p. 136.—3. Israel of the Alps, p. 136.—4. Meyer's Universum, p. 136.—5. Methodist Church Property Case in Ohio, p. 136.—6. Honan's Personal Adventures, p. 138.—7. Barnes on Revelation, p. 138.—8. Kitto's Bible Illustrations, p. 139.—9. Davidson's Historical Sketch, p. 139.—10. Proudfit on the Creed, p. 140.—11. The Microscopist, p. 140.—12. Lives of Bishops Whatcoat and George, p. 140.—13. Oracles for Youth, p. 140.—14. Miller's Sketches of London, p. 141.—15. Daughters of Zion, p. 141.—16. Hanna's Life of Chalmers, p. 141.—17. Garden Walks with the Poets, p. 141.—18. Romance of American History, p. 142.—19. Anthon's Nepos, p. 142.—20. Table Talk, p. 142.—21. Eclipse of Faith; or, a Visit to a Religious Sceptic, p. 142.—22. New Sunday-School books, p. 142.—23. Parisian Lights and French Principles, p. 142.—24. Hosmer on the Higher Law, p. 143.—25. The National Magazine, p. 145.—26. Taylor's Physical Theory of Another Life, p. 147.—27. Henkle's Analysis of Church Government, p. 147.—28. Men of the Time, p. 149.—29. Miall's Footprints of our Forefathers, p. 150.—30. History of New-York City, p. 150.—31. Goodrich's Select British Eloquence, p. 150.—32. Reminiscences of Thought and Feeling, p. 151.—33. Journal of General Conference of 1852, p. 151.—34. Methodist Preacher, p. 152.—35. Christian's Closet Companion, p. 152.—36. Abbott's Romulus, p. 152.—37. Neander on John, p. 152.—38. Dickens's Household Words, p. 152.—39. Macaulay's Kathay, p. 152.—40. Mac Farlane's Japan, p. 153.—41. Anthon's Latin-English and English-Latin Dictionary, p. 153.—42. Pamphlets, Serials, &c., p. 153.

X. LITERARY AND RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE 154

THEOLOGICAL—European 154
American 165
CLASSICAL AND MISCELLANEOUS—European 165
American 168

APRIL NUMBER.

I. THE ECLIPSE OF FAITH 169

By the Rev. Dr. Floy, New-York.

The Eclipse of Faith; or, a Visit to a Religious Sceptic.

II. PORT ROYAL 191

By L. A. H., New-York.

Select Memoirs of Port Royal; to which are appended, Tour to Alet, Visit to Port Royal, Gift of an Abbess, Biographical Notes, &c. By M. A. SCHIMMELPENNINCK.

Digitized by Google

ARTICLE PAGE

III. VESTIGES OF CIVILIZATION 213

Vestiges of Civilization; or, Ætiology of History, Religious, Æsthetical, and Philosophical.

IV. GEOGRAPHICAL AND STATISTICAL SCIENCE 249

Bulletin of the American Geographical and Statistical Society. Volume I, Number 1. Published for the Society by GEORGE P. PUTNAM.

V. M'CULLOH ON THE SCRIPTURES 256

By Dr. T. E. Bond, Jr., Baltimore.

Analytical Investigations concerning the Credibility of the Scriptures, and of the Religious System inculcated in them; together with a Historical Exhibition of Human Conduct during the several dispensations under which mankind have been placed by their Creator. By J. H. M'CULLOH, M. D.

VI. JAPAN AND THE JAPANESE 282

By the Rev. T. F. R. Mercein, Rhinebeck, N. Y.

Japan: an account, Geographical and Historical, from the earliest period at which the islands composing this empire were known to Europeans down to the present time, and the Expedition fitted out in the United States, &c. By CHARLES MACFARLANE, Esq., Author of "British India," "Life of Wellington," &c., &c.

VII. EXEGESIS OF HEBREWS II, 16 301

By the Rev. N. Rounds, D. D.

VIII. SHORT REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS 305

1. Guizot's Shakspeare and Corneille, p. 305.—2. The Bohn's Libraries, p. 305.—3. Ida Pfeiffer's Holy Land, p. 306.—4. Rule's Brand of Dominic, p. 306.—5. Vinet's Pastoral Theology, p. 307.—6. Woman's Record, p. 308.—7. American Missionary Memorial, p. 309.—8. Smith's Book of Manners, p. 309.—9. Three Colonies of Australia, p. 309.—10. Lives of the Queens of Scotland, p. 310.—11. Lardner's Handbooks, p. 310.—12. Brewer's Guide to Roman History, p. 310.—13. Life of Doddridge, p. 310.—14. Gray's Geology, p. 310.—15. Strong's Questions, p. 311.—16. Peck on Manly Character, p. 311.—17. Lectures at the University of Virginia, p. 312.—18. Coleridge's Complete Works, p. 313.—19. Herschel's Astronomy, p. 313.—20. Lamartine's History of the Restoration, p. 313.—21. Pleasant Pages for Young People, p. 314.—22. Wurst's Sprachdenklehre, p. 314.—23. Cornelius Nepos, p. 314.—24. Memoir of Mary L. Ware, p. 314.—25. Meyer's Universum, p. 315.—26. Pamphlets, Essays, &c., p. 315.

IX. RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY INTELLIGENCE 315

THEOLOGICAL.—European 315
American 321
CLASSICAL AND MISCELLANEOUS.—European 326

Digitized by Google

JULY NUMBER.

ARTICLE PAGE

I. THE BACON OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY 329

II. STRONG'S HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS 354

By the Rev. G. R. Crooks, A. M., Philadelphia.

A New Harmony and Exposition of the Gospels: consisting of a Parallel and Combined Arrangement, on a New Plan, of the Narratives of the Four Evangelists, according to the Authorized Translation; and a Continuous Commentary, with Brief Notes subjoined. With a Supplement, containing extended Chronological and Topographical Dissertations, and a complete Analytical Index. By JAMES STRONG, A. M.

III. DANIEL BOONE 364

By Professor Wentworth, Carlisle.

Life of Daniel Boone, the Pioneer of Kentucky. By JOHN M. PECK.

IV. SOCRATES 373

By the Rev. T. V. Moore, Richmond.

1. The Works of Plato. A new and literal version, chiefly from the text of Stallbaum. Vols. I–V.

2. The Memorable Things of Socrates. Written by Xenophon, in five books. Translated into English. To which is prefixed the life of Xenophon. Collected from several Authors, together with some account of his writings.

3. The Life of Socrates. By M. CHARPENTIER. Translated into English.

4. A Life of Socrates. By DR. G. WIGGERS. Translated from the German, with Notes.

5. Thirlwall's History of Greece. Vol. I.

6. History of Greece. By GEORGE GROTE, ESQ. Vol. VIII.

V. EXPOSITION OF I. COR. III, 1–17 394

By the Rev. B. R. Hall, Troy, N. Y.

VI. THE HEATHEN AND MEDIÆVAL CIVILIZATION OF IRELAND 404

By J. O., Dublin.

VII. THE SIGNS OF THE TIMES 426

VIII. FATHER REEVES 446

Father Reeves, the Methodist Class-Leader: a Brief Account of Mr. William Reeves, Thirty-four Years a Class-Leader in the Wesleyan Methodist Society, Lambeth. By EDWARD CORDEROY.

IX. MISCELLANIES 453

1. Meaning of ἐπιλαμβάνεται in Hebrews ii, 16 453

2. Was not John the Baptist (and not Elijah) with our Lord on the Mount of Transfiguration? 456

Digitized by Google

ARTICLE PAGE

X. SHORT REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS 458

1. Rome: its Edifices and its People, p. 458.—2. Mattison's High-School Astronomy, p. 460.—3. Annual of Scientific Discovery, p. 460.—4. Abbott's History of Nero, p. 460.—5. Dickens's Child's History of England, p. 460.—6. Amanda Weston's Home Scenes, p. 460.—7. Cox's Interviews, Memorable and Useful, p. 461.—8. Holliday's Life and Times of Rev. Allen Wiley, p. 461.—9. Bourbon Prince: History of the Royal Dauphin, p. 462.—10. Abbott's Ellen Linn, p. 462.—11. Agnes Strickland's Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth, p. 462.—12. Matthews's Letters to School Girls, p. 462.—13. Wardlaw's Essay on Miracles, p. 462.—14. Tracy's Mother and her Offspring, p. 463.—15. New-York: a Historical Sketch of the Metropolitan City of America, p. 463.—16. Lowry's Positive Theology, p. 464.—17. Rogers's Reason and Faith, p. 464.—18. Provincial Letters, p. 464.—19. Vail's Ministerial Education in the M. E. Church, p. 464.—20. Chambers's Life and Works of Burns, p. 466.—21. Brodhead's History of New-York, p. 466.—22. Potts's Translation of Bungerer's Preacher and the King, p. 466.—23. Hudson's Shakspeare, p. 467.—24. Eliot's Discourses on the Unity of God, and Sears's Regeneration, p. 467.—25. Sleiden's Poetry of the Vegetable World, p. 468.—26. Lamartine's Restoration of Monarchy in France, p. 468.—27. Annotated Paragraph Bible, p. 469.—28. Brace's Home-Life in Germany, p. 469.—29. Goodrich's "Complete Historical Series," p. 469.—30. Moffatt's Life of Chalmers, p. 469.—31. Ann Fraser Tytler's Leila, p. 470.—32. Abbott's Marco Paul in Boston, p. 470.—33. Cannon's Lectures on Pastoral Theology, p. 470.—34. M'Clure's Translators Revived, p. 470.—35. Hart's Epitome of Greek and Roman Mythology, p. 471.—36. Hodgson's Human Body at the Resurrection, p. 471.—37. Browne's Yusef; or, the Journey of the Frangi, p. 472.—38. Three Months under the Snow, p. 472.—39. Coleridge's Complete Works, p. 472.—40. Lord Bacon's Works, (Bohn's Scientific Library,) p. 472.—41. Arminius's Works, p. 472.—42. Strong's Manual of the Gospels, p. 474.—43. Lives of the Brothers Humboldt, p. 475.—44. Davidson's Treatise on Biblical Criticism, p. 475.—45. Catechism of the M. E. Church, p. 476.—46. Pamphlets, &c., p. 477.

XI. RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY INTELLIGENCE 477

THEOLOGICAL AND RELIGIOUS.—European 477

American 485

CLASSICAL AND MISCELLANEOUS 486

OCTOBER NUMBER.

I. THE BACON OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY 489

[SECOND PAPER.]

II. THE GROUND OF MORAL OBLIGATION 513

By the Rev. Israel Chamberlayne, Lyndonville, N. Y.

III. ON THE SECOND EPISTLE OF ST. PAUL TO TIMOTHY . . 534

By the Rev. Dr. Bangs, New-York.

IV. DAVIDSON'S BIBLICAL CRITICISM 549

By James Strong, Esq., Flushing, L. I.

A Treatise on Biblical Criticism, exhibiting a Systematic View of that Science. By SAMUEL DAVIDSON, D. D., of the University of Halle, and LL. D. 2 vols., 8vo. Vol. I, the Old Testament; Vol. II, the New Testament.

Digitized by Google

ARTICLE PAGE

V. THE ORIGIN OF EVIL AND THE FALL 568

Translated by the Rev. B. H. Nadal, of Baltimore.

From the German of RITSCH, in Theol. Stud. u. Krit.

VI. ANSELM, OF CANTERBURY 576

Saint Anselme de Cantorbery. Tableau de la Vie Monastique, et de la lutte du Pouvoir Spirituel avec le Pouvoir Temporel au Onzième Siècle. Par M. CHARLES DE REMUSAT, de l'Academie Français.

VII. MISCELLANIES 592

Letter on Rev. B. M. Hall's Exposition of 1 Cor. iii, 1–17.

VIII. SHORT REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS 595

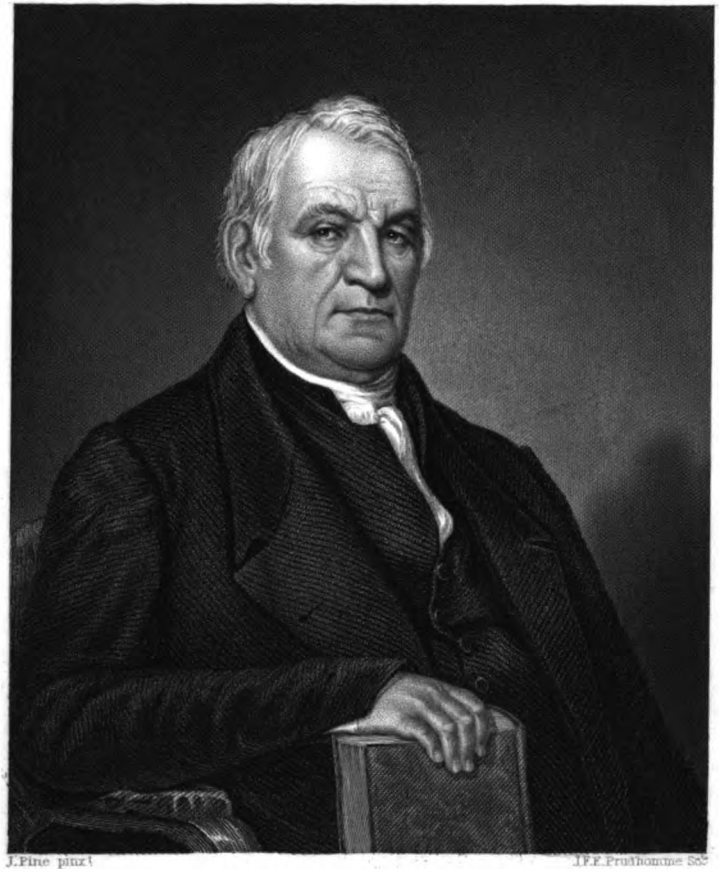
1. Life of Alfred, p. 595.—2. Old House by the River, p. 595.—3. Somerville's Physical Geography, p. 595.—4. Father Gavazzi's Lectures, p. 595.—5. Life of J. B. Finley, p. 595.—6. Coming's Physiology, p. 596.—7. Abelard and Heloise, p. 596.—8. Gerstäcker's Travels, p. 596.—9. Pedestrian in France, p. 597.—10. Taylor's English Martyrs, p. 597.—11. Ranke's Civil Wars in France, p. 597.—12. Harbaugh's Heavenly Home, p. 597.—13. Gervinus's Introduction, p. 598.—14. Blackader's English Bible, p. 598.—15. Life of B. B. Edwards, p. 598.—16. Asbury's Journal, p. 599.—17. D'Aubigne's Reformation, p. 599.—18. Meyer's Universum, p. 599.—19. Schuster's Drawing-book, p. 600.—20. Life of Dr. Olin, p. 600.—21. Discourses from the Spirit-world, p. 601.—22. Wythes on the Pastoral Office, p. 602.—23. Boyhood of Great Men, p. 603.—24. Gorrie's Episcopal Methodism, p. 603.—25. Holmes's Wesley Offering, p. 603.—26. Strickland's Biblical Literature, p. 604.—27. Memoirs of a Useful Man, p. 605.—28. Startling Questions, p. 605.—29. Stuckley's Gospel Glass, p. 605.—30. The Rum Plague, p. 605.—31. Delolme's Constitution of England, p. 605.—32. Diogenes Laertius, p. 606.—33. Layard's Second Expedition, p. 606.—34. Layard, abridged, p. 606.—35. Lamp and Lantern, p. 606.—36. Brown's Sufferings of Messiah, p. 606.—37. Hetherington's Westminster Assembly, p. 607.—38. Water from the Well-Spring, p. 607.—39. Faber's Difficulties of Infidelity, p. 607.—40. Memorial of Greenough, p. 607.—41. Coleridge's Works, p. 608.—42. Miner's Poultry Book, p. 608.—43. Summerfield, p. 608.—44. History of the Mormons, p. 608.—45. Kingsley's Phaethon, p. 608.—46. The Right Way, by J. T. Crane, p. 612.—47. Stirling's Charles V., p. 614.—48. Jacobus on the Gospels, p. 614.—49. Stroud's Harmony of the Gospels, p. 614.—50. Lives of the Popes, p. 614.—51. Lights of the World, p. 614.—52. Family and Social Melodies, p. 615.—53. Olds's Philosophy of Faith, p. 615.—54. Bledsoe's Theodicy, p. 617.—55. Jacoby's Handbuch des Methodismus, p. 618.—56. Pamphlets, &c., p. 618.

IX. INTELLIGENCE 619

THEOLOGICAL AND RELIGIOUS.—European 619
CLASSICAL AND MISCELLANEOUS.—European 623
American 631

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google



J.Pine pinxt. J.F.E.Prudhomme Sculp.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Publ. at the Methodist Book Room 200 Mulberry St. N.York.

Digitized by Google

THE

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1853.

ART. I.—BISHOP HEDDING.

ELIJAH HEDDING was born in the town of Pine Plains, Dutchess County, New-York, June 7th, 1780. For any religious influence in his parental training he is indebted to his mother. Though not at that time connected with any Church, she was a religious woman; and from her he received the elements of a religious education. These elements were so firmly grafted into his mind, that at the early age of *four* years he was able to pray with a tolerable understanding of the nature and obligations of prayer. The habit of prayer thus formed in early childhood, was maintained for several years, and until, through the influence of evil associates, he had in a measure thrown off the restraints of religion.

The Dutchess Circuit first appears in the Minutes for 1788, with only *ten* members. This comprised the sum-total of Methodism north of the Highlands on the Hudson River at that time. Benjamin Abbot was then just commencing his wonderful career. A son of thunder, he ranged through the country and assaulted the strongholds of wickedness, as though he had received a special commission from Heaven to storm the very citadel of hell itself. In 1789 he was stationed upon Dutchess Circuit, and at the close of the year 1790 the one circuit had expanded into *four*, and the *ten* members had multiplied into nearly one thousand and four hundred! There had been sown "a handful of corn in the earth upon the top of the mountains; and the fruit thereof *shook* like Lebanon." Mr. Hedding, who was then a lad of eight or nine years, ever after retained a vivid recollection of some of those early scenes; and his mother at that time became a probationer in the Church. Who shall say but that, even in those early years, the seed was deposited in that youthful heart, which in later time was destined to produce so rich a harvest?

Digitized by Google

In 1791 he removed with his parents to the State of Vermont. Here, when about eighteen years of age, he was awakened to a sense of his lost condition as a sinner. One day, as he was returning home from church deeply convinced of sin, having to pass a wood, he entered it, kneeled down behind a large tree, and prayed to God. "In that hour," said he but a short time before he died, "in that hour I solemnly made a dedication of myself to God. I laid my all—soul, body, goods and all—for time and for eternity, upon the altar; and I have never, *never* taken them back." He did not for several days find peace. But at length the blessing came, clear as the sunlight; the transition was like that from the darkest night to the brightest day. This was on the 27th of December, 1798; and on that very day he offered himself and was received as a probationer in the Methodist Episcopal Church.

The next summer he was licensed to exhort; and, at the urgent solicitations of the preachers, he consented to labour for a time on Essex Circuit, lying partly in Vermont and partly in Canada. The eccentric Lorenzo Dow, who had been stationed on that circuit, and had been travelling and preaching with unexampled energy and success, had suddenly left his work and embarked for Ireland, under the impression that God had called him to a special mission in that country. It was to supply this vacancy, that the youth of but nineteen years of age, and but a few months' experience in religion, was called out. He went, however, in the name of God; and for several months he continued to travel the circuit, almost daily holding public meetings, in which he exhorted the people, without taking a text, and afterwards met the members in class. His word was in demonstration of the Spirit and with power; revivals broke out, the work of God moved forward in every direction, "and much people was added unto the Lord." It was now fully evident that he was a chosen vessel unto God, to bear his name before the people and the Church.

In the spring of 1800 he was licensed to preach, and during the year travelled a circuit under the presiding elder. On the 16th of June, 1801, he was admitted by the New-York Annual Conference on probation in the travelling connexion. Of the *fifty-five*, mostly young men, who that year entered the travelling ministry, but *two* remain, viz.: Laban Clark and Ebenezer Washburn—both of them retired from effective service. The others, or most of them, long since ceased from their labours. Indeed, it is a striking commentary upon the privations and labours of that early period, that twenty-nine of the fifty-five who entered the ministry with the subject of this sketch, retired from it within a period of ten years.

The circuits were large, often requiring from two to five hundred

Digitized by Google

miles to complete one round, and this round was to be completed in from two to six weeks, during which a sermon was to be preached and a class met daily; and often three sermons and three classes to be attended to on the Sabbath. The journeys, too, were performed, not upon steamboats and railroads, nor yet in good carriages and by easy stages upon turnpikes; but on horseback, through rough and miry ways, and through wildernesses where no road as yet had been cast up. Rivers and swamps were to be forded. Nor could the journey be delayed. On, on, must the itinerant press his way, through the drenching rains of summer, the chilling sleet of spring or autumn, and the driving blasts or piercing cold of winter; and often amidst perils, weariness, hunger, and almost nakedness, carrying the bread of life to the lost and perishing. And then, when the day of toil was ended, in the creviced hut of the frontier settler, the weary itinerant, among those of kindred hearts and sympathies, found a cordial though humble place of repose. The subject of this sketch informed us that he had often lodged in log-houses, where the stars could be seen through the roof above him, and that again and again, when he awoke in the morning, he had found the bed on which he slept covered with snow. But this is not all: the people, though willing, were poor, and the support was often inadequate to meet the *necessities* of even a single man; but woe to the man and the family that were dependent for a livelihood upon the compensation received for such labours as these. And yet these were men—men sensible to suffering and want—men of tender sympathies for wives and children! And, alas! many of them broke down in the work, and went early to their reward; others were compelled to retire from it; but, here and there, one of iron constitution and of abiding faith toiled on, till, like our own Hedding, full of years and of faith, he has been gathered to those who had gone before. Such were the toils, hardships, and privations endured by our fathers in transforming the waste wilderness into a delightful vineyard, and making it as the garden of God. Their work was nobly done; their memories are blessed in all the Church.

The first appointment of Mr. Hedding was to the Plattsburgh Circuit, extending from Ticonderoga along the shore of Lake Champlain northward far into Canada, and from the shores of the lake to the wildernesses and mountains of the west. Here, in this new and sparsely settled country, he endured more than it is possible for us to describe, of the toils and privations of the early itinerant. His second appointment was to the Fletcher Circuit, on the east side of the lake. This circuit then included all that region between the lake, on the west, and the Green Mountains

Digitized by Google

on the east; and extended from Onion River in Vermont, some twenty or thirty miles north of the boundary of that State into Canada. In 1803 he was ordained deacon by Bishop Whatcoat, and sent to the Bridgewater Circuit, in New Hampshire. Here a vast field opened before him. He preached three times on the Sabbath, and nearly every day in the week, besides travelling on horseback nearly three hundred miles every month. He had laboured here but a short time, when his over-tasked system gave way, and he was prostrated by a severe sickness that undermined the vigour of his constitution, and well-nigh carried him to the grave. It was eight months before he resumed his labours, and the effects of that sickness were felt to the day of his death. In 1804 he was appointed to Hanover Circuit, in New-Hampshire. In 1805 he was ordained elder by Bishop Asbury, and stationed on the Berry Circuit, Vermont; and in 1806 on the Vershire Circuit, in the same State. In 1807 and 1808 he was presiding elder on New-Hampshire District; and in 1809 and 1810, presiding elder on New-London District.

Powerful and extensive revivals followed his ministry in all these places, and multitudes were turned to God. He encountered much persecution; the most scandalous stories were set afloat about him, and men often clubbed together to assault him; but God was with him, and even his foes *could not resist the wisdom and power with which he spake.* At one time a large company of men came to his meeting armed with clubs, intending to assault him. But the power of God came down upon the assembly. The men were frightened, and all of them, except one, fled from the house: he fell prostrate on the floor, and cried to God for mercy; and before the meeting closed he was converted. He then drew out his club from beneath his overcoat, and confessed his guilt before God and man.

Such were the labours and trials in which the first ten years of his ministry were passed. The energy of his character at this period is strikingly illustrated by a single fact. While so afflicted with the rheumatic affection, that had first seized him in New-Hampshire, that he could neither stand nor kneel, he rode all round his district, requiring a travel of over five hundred miles, and attended to all his duties in a sitting posture.

This was also a time of privation, as well as of labour and suffering. A short time before he died, referring to this period, he said: "During that time I was a single man, and travelled, on an average, three thousand miles a year, or thirty thousand in the ten years, and preached nearly every day in the year. All the pay I received for those ten years was $450, or an average of $45 a year. One year I received on my circuit, exclusive of travelling expenses,

Digitized by Google

$3 25: this was made up to $21 at conference. My pantaloons were often patched upon the knees, and the sisters often showed their kindness by *turning an old coat for me.*" By great economy, and by liberal donations, though his salary, while he was a bishop, including house-rent, fuel, table-expenses, and quarterage, ranged only from $500 to $900, he accumulated a large property; but, with the exception of a few small bequests to his relatives, the whole of it is so devised that immediately or ultimately it goes to promote the cause of Christ.

We pause a moment: a phenomenon rises before us demanding solution. The principles and motives of human action, for the most part, lie upon the surface, and may be known. The warrior, dyed with the blood of a hundred battles, goes forth at the summons of glory, or at his country's call. The stern Puritan forsakes the home of his fathers, and turns the prow of his bark towards the mighty sea, but we can guage the magnitude of his mission; he goes to sow the seeds of civil liberty upon the virgin soil of a new world; he goes to build cities, to found nations, to people a continent, and to open up a highway to all the earth. The orator, in his divine eloquence, rushes with the impetuosity of a torrent, sweeping along with him the convictions and sympathies of men; but the ground of action no one can mistake: the interests of his country or of humanity are in peril, and he calls to the rescue. The man devoted to science, toils with unceasing effort, his very frame shattered and shaken with the intensity of his thought; and we know that the love of science or of fame impels him to action, even while they are consuming all that is physical and mortal in his nature. The author delves into the deep, dark mines of thought: it is for him to speak to coming ages; his busy brain is shaping thoughts that shall live forever; preparing utterances that shall "fall like fire upon the hearts of men" in coming generations, and kindle in them new life and energy—utterances that, by their sway over the realms of thought and emotion, shall exercise a vast and undying influence over the affairs of men and the destinies of the world.

But what shall we say of this forlorn hope? this band of heroes, with a devotion more pure and ceaseless than that of the patriot—with an eloquence combining the elements of moral greatness and power—and with a hardihood that shrinks from no labour, and is intimidated by no danger—toiling without hope or prospect of earthly reward—sacrificing ease, comfort, home, health, and even life itself—treading the waste places and the wildernesses, and traversing islands, continents, and oceans! Who are they? By whom are

Digitized by Google

they sent forth? and what is the object of their toil? Let the Churches that have been planted all over the land, the missionaries that have been sent out to other lands; let the incessantly increasing tide of influence that is rolling onward the kingdom of Christ to its complete and final triumph; and, above all, let the millions that have been brought to God, and are now decked with light and glory around the eternal throne; let all these respond, and tell who are these wanderers, and for what they toil!

Roll back the tide of time through eighteen centuries. Behold a little band traversing the idolatrous, barbarous regions of Asia Minor. Their appearance marks them as of the land of Israel. They journey from city to city, and from province to province. They are inured to hardships and dangers, exposed to perils in the deep and upon the land. Men despise and ridicule them; their own countrymen reject their message, and they are compelled to turn to the Gentiles. They are exposed to buffeting and stripes, imprisonments and death; but *none of these things move them.* Go and ask them why they toil, and suffer, and die? With united voice they respond: "The love of Christ constraineth us; neither count we our lives dear unto ourselves, so that we might finish our course with joy, and the ministry which we have received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the gospel of the grace of God." The same spirit that inspired the missionaries of the primeval Church, though smothered for ages, burst forth again in all its primitive power in the early apostles of Methodism. The theatre of action was new, the workmen were changed, but the work was one.

But, after all, was it not the fire of youthful enthusiasm, that would be rectified by age and experience? Shall we ask, then, how these labours, privations, and sufferings were regarded, when the time of labour was over, and life was hasting to its close? In the dismal cell of a Roman prison, behold a prisoner; the walls of his narrow room, like a wall of granite, are enclosed about him; his locks are white; he is shaken with age; he sits down to write; with difficulty he traces his message upon the manuscript before him. It is a final charge to his son in the gospel. His own life has been spent in toil and suffering, and now he is in poverty and imprisonment—an object of charity to the Church, and soon to die like a common felon. What is the message he writes? Does he charge his son to seek exemption from toil and suffering, to avoid exposure to danger and persecution, to lay up in store for the future? Nay, he says: "Endure afflictions, do the work of an evangelist, make full proof of thy ministry." And then, as the great apostle looks back upon the past, he adds: "I am now ready to be offered: the time of my departure

Digitized by Google

is at hand; I have fought a good fight; I have finished my course; I have kept the faith." Then, glancing at the future, he exclaims in triumph: "Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous judge, shall give me at that day."

And so, our venerable Hedding standing upon the brink of the grave, and looking back over the lapse of half a century, said: "I had laboured fifty years and one month in the ministry, before my constitution gave way. I have suffered a great deal; have been persecuted; the most abusive and slanderous stories have been circulated against me; men have come to my meetings armed with clubs, intending to assault me; the Methodists were poor and the fare hard —the rides long and tedious; but if I had fifty lives, and each afforded me an opportunity of fifty years' labour, I would cheerfully employ them all in the same blessed cause; and, if need be, would suffer the same privations!"

Such were the feelings and views with which he entered upon the great work of his life; and such were the feelings with which he looked back upon the work from that sublime altitude from which he so lately ascended to his God.

During the next fourteen years, succeeding to 1810, he was stationed twice in Boston, twice in Lynn, once in Nantucket, once in New-London, once in Portland, Maine, and for three years was presiding elder on Boston District. At the General Conference of 1824, almost in spite of himself, he was elected a Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. After his election, he was so overwhelmed with a sense of the great responsibilities of the office, and his unfitness for it, that he expressed his doubts to the Conference whether he could consent to ordination. But after he had retired to pray and deliberate upon the subject, that body passed a resolution earnestly requesting him "to submit himself to the call of Providence and of the Church, and to receive ordination to the office of a bishop." Thus constrained, he accepted the office, though with great reluctance and much misgiving. On the 28th of May, 1824, he, in company with the Rev. Joshua Soule, now senior bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, was solemnly inducted, by the imposition of hands, into the office of Bishop in the Methodist Episcopal Church.

From this time forward, Bishop Hedding occupied a prominent position in the councils of the Church. He entered at once upon his great and responsible work—presiding over annual conferences—travelling at large, visiting the Churches, and also the mission stations among the Indians and in the waste places and frontier

Digitized by Google

settlements of our rapidly increasing and spreading population—everywhere greeted by the people, and labouring to the edification of the Churches and the ministry.

During the first eight years of his episcopal service he presided, in whole or in part, over fifty-two conferences, traversed nearly our whole country from Maine in the East to Indiana in the West, and from Canada in the North to Georgia in the South. In this work he performed severe labour and endured many hardships; but his success was abundant, and he had been steadily rising in the esteem and confidence of the whole Church. Yet at the General Conference of 1832, the same distrust of himself and the same humble views of his qualifications for the office of a bishop, that had inclined him not to accept the office at first, now made him doubt whether he ought to continue any longer in it; and indeed he "felt a strong desire to be released from its burdens." He did not, however, feel willing to take so important a step without first consulting his brethren of the New-York and New-England Conferences. The delegates from these conferences, having consulted upon the matter, expressed it as their "unanimous judgment" that he "ought wholly to relinquish the idea of ever resigning the episcopal office, or of discontinuing the exercise of it at any time, unless under some imperious dispensation of Providence compelling him to do so." Under the constraining influence of this advice, he yielded to the convictions of his brethren, and continued with unabated zeal and fidelity to exercise the episcopal functions till disabled by the failure of his health.

Bishop Hedding brought to the episcopal office a sound and deep piety, whose ardour had not been abated through a period of nearly twenty-six years—most of which had been spent in laborious service, and in the midst of many trials and privations in the cause of Christ. His mind, naturally clear and discriminating, had been well matured by reading and study, by intercourse with men, and by a large and well-improved experience. He was possessed of great simplicity and sincerity of manner—a peculiar and confiding openness in his intercourse with his brethren, that at once won their confidence and affections. At the same time, his natural dignity and great discretion made him an object of reverence as well as of affection. Also his great shrewdness, and his almost instinctive insight into the character of men, guarded him from becoming the dupe of the crafty and designing. His heart was as true as it was large in its sympathies. His brethren never in vain sought his counsel or his sympathy; his heart was with them and with his God. It was evident that he had one object in view—the salvation of men and the glory

Digitized by Google

of God. In the exercise of the episcopal functions, he developed those rare qualifications that have distinguished him as a presiding officer, and especially as an expounder of ecclesiastical law. The soundness of his views upon the doctrines and discipline of the Church, was so fully and so universally conceded, that in the end he became almost an oracle in these respects; and his opinions are regarded with profound veneration.

As a theologian and divine, his views were comprehensive, logical, and well matured. Not only had they been elaborated with great care but the analysis was very distinct; and the successive steps were not only clearly defined in the original analysis, but distinct even in the minutiæ of their detail. His discourses were after the same pattern—an example of neatness, order, perspicuity, and completeness. There was no effort at any unnecessary verbal criticism, but when called for by the subject it was not wanting; there was no effort at logical skill or acuteness, but when clear and delicate discrimination was required, no man could execute it with greater fidelity and success. He would not be regarded as a *popular* preacher. The ability and skill to charm the multitude with the flowers of fancy, with the figures of rhetoric, with beautiful quotations, with flippant or dramatic speech, were evidently neither coveted nor cultivated by him. He was a plain preacher of the gospel of Christ.

His early advantages were limited; but by the most laborious and persevering study, he accumulated a vast fund of general as well as special knowledge. He was a great reader of books; but he read men and nature as well as books. With the utmost care, he improved his taste and style, as well as his critical powers. To correct his early provincial and defective pronunciation, he carefully read the dictionary through, word by word, comparing the authentic pronunciation of each with that to which he was habituated, and thus correcting himself. He had a most tenacious memory. His mind was richly stored with incident and anecdote, as well as with all kinds of the most valuable knowledge collected from books, from observation, and from experience. His conversational powers were of a high order—the events of the past seemed to start up from their lurking places, and come forth with all the freshness and life of recent occurrences. There was often with him a genial sprightliness, humour and wit, and a keen sense of the ludicrous, that made him a most companionable friend. Yet his cheerfulness never descended below the purity of the Christian character, or the dignity of a Christian man.

He was the friend of children, and children loved him. He was

Digitized by Google

true in his sympathies, generous and abiding in his friendships. With the farthest possible remove from courtly ostentation or empty etiquette, he was punctilious in the observance of true Christian courtesy and politeness. While his piety was of a clear, solid, consistent cast—deeply based upon religious principle—it was also at the farthest remove from asceticism, or that repulsive austerity that so often makes religion itself seem unamiable. In him trifling levity found no place; but cheerfulness—the genial sunshine of the heart—diffused its loveliness all around him. His, too, was a most liberal and catholic spirit. He had toiled long and hard to build up the Church of his early choice; and his affections were deeply wedded to that Church; but they were not exclusive. He felt a kindred sympathy for Christians of every name, and felt too that he was with them a common partner in the kingdom and patience of Christ Jesus. His nature was too noble, his heart too large, and his views too broad and enlightened, to admit of his being cut off from sympathy with the common brotherhood of the Christian faith. Yet he felt that God had appointed him to his sphere of labour, and it was his highest joy to pursue it.

The life and labours of Bishop Hedding extended through an important epoch in the history of Methodism in this country. When he first entered the ministry, the work, then extending over the whole United States and Canada, comprised but eight annual conferences, three hundred and seven preachers, and seventy-two thousand eight hundred and seventy-four members. Now we have on the same territory:—

	Conferences	Tr. preachers.	Local pr's.	Members.
In the M. E. Church, ...	31	4,450	5,700	721,804
In the M. E. Church, South, ...	20	1,700	3,955	514,601
In Canada, (including N. B. & N. S.)	3	116	198	19,013
Making a grand total of	54	6,266	9,853	1,255,418

A man who had participated in labours, and witnessed results like these, might well feel that he had not lived in vain.

But this was not all. Within the period of his labours, the character and genius of Methodism have been largely developed; the capabilities of our general Church organization have been closely tested; our vast educational systems operating upon the public mind through the press, the Sunday school, the seminary, and the college—have all received character and direction, if not their very existence. The Church has been increasing in resources and intelligence, and a higher tone of educational influence has been brought

Digitized by Google

to bear upon the ministry. In all this substantial progress of the Church, Bishop Hedding had a deep sympathy and contributed his full measure of influence.

During the autumn of 1832, he was confined by severe bodily affliction. The record of his feelings and views at this period possesses a peculiar interest. "I have been led," says he, "to many serious and solemn reflections—apprehending that probably my public labours, if not my life, may be nearly at an end. But, I thank my God, that through the merit of my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, I am supported with a glorious hope of rest in heaven! I have been comforted also with the reflection, that my life has been spent, and my body worn out, in endeavouring sincerely, though imperfectly, to promote the cause of Christ. And after thirty-two years employment in preaching the doctrines of the Methodist Episcopal Church, I am confirmed in the belief that they are the doctrines of Christ. And after seeing, for that length of time, the effects of our plan of spreading the gospel, and governing the flock committed to our care, and bearing my full share of the burdens and privations connected with this plan, I am satisfied it is the best I know of in this world for the benefit of the souls of men. If I could have another life, I would cheerfully spend it in this blessed cause."

From this sickness, however, he recovered, and continued with unabated ardour to perform the various duties of the episcopal office nearly twenty years longer. From the year 1844, age and increasing infirmities compelled him to seek relief from the heavy burden of labour he had previously performed, and his visits to the annual conferences became less frequent. Yet his labours and responsibilities were still very great. He was almost incessantly sought unto by ministers in almost every part of our connexion for counsel and assistance, and for information upon points of ecclesiastical law and in the administration of discipline.

In the spring of 1850, he presided at the New-Jersey, New-York, and New-York East Annual Conferences. These were his last episcopal services as the presiding officer of a conference. But they were performed with the same skill, ability, and laborious diligence that had characterized him in former years. He seemed, indeed, so far as the spirit of his work was concerned, like Moses of old—"His eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated." These labours being ended, he returned to Poughkeepsie, and passed the remainder of the season in his quiet retreat—constantly engaged, however, in conducting his episcopal correspondence.

This brings us down to the closing scenes in the life of this eminent man of God.

Digitized by Google

The first attack of acute disease was experienced on the 28th day of December, 1850. The attack was as sudden as it was fearful. He had been taking his accustomed walk, though the day was severely cold, and was returning home, when he was suddenly seized with difficulty of breathing. The difficulty was so great that he seemed nearly suffocated, and his strength entirely exhausted. With difficulty he reached the parsonage of the Methodist church, and was barely able to say: "Carry me home—I am suffocating." He was immediately conveyed home, apparently in a dying state. Physicians were soon in attendance, but it was more than an hour before the severity of his suffering abated. About a week after this, he had a second attack of still greater violence than the first; and for more than two hours of intense and unremitted suffering, it seemed as though nature was sinking in its last conflict. These attacks from which he only partially recovered, were succeeded by others of less violence and shorter continuance. The complication of diseases under which he had laboured for many years, and also the growing infirmities of age, rendered his recovery hopeless. It was painfully evident that his system had received a shock from which it could not recover. Yet, through the skill and care of his medical adviser, he was made comfortable; and it was hoped that with the return of spring, his health might be still further improved, and that he might be relieved, at least to some extent, from the great weakness and exhaustion that had succeeded his violent attacks. But these hopes were disappointed. Summer brought but little relief. Yet, as he seemed to revive somewhat in the early part of the winter, his friends began to hope that his life might be spared, and his health permit him once more to mingle, as the patriarch of the Church, in her councils at the ensuing General Conference; or at least, that he would be able to make his appearance in that body, and bestow upon it his final counsel and dying blessing. In the latter part of the succeeding winter, however, he suffered successive attacks, which completely blasted that hope, and made it apparent that "the time of his departure was at hand."

It will be well to pause in the current of our narrative, and notice the state of his mind in the midst of these sudden, unexpected, and terrible attacks. In the afternoon of the first attack, after the severity of his distress had subsided so that he could speak, he said to the Rev. Mr. Vincent: "I expected to die this afternoon. I fully believed the hour of my departure had come; but, O, how mercifully I was sustained. I had no fear of death or eternity. I felt that through the merits of Jesus, my Saviour, alone, it would be well with me; and knew that if my work was done, and God ordered my dis-

Digitized by Google

charge, it was right, all right." After his second attack, he said: "In all this the enemy was not permitted to come nigh me." And subsequently, speaking of these attacks, and the development of what he believed would be a fatal disease, he said that God had so mercifully dealt with him, that for three months after his severe attack he had not suffered a single temptation from Satan, but had enjoyed wonderful grace and support. At the end of this period, Satan attacked him violently, and tempted him to disbelieve God's word. It was a terrible conflict. Objections more subtle than any he had read or heard from infidels, were thrust sorely upon him. But he was enabled to answer them all, and came out of the conflict with a faith radiant with heaven's own glory, to be dimmed and obscured no more. "I *have conquered*," he exclaimed, "and believe I shall *overcome* at last through the mercy of God and the merit of Jesus Christ my Saviour, my only hope."

From the time of his first attack, his decline was gradual, sometimes relieved by favourable indications, and at other times accelerated by sudden and alarming steps. His intellectual powers remained vigorous: his memory, perception, and judgment continued, with but few intermissions, clear and distinct to the last. In the midst of intense and protracted bodily suffering, he retained that calmness and serenity of spirit, and that supreme confidence of faith, so eminently characteristic of the mature Christian. His conversations during the last months and weeks of his life, were heavenly and edifying in a high degree. In intercourse with his Christian brethren, he often gave full vent to his feelings in the most graphic and touching expressions. At one time he broke out in the exclamation: "O what a wonder it is that such a poor, worthless, hell-deserving wretch as I am, should ever be saved! What a mercy! what wondrous love! It is all of Christ. What could we do, or what could we hope for without him? How could we preach, how could we pray, how could we live, or how could we DIE, without the Saviour?" The record conveys but a feeble impression of the force with which those words were uttered. This could not be realised without the presence, the appearance, the heavenly countenance, the deep pathos, the quivering voice, and the holy energy of the venerable man now numbered with the dead.

About the same time, he said one morning to the Rev. Mr. Ferris: "I have been singing. In my earlier days I was quite a singer; and I have been singing one of our excellent hymns, (one that is all glory,) and while singing I received a wonderful blessing. The hymn is this:—

"'He dies, the friend of sinners dies.'"

Digitized by Google

He continued repeating the hymn till he came to the third verse, when, catching the inspiration of the mighty theme, he commenced singing with a feeble voice, rendered more indistinct by his deep emotion:—

"'Break off your tears, ye saints, and tell
How high your great Deliv'rer reigns;
Sing how he spoil'd the hosts of hell,
And led the monster death in chains!'"

Here his feelings overcame him, and he wept like a child, exulting in the certain prospect of a final and complete victory over the "monster," so terrible to the natural man. A few days after, he said to the same friend: "I do not depend so much upon past experience, nor upon present states of feeling, as upon a clear inward witness, like the shining light, that Jesus died for me; that he *loves me*, and *owns me* for his child. I am going down to the dust; but I expect to go to a better world. This supports me. Sometimes the state of my body presses down the mind so that I do not feel much joy; but there is a settled peace, and *an assurance* that the Saviour is mine."

At another time, referring to some discussions on the subject of Christian holiness, he said: "Some brethren seem to think that Mr. Wesley could not properly say of himself:—

"'I the chief of sinners am,
But Jesus died for me.'

But I can truly and properly say it, for I feel it in my heart." At another time he said: "I have laboured fifty years in the cause of Christ, and have had, especially in my earlier ministry, many hard appointments; I have had many privations to endure, and have suffered a good deal, and am now so worn out with labours, sufferings, and age, that I shall soon go to my long home. But, after all, I can say:—

"'This all my hope, and all my plea—
For me the Saviour died.'

And that is all the plea we need. O what a mercy it is that God has given his Son to redeem us, so that we, vile wretches, can get to heaven."

While dictating a letter to an old friend, who had invited him to the hospitalities of his house, he paused in the midst of his letter, overcome with emotion, and, while the tears were rolling down over his cheeks, said: "I am going to the dust; I shall probably never go out again till I am borne to my long home. I shall never see brother —— again on earth; but I feel certain I shall meet, yea, and KNOW him too, in heaven—both him and his dear wife. I have

Digitized by Google

been entertained at their house; it has been a home to me; they have ministered to my wants. I shall see them on earth no more; but I SHALL SEE and KNOW them in heaven!" While watching with him one night, after he had somewhat recovered from a distressing turn, he beckoned the writer to him from the opposite side of the room, and said: "Brother Clark, I want you to pray for me every day—every night and every morning—so long as I shall need to have prayers offered for me." Upon my remarking that I had, and would still pray for him, and also that our brethren remembered him in the prayer-meeting, he replied, with a look of satisfaction, "I thank you. I have many praying friends, I know. It has often encouraged me to think so. It has helped me to preach and to bear my burdens when I was well, and now it helps me in the midst of my afflictions."

When asked how he felt about leaving the Church, for which he had toiled and laboured so long, he said: "When I was first taken sick, more than a year ago, the thought that I was cut off from labouring for the Church, and that I should see the dear brethren with whom I had become acquainted no more on earth, hung like a millstone upon me, until one night in the winter of 1851, as I was kneeling in my bedroom praying, about midnight, God so impressed upon my mind that the Church was not mine, did not belong to me, or depend upon me, that I have felt all that burden removed from that hour. I love the Church and the brethren still; but I leave them in the hands of God, and I can say 'Thy will be done.'" Then fastening upon me an intense and expressive look, he said, with great emphasis: "*The Church is not mine—it is God's. God has taken care of the Church; God will take care of the Church; and he can do it as well without me as with me.*"

A few weeks before his departure several brethren, by special invitation, met to partake with him of the Holy Eucharist. The bishop was seated at the head of the table, being unable to kneel on account of his limbs and body being so swollen with the dropsy. While the elements were being distributed, he was deeply affected; and when the service was concluded, he began to sing, with a tone of voice tremulous with age and emotion:—

"Praise God, from whom all blessings flow;
Praise him, all creatures here below;
Praise him above, ye heavenly hosts;
Praise Father, Son, and Holy Ghost."

It was an affecting scene, that touched every heart, and drew tears from every eye. But we were still more affected with what followed. With his voice often choked and stifled with emotion, he said:

Digitized by Google

"'Whither should a sinner go?
His wounds for me stand open wide;
Only Jesus will I know,
And Jesus crucified.'

Brethren, my work is now done on earth; I am about to go hence. My body is going to the dust; but I have good hope that my soul will go to God in heaven. I am a poor, weak, wretched creature; have many imperfections and many sins; but I hope for, and expect to receive, salvation through our Lord Jesus Christ:—

'Other refuge have I none;
Hangs my helpless soul on thee.'

I had laboured fifty years and one month in the itinerancy before I was broken down. I have come short in many things; but I have laboured sincerely and earnestly. I have suffered many privations, and endured many trials; but, after all, if I had a hundred lives, I would be willing to spend them all in the same way—believing, as I do, that God called me to the work. Blessed be God! I have seen many a wanderer reclaimed, and brought back to him; I have seen many a sinner awakened and led to Christ for salvation; and many, many men and women have I attended upon dying beds, who, with their last breath, shouted 'Glory to God! I am washed and made clean in the atoning blood of the Lamb.' The recollection of these things comforts me now. I look back upon them with more pleasure than crowns and kingdoms, or than all the riches and honours of the world could ever have given.

"Brethren, while you have life and strength, preach; preach Christ; call poor lost sinners to repentance. Bring them to the Saviour! He is a blessed Saviour! How could we preach, or pray, or labour; how could we come to God, or hope for heaven, were it not for him?

"My time of labour is now past, and I am going to my rest. A few years since, my oldest sister died. She was converted to God the same time I was, and had been a faithful Christian more than fifty years. Her last words were:—

'Forever here my rest shall be,
Close to thy bleeding side;
This all my hope, and all my plea,—
For me the Saviour died.'

This, too, is my dying testimony. I don't know how long God will spare me, nor how soon he will call me away. But, brethren, whether you are present or not, or whether I can speak or not, that is now, and I trust will be, my dying testimony."

Here the little remnant of his strength failed him, and his wife,

Digitized by Google

overwhelmed with emotion, besought him to desist from an exertion for which his strength was so inadequate. We soon after retired. The above was a scene not to be forgotten. It seemed as though heaven itself was near. No forms of language, and no powers of description can do it justice. We mourned that a father in Israel was so soon to depart from our midst; that the Church was so soon to be bereft of a faithful and time-honoured guide; and that the cause of Christ would so soon lose one of its noblest champions. But, on the other hand, our tears of sorrow were mingled with sacred joy; for we felt that for one so mature in Christian virtues to depart and be with Christ would be far better; we felt, indeed, that it was fitting that the old veteran, who had battled for more than half a century in the front ranks of Zion, one that had fought many a hard battle and now wore many a scar received in his Master's cause, should be released from toils and sufferings, and enter into his glorious rest. Never did we so fully feel before, that

> "The chamber where the good man meets his fate
> Is privileged beyond the common walks
> Of virtuous life—quite on the verge of heaven."

Humility was a striking trait in the character of Bishop Hedding; and his piety, ever at the farthest remove from ostentation, was strongly marked by that predominant trait in the closing scene. He felt that it was an awful thing to die; but, through grace, death was shorn of all its terrors. "All my dependence," said he, "is in the atonement. If I had to depend on the covenant of works, or on my own faithfulness, I should come short; but I depend alone on Christ, and I feel that he accepts me. I have no doubt of it. *I am as conscious of it as I can possibly be of anything.* I do not believe that he will cast me off. I expect it will be well with me when I go. While I remain here, I expect to suffer more and more. There is no more rest for my body in this life; but this is the will of my Father, and I know it is best. I pray that the cup may pass from me, if it is the will of God; but he knows best, and I submit all to him. I trust it will work for me a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory."

A few days after, he said to the same friend:—"Christ is all my hope. I can say nothing about my own faithfulness; I might have prayed better, preached better, and done more good. But I have been honest and sincere, and my good God accepts me. *I have no doubt of it;* and here I rest!"

The 26th of March was a day of great suffering; but with great calmness he said to the Rev. Mr. Ferris: "I am very sick; I suffer

Digitized by Google

much. But why should a living man complain? I dare not pray or wish to die. I desire to lie in the hands of God. I know not what I should do, if I had not the assurance that God is with me. I need help from heaven every moment, and I have it; I *feel that I have it*, and this is my support. I sometimes wonder how such a poor wretch, taken out of the dust and mire of pollution and sin, can ever be made pure and fitted for a holy place—to dwell with God and Christ, and all the holy beings of heaven forever! *I could not believe it* if the glorious truths of the gospel were not so wonderfully supported by astonishing evidence!"

From this time his difficulty of breathing continued to increase, and his dropsy became more distressing. He could not lie down without experiencing a sense of suffocation that required immediate change; and thus, whole days and nights were passed in the most excruciating distress, and almost without sleep.

March the 30th, I made my usual call upon him, and found him in a most wretched bodily condition. The throbbing of the arteries in his neck, occasioned by the affection of his heart, had become intense. He was so bloated that his clothes could no longer be put upon him; his skin was so distended and inflamed that every motion was attended with excruciating pain. In the hollow of his limbs, at the knee joint, the skin had burst, and water was freely running from the aperture. His difficulty of breathing was very great, from the collection of water upon his chest and lungs. And in addition to all this, he had been unable to get any sleep for several days; and for want of this, he could neither keep his eyes open, nor hold up his head. He presented the most pitiable spectacle of bodily suffering; it haunted me for days, and disturbed my slumbers in the night. When I approached him he raised his head, seized me by the hand, which he held for some time, and then feebly gasped:—"Brother Clark, I am in a most miserable condition; but, through my blessed Redeemer, I trust I shall overcome at last."

The very next day, (March 31,) after referring to the sudden and terrible attack he suffered fifteen months before, he said to the Rev. Mr. Ferris: "With the stroke, God gave me wonderful grace; and it has been with me ever since. My prospect has been clear ever since. Not a day, not an hour, not a moment, have I had any doubt or tormenting fear of death. I have been at times so that it was doubtful whether I would live five minutes; but all was bright and glorious. I have not had joy all the time; but great support and comfort. But to-day I have been *wonderfully blessed.* I was reflecting upon the wonder of God's mercy—how a just, and infinite, and holy God could take such vile creatures to dwell with him in so

Digitized by Google

holy a place—so unworthy, so sinful, so polluted; and I thought of his great mercy to me—how much he had done for me; and I had such glorious views of the atonement by Christ—his sufferings and the glory that should follow—that my soul was filled in a wonderful manner. I have served God more than fifty years; I have generally had peace; but *I never saw such glory before—such light, such clearness, such beauty!* O, I want to tell it to all the world! O, had I a trumpet voice,

> 'Then would I tell to sinners round,
> What a DEAR SAVIOUR I have found.'"

Here his emotion overcame him, and choked his utterance for a moment. . . . "But I cannot. I never shall preach again—never shall go over the mountains and through the valleys, the woods, and the swamps, to tell of Jesus any more. But, O, what glory I feel! it shines and burns all through me; it came upon me like the rushing of a mighty wind, as on the day of Pentecost." "Alas!" says the narrator, "the *pen* can never represent this scene—the broken accent, the laboured effort, the deep feeling, the holy fervour, the uplifted and radiant countenance, the eye that gleamed with unearthly lustre, the tears choking the utterance, and the whole frame shaking with emotion; these cannot be represented, but will never be forgotten. I retired, resolved to be a better Christian and a more faithful minister."

The suffering days of the revered man of God were now drawing to a close. His sufferings gradually abated; his breathing became less difficult, and he was able to lie down and rest with some degree of comfort. His quietude, however, was not that from which the system rallies to victory and triumphs over disease; but that in which its exhausted powers, fully spent in the conflict, sink to rally no more. He was not merely calm, but cheerful; and often exhibited flashes of that genial sprightliness, humour and wit, so characteristic of him in earlier days. Yet a heavenly atmosphere reigned around him. His work was done; he was tarrying for a moment on the bank of Jordan, waiting permission from his *Master* to pass over.

That permission was not long delayed. About three o'clock on the morning of the 9th of April, a change took place, betokening the near approach of death. Early in the morning his sufferings were great; but his intellectual powers—consciousness, perception, memory, reason—were unaffected. Several Christian friends witnessed his dying struggles and the glorious triumph of his abiding faith. When asked if his prospect was clear he replied with great emphasis: "O, yes, yes, yes! I have been wonderfully sustained

Digitized by Google

of late, beyond the usual degree." After a pause, he continued:—

"'My suff'ring time will soon be o'er;
Then I shall sigh and weep no more;
My ransom'd soul shall soar away,
To sing thy praise in endless day.'

I trust in Christ, and he does not disappoint me. I feel him, I enjoy him, and I look forward to an inheritance in his kingdom."

He looked at his hands, and calmly marked the progress death was making. Feeling that death was fast approaching, he made repeated efforts to straighten himself and to adjust his limbs in the bed. Then, after remaining quiet a few moments, summoning all his strength and elevating his voice, he said: "I trust in God and feel safe!"

It was then remarked to him that he was almost over Jordan. He looked up and answered: "Yes;" then raising both hands, he shouted, scarcely above a whisper, "Glory, glory! Glory to God! Glory to God! Glory to God! Glory!" When asked if death had any terrors, he replied: "No, none whatever; my peace is made with God. I do not expect to live till sunset; but I have no choice; I leave it all with God." Then, placing his hand upon his breast, he said: "I am happy—filled."

After shifting his position several times without finding relief from his sufferings, he broke out:—

"'When pain o'er my weak flesh prevails,
With lamb-like patience arm my breast;
When grief my wounded soul assails,
In lowly meekness may I rest.'"

Subsequently, he said: "My God is my best friend, and I trust in him with all my heart. I have trusted in him for more than fifty years." Then, after pausing for breath, he added: "'Because I live, ye shall live also.' What a promise!" Soon after this his powers of speech failed; his breathing grew tremulous and short; life ebbed gradually away, and at last its weary wheels stood still.

Thus passed away one of the purest and noblest spirits of our earth. He died as might have been augured from his character and life; he died as the Christian only can die. Up to the last moment of earthly communion, he was calm and serene. Eternity was breaking upon his view, but he knew in whom he had believed. To see the Christian, who, with the intellect of a philosopher and the wisdom of a sage, had scanned the evidences and the doctrines of the gospel to their very depths; to see such a one maturing for

Digitized by Google

the skies, going forth to the last conflict with no misgivings of spirit —calmly, firmly, constantly trusting in the atonement of his Saviour; to mark his trembling humility, the low estimate he placed upon his services in the Church of Christ, and upon his Christian piety—these were privileges of no ordinary moment, and afforded lessons of indescribable value. We have often visited the dying couch of the saint of God, and there witnessed the triumph of the Christian faith; but never before did sickness and feebleness seem to enshrine such loveliness, or death such beauty. The full significance of that couplet of Coleridge seemed to be realized:

> "Is that his death-bed, where the Christian lies?
> No! 'tis not his; 'tis death itself there dies!"

Bishop Hedding, in his life and in his death, has left to the Church of Christ one of the richest legacies; his life was a triumph of goodness, his death a triumph of faith. The benedictions of the Church rest upon him, and future generations shall rise up to bless his memory. Devout men, with great lamentation, bore him to his burial. He rests from his labours; his works do follow him. "The memorial of virtue is immortal, because it is known with God and men. When it is present, men take example at it; and when it is gone, they desire it; it weareth a crown and triumpheth forever."

Art. II.—INCOMPETENCE OF REASON IN MATTERS OF RELIGION.

Γραφὴ θεόπνευστος—ὠφέλιμος πρὸς διδασκαλίαν.—Paul.

In our inquiries after religious truth, we are prone to turn from what God has revealed, to what man has studied and reasoned. The propensity to err in this respect is innate, and to be controlled only by divine grace. Not that we are to be denied the exercise of this noblest faculty of the mind. To reason well is a divine gift, and creates in the breast a sense of native dignity, which allies the spirit, though fallen, to its great original. But this feeling, which may be reckoned a godlike quality of soul, is near akin to a pride which is diabolical. And the more difficult the problem, the more recondite or abstruse the subject on which the reason is exercised, the more is its curiosity stimulated, the more is this pride fostered, and the more keenly is it gratified at any plausible show of success. More labour has probably been wasted in vain attempts to square

Digitized by Google

the circle, than to demonstrate the properties of all geometric forms besides; more perplexing study to invent a perpetual motion, than to perfect the steam-engine.

So in religious truths: it is just when we come to those which lie beyond the scope of human faculties, and are, therefore, made the subject of revelation, that reason becomes rampant for the field, and is most elated with her fancied achievements. And it is this spirit of self-sufficiency, in discrediting God alike in his word and in his providences, against which we would utter a caution.

We have, first, this general consideration:—That if man be able, by his own studies, to settle the great questions of religious concern, then has he no need of a higher instructor. Reason may be his inspiration; Logic should frame his Decalogue, and Philosophy constitute his Gospel.

But a second preliminary thought. We have an *a priori* process, from the conclusion of which we cannot escape. And to present it distinctively, we observe that we find societies distinguished into two grand classes—the one, stationary; the other, progressive. The latter of these divides itself again into two subordinate classes, by certain well-marked features which characterize the nature of the progression as physical or metaphysical; that is, advancement in the arts which minister to man's physical comforts, or advancement in intellectual culture. These two, totally distinct, are for the most part concomitant, though not always in equal degree; and states are found in which the one or the other has greatly predominated. We put now the question:—What will be the moral and religious tendency of society in either of these states of progression, apart from the saving knowledge of divine truth? Our premiss is furnished by the word of revelation. From the doctrine of human depravity, we learn that man has a natural aptitude to evil, and inaptitude to good. We are, indeed, authorized to make the proposition yet stronger, and to say, that man has a natural aversion from good, and a natural appetency for evil. Place human nature then on this basis and set the moral elements in commotion, and what results? Society is acquiring new ideas, new feelings, new modes of thought; devising new doctrines, new theories, new systems. With new-felt wants and new desires, and growing strength of passion, comes increased facility of gratification. And in all these evolutions, the heart, like a human magnet, attracts upon itself whatever is congenial to its nature, and repels whatever is averse. Nay, with a power of human alchemy, it analyzes whatsoever it touches, and seeks out latent affinities. The result must be then, that advancement in the arts of physical life tends to moral degeneracy; advancement in intellectual culture, to

Digitized by Google

error in doctrine. The one ends in abasement and total corruption; the other, in the subtilties of speculation, which dissipate religious faith, and lead, if not to atheism, to the worst forms of scepticism.

Such is a conclusion derived, we think fairly, from known and certain premises. But what say the facts? For the efforts of reason in this direction are no longer matter of experiment, but of history. And what has she done, or what does she now profess to do, towards demonstrating religious truth? From among many, we select a few examples.

We take, first, that which may be considered the starting-point in metaphysical inquiries of this kind—the *a priori* argument for the existence and attributes of a God. The first form of the argument which we notice is this:—We can form an *idea* of a Being of infinite perfection; or, in other words, the existence of such a Being is possible. But, secondly, such an *idea* were not possible, if it had not a corresponding *reality*. By these two premises, therefore, we are conducted to the logical necessity of the existence of an absolute and infinite Being. This was substantially the form of the argument in the eleventh century, as propounded by Archbishop Anselm, of Canterbury. Descartes may be reckoned its chief patron in more modern times. Its first obvious defect is in the major premiss; which, after all the qualifications and studied supports it has received, resolves itself ultimately into the old question of the Nominalists and Realists. Establish the doctrine that every idea must have its archetype in nature, and the proposition is valid. With that it stands or falls. In this process, then, we simply conclude from the *possible* to the *actual;* from the *nominal* to the *real;* from an *idea* to the necessary existence of a corresponding *reality*. By such reasoning we make Oberon and Puck, old Kronos and Dis, every bugbear of the nursery, and every chimera of the heated brain, real and necessary existences, equally with the infinite God.

But when the question is, what reason can accomplish independent of revelation, we push the objection still further, and we question the minor premiss of this argument. What? Shall the mind of man, without any ray of celestial light, raise itself to the sublime conception of the idea of an Eternal, Self-existent Being, infinite in all perfections? And yet, it is that which philosophy assumes when she asserts her independence in such a demonstration. That which may be regarded as the ultimate end to which Christianity would lead us, is here assumed as the starting-point, by unaided reason. And if this, which has been a popular form of the argument, will not suffice to establish the *existence* of a God, much less

Digitized by Google

can it prove any of the distinctive attributes or moral qualities of his nature.

Another argument, and which is relied on by the learned Dr. Samuel Clarke, who rejects, as invalid, the one just noticed, is this: —We have in our minds ideas of infinity and eternity; that is, of *space* and *duration* unlimited. But, "to suppose that there is no Being in the universe to which these attributes are necessarily inherent, is a contradiction in the very terms." The error here lies in assuming space and duration to be attributes or qualities which necessarily imply a substance in which they inhere; and that the substance, being co-extensive with the qualities, is therefore infinite and eternal. Is this philosophy or is it vagary? But grant, for a moment, the assumption, and where does it appear that the two several qualities or attributes necessarily inhere in the *same* substance? So far as reason shall teach us, may we not have two independent substances or Beings—the one eternal, but not infinite; the other infinite, and not eternal?

But with all the temerity of speculation, it has been reserved, we believe, for the nineteenth century to demonstrate so abstruse and incomprehensible a doctrine as that of the triune nature of God. It had been attempted before to show that such a tenet was not inconsistent with reason; and so far as it is practicable, in this way, to remove the difficulties which the mind encounters in assenting, on mere authority, to a proposition which it can neither deny nor comprehend, the effort were well enough. But now they have discovered that such a condition of Deity is not only rational, but necessary—absolutely essential to eternal existence and the work of creation—and, if their premises be correct, the most simple and obvious thing imaginable. The argument is presented by a recent author as follows:—

It first assumes, that any being, even the Self-existent, could not be conscious of its own existence, without the cognizance of some object extraneous to itself; and if not capable of self-consciousness, much less of creation, or any other act of Deity. Hence the necessity of the eternal existence of a second person—of a contemplator and a contemplated; the Father and the Son. It next assumes, as a primary truth or an unquestionable premiss, that the necessary two could not exist in harmony, in unity, without the intervention of a third, as the medium of union; and this brings us to the idea of a Trinity, absolutely, and in the nature of things, necessary.

For this last point,—this doctrine of a spiritual mordant—the intervention of a third substance, in order to effect a union,—what is this but metaphysical chemistry? And if chemistry is pre-

Digitized by Google

eminently an empirical science, who has experimented thus far? And did he conjure, or how confine spirits in his crucible? What were the tests? and where, pray show us, the laboratory of this modern alchemist? And yet, grave Doctors of Theology gravely announce such dogmas for the edification of those who count it wisdom to wonder at the lofty strides which reason is taught to practise.

But to return to the former part of this argument—that self-consciousness is not possible without an apprehension of something besides self. Grant the truth of this premiss, and how do we know it? Who shall demonstrate it? Or, how was it discovered? But *is* the premiss true? If it be, we have only to say, it is hugely at odds with common experience; nor will it without further light appear to all to consist with the higher efforts of reason and metaphysical analysis. It is certainly at variance with the first principles of the Cartesian philosophy. For that, in running down the celebrated anti-climax—the *dubito, cogito, sum*—arrives at a conviction of the *Me*, without even a suspicion of the *Not Me;* it discovers and surveys the whole region of self-consciousness, in entire ignorance if that be not the universe. Nay, it next seriously doubts whether it be possible "by means of thought," that is, as we understand, by any process of abstract reasoning, to overstep this boundary—to proceed from the inner to the outer—to advance from a consciousness of self to the knowledge of a second reality. What is this, but a house divided against itself? and let it fall.

But let us turn to an humbler theme. Descending from Deity to man, we notice his efforts to prove his own immortality. It has been common to establish, by a series of negative conclusions, that soul or spirit is not subject to the laws of matter, and then from immateriality to conclude immortality, or imperishability. But why such an inference? Is it that we see matter constantly perishing, and, from the unlikeness of spirit in other respects, we infer dissimilitude in this also? Such deduction were even then illogical; but, on the other hand, matter does not perish obviously; and, we suppose, cannot, except by the hand of the Omnipotent. The power which created, could doubtless uncreate; and if this be true, no reason can be given why spirit is not, equally with matter, obnoxious to such a fate. It is only in its organic forms, and the principle of physical life, that matter seems to lack permanence and durability—mere conditions of matter, and conditions in which, if approximation could be said at all, it approaches nearest the nature of spirit.

But this argument is generally abandoned now by those at all conversant with the subject, and that on which reliance is had, casts itself into this form:—It is asserted that the soul can perish in

Digitized by Google

but one of three ways, to wit: either by *dissolution*, by *privation*, or by *annihilation*. Granted; and what next? First:—That which is without parts cannot be dissolved. The soul is simple and uncompounded; therefore, it cannot perish by dissolution. So we believe; but not by virtue of this syllogism. To say nothing of the fallacy lurking in the ambiguous forms of the major term, the second premiss here assumes to define the nature of spirit, whereas it is only shown that we cannot define it. Water and air were believed to be simple and uncompounded elements. Platinum and hydrogen are still believed to be so. Some substances which are reckoned such now, are strongly suspected to be compound. Of spirit we can only affirm, in this regard, that it cannot be subjected to analysis, and, for aught we know, may be the most simple or the most complex thing created.

But, secondly, What can be said of *privation?* By this term our metaphysicians seem to understand, the soul's ceasing to exist, or gradually relinquishing life, "by the tendencies of its own nature." And they argue that, if its natural tendency be to death, it will, by virtue of this property, at some period, cease to exist; if its tendency be to life, it will live forever. And that it now exists, they claim as sufficient evidence that its natural tendency is to existence. What is this, but stark atheism?—a making of certain properties necessarily inherent in the soul? If God created the soul, it was for him to give it its conditions of existence; and for aught that human reason can tell, it were as easy for him to make the condition of the soul's existence the life of the body, as to make the presence of light the condition of colours.

The third point—that the Almighty *can* annihilate the soul—may not be questioned; and whether he *will*, must so obviously be matter of revelation, that philosophy even must consent to resign us to that source of instruction.

We give these as specimens, and without pretending to have made the best selection, of the *à priori* style of metaphysics. And with the knowledge we now have of the character of these arguments whereby it is sought to demonstrate the mysteries of religion, the being and attributes of a God, the nature and destiny of the human soul, and all the more spiritual and vital doctrines of the gospel, candour compels us to say, that we find the premises still assumed. They are *postulata non data;* and postulates they must remain in that sense which constitutes them a logical *petitio*. The reasoning of this industrious nation is for the most part correct, often beautiful, enticing, delusive; and is defective only in the want of a

Digitized by Google

premiss, a perfect Archimedean lever; and, like that, lacks only a fulcrum.

Let us turn briefly to the opposite method, and inquire what success attends the process *à posteriori*. It is on the argument of this kind that Dr. Samuel Clarke bases his celebrated Demonstration. The process by which he finds the eternity of a God, is given in this summary manner:—"Something now is: therefore, something always was." But this argument, if it proves anything, proves equally the eternity of matter, or the impossibility of any existence whatever! For, when developed, it is seen to turn on the old maxim, *de nihilo nihil*. Every effect, they say, implies an adequate cause; every existence implies an author; that which caused all things, must be itself uncaused; and therefore—eternal. But this conclusion is in flat contradiction of the fundamental postulate. The argument commences with asserting that nothing exists without a cause, and ends with inferring something uncaused!

But let us try another link of this wonderful chain. Suppose ourselves in possession of the fact of an *Eternal Spirit*. From this point it is affirmed that matter must have been created by this Spirit; for that matter could not create itself. This looks plausible enough in the light of divine truth; but where revelation has not taught it, man naturally reasons in quite another strain. "Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?" The maxim, *similia ex similibus*, teaches that though spirit might generate spirit, and matter matter, neither could generate anything so unlike itself as the other. Hence we arrive at the conclusion—and it is the best that philosophy has ever done—that matter, equally with spirit, is eternal. For before we find it possible that this Spirit should have created the world, we must prove not only his eternity, but his omnipotence; while, on the other hand, we could infer his power only from the stupendous magnitude of his known and acknowledged works.

We might also pursue the argument of *design*, as manifesting the wisdom and benevolence of the Creator; and when the patron of Natural Theology has fortified his positions most securely by one series of facts, another series may exhibit an opposite doctrine, equally strong, and the inquirer or the caviller may still ask, Why, if the Author of nature is infinitely benevolent, why is the earth sterile? Why do siroccos blow? Why do angry oceans devour argosies, laden with the means of human comfort and human happiness? Why does the pestilence waste populous cities, and strike terror to the heart of a nation? Go to the field, which the rage of battle has strewed with carnage and drenched with human gore: go

Digitized by Google

to the lanes of crowded cities—the abodes of squalid wretchedness, the dark dens of misery and shame, from sight of which humanity revolts. Reconcile these with the wisdom of the Creator, and the benevolence of a present Ruler. Without the key which revelation furnishes, it has been, and we believe will forever be, impracticable. We are aware that in asserting this, we come in contact with seated opinion: we intend it. We would, if it were possible, shake from its base any opinion that is not throned in the truth. If one argues, from the evidence of design in created things, an intelligent designer, we agree with him. Thus far Natural Theology, so called, can carry it without contradiction. We may go farther, and from the manifest skill and inimitable contrivance and adaptation, we may argue a high degree of intelligence; we may even say, superhuman wisdom. We may repeat the observation till the mind is overwhelmed with the cumulative force of the argument, and yet we shall strike every now and then upon something which seems sadly out of joint, and the conclusion is forced to stop short of the end that is aimed at. In regard to the benevolence of the Designer, we are equally embarrassed. With all the display of bounty and goodness, there is a grand defect somewhere; and whatever we may be disposed to yield to the rhetorical force of the argument of multiplied probability, we are utterly unable to find, by its mere logical force, that this Author of nature is perfect, both in wisdom and benevolence, and of power also to accomplish his purposes. To reach this end, an element is wanting, which revelation alone supplies.

But there is, to our mind, a more satisfactory way to settle such a question, than to combat the arguments on their own ground, wherein you are often lost in abstrusities. The efforts of reason, we have said, are matter of history. She had the open field for repeated ages: the result of her labours is on record; and here, too, "The things that were written aforetime, were written for our learning." And if we seek an illustration from the annals of the past, where shall we find a better than from ancient Greece—the land of liberty, of learning, and of song?—the land where intellect was deified—was worshipped. It is well known that in the subtilties of abstraction, her philosophers ventured to depths which the world since has not professed to fathom, and in which they would probably have remained without a rival, had not Germany and the eighteenth century produced a KANT. And what, after all, did they compass? Their speculations were directed mainly to politics and religion: but, for the former, their states went to shipwreck in spite of them; and for the latter, they refined away the popular belief

Digitized by Google

utterly, hopelessly; and Christianity found Greece infidel to the heart's core.

But notwithstanding these general results, it may be asked, Did not those ancient philosophers make some real advancement in the science of divine things? Not any. Did they not add some ray to the twilight of their early knowledge? Not one. Did they not discover, or at least demonstrate more clearly, some truth calculated to elevate and purify the hearts of the people? Farthest from it. And it is time a better knowledge and the science of Christian faith had disabused us of this hoary error, so long sustained by false theories and a superficial view of the facts. Go back to the ancient masters, or to a reliable history of their efforts, and what do we find? Did Plato first discourse of virtue? Did Thales originate the idea of a cosmogony? Did Orpheus first sing of the gods, or Homer of heroes?

> "Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona multi,
> Non Hector—primus."

Surely for once, if never again, the Roman bard said sooth in this immortal strain. There were many brave before Agamemnon; many beautiful before Helen; many patriotic before Theseus; many faithful before Penelope; and, compared with the later philosophers, many wise in the wisdom which is from above, of whom no learned discussions are chronicled. But because these lacked a "sacred poet," or a still *more sacred* historian, the intervening glare of a torch-light fame which their successors have brought about themselves, has obscured the more distant ray of their genuine solar light.

But go back, we say, and what do we find? In the earliest periods to which the history of this nation ascends, we find the traditions of a primitive revelation in a tolerable state of preservation. Hesiod and the Orphic fragments, or from whatever uncertain source the ante-Homeric songs may have come, announce the fundamental truths of creation, of divine sovereignty, of eternal justice, and a righteous Judge, with the simplicity of well-assured belief, and as with the authority of inspiration. Here was the foundation of the national creed, which the labour of subsequent learning sought only to interpret, or to develop and enforce. With what success, take an example:—If it were so easy as our metaphysicians would claim, to show that matter must have been created by a self-existent being, why should not the ancient sages—masters of logic, and profoundly earnest in such inquiries—ever have discovered the method to do it? On the contrary, their labours tend only to obscure the original truth; their advance is retrograde; their light becomes darkness;

Digitized by Google

their wisdom, folly; or, in the expressive language of St. Paul, "They became vain (i. e., *silly*) in their imaginations, (or rather, *reasonings*, referring directly to these philosophic discussions,) and their foolish heart was darkened." The annunciation of such facts as those in the old fragments to which we have alluded, was not to them a poetic fiction; it was the embodiment of the ancient tradition; the inheritance of their faith, and came down to the age of the philosophers an integral part of the popular belief. This is evident from the fact, that when human reason set about to construct a universe, and to demonstrate what can be known, it began by denying so incomprehensible a fact as the *creation* of matter, and assumed the impossibility of such a work. The philosopher was hence thrown back upon the ground which is now pronounced absurd; namely, that matter in some form, developed or germinant, was uncreated and eternal. This was the issue of their highest efforts. They began in truth; they ended in error and confusion.

And this is a fair specimen of the progress of philosophy. Even on the fundamental questions of the existence of the gods and a human soul, we see them still tending to uncertainty.

"It must be so, Plato, thou reasonest well,

was beautifully said, and has deceived thousands into a false notion of the wisdom of the ancient sage; but the apt phraseology has done more for the fame of its author, than ever metaphysics did for the assurance of Plato in the doctrine of his own immortality. Follow him through his laboured arguments, and we find him ever, as if dissatisfied with all the rest, falling back upon the general consideration, which indeed was a favourite one of his, to wit: "The common opinion of the Hellenes and the Barbarians"—that is, the ancient and universal faith of the human race; which, rightly interpreted, is nothing more nor less than the traditions of that primitive revelation which was the common inheritance of the patriarchs and of the scattered tribes. Evidently, the human mind is so constituted, that once possessed of a notion of its own immortality, it could not easily lose it, nor forego the belief in it, unless where it is sunk into a state of ignorance and stupidity quite below the common level of even savage life; or where it has learned to doubt theoretically whatever it cannot demonstrate. And we cannot well forbear the remark, in passing, how vainly the divine Warburton and his disciples should admit the infidel objection, that Moses nowhere teaches the immortality of the soul, and assume to apologize for the Lawgiver and Prophet, by affirming that the world was

Digitized by Google

not yet ripe for the reception of such a doctrine. Rather, the world was not yet ripe for doubt. It is only when Reason has usurped the province of Faith, and begins to narrow down the universe to her impotent conclusions, that man begins to doubt a truth once revealed, and so instinctively felt, as that of the spiritual nature and immortal destiny of the soul. The faith that sustained him to the heavens, shorn of its strength, he drops plumb down to earth.

Reason may consist with faith, yet faith and reasoning are ever antagonistic. Faith is the evidence of things not seen; reasoning is systematized doubting, and demands the seen evidence. The provinces of the two are conterminous, but have nothing in common. And it is this intrusion of the one upon the other, against which we are called to protest. This deification of reason is rebellion against the divine economy; and the grand mission of Christianity is, to recall the world to faith. It is indeed matter of serious inquiry, whether it will not be found that every revealed truth, reason is totally incompetent, in any case, to demonstrate; and conversely, that whatever reason is capable of discovering, that Infinite Wisdom has not condescended to declare as a revelation. We submit the query.

But in opposition to the general view of this subject which we have taken, it will be asked, Is it not in accordance with common observation and common experience, that the study of the works of creation—the beauty and order of terrestrial objects, and especially the grandeur of "the old rolling heavens"—does, indeed, lead us to the idea of a Creator, a Ruler, a God? And, for confirmation, it will be repeated,—"An undevout astronomer is mad." It may be, that such is the constitution of the universe, and such the relation of its parts, that the emotions of beauty, of lofty admiration and wonder, which the contemplation of nature is calculated to inspire—emotions so nearly akin to worship—should suggest the idea of an object of worship worthy to be called a God. Though the strongest reasons could, we think, be urged against such a doctrine; and though we, as Christians, who have this *association* from the earliest dawn of thought, are certainly not competent to test the question, it may be admitted that such a thing is possible; and yet, all this is apart from the question we are considering, which is, of the mere logical value of such arguments as are addressed to the pure reason. This, if admitted, were rather the unspoken revelation of God to the inner soul.

But it will still be urged, that the authority of the Bible is against us. The Apostle is quoted as laying down, in his epistle to the Romans, the whole broad platform of our systems of Natural The-

Digitized by Google

ology. We ask attention to the passage. He is saying that the heathen "are without excuse," who live unrighteously, for that they are not left altogether without a knowledge of God: "Because that which may be known of God, is manifest to them; for *God hath showed it unto them.*" This does not say, that being in utter darkness they were capable of finding the truth themselves, and that they are *therefore* without excuse. *God hath showed.* How? It is not said here; but we know, from the history, how it was showed to Adam, and Noah, and the patriarchs; and since that time, God hath not left himself without a witness in every nation: "For the invisible things of him, from the creation of the world, are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead." Now, what is asserted in these words? The "invisible things of him," is defined by the subsequent terms, "eternal power and Godhead;" that is, a general notion of a Creator and Ruler, of superhuman, or, we may say, of infinite power. A very imperfect notion, certainly, of the Christian's God: but thus far a God, even to the Gentiles, in all their distant wanderings. And how? By the deductions of reason? Not at all. "From the creation of the world," is not to be understood as meaning from the *works* of creation, as a study; but is said of *time.* "Are clearly seen," cannot easily mean *has been discovered* by philosophy. The form of the verb indicates the continuative state of a fact. A proper knowledge of the Greek preposition and the Greek tenses, totally confounds the interpretation commonly given to these words. The phrase, "being understood," can quite as little refer to original discovery. The simple sense, then, of this passage, is, that this God who *showed* himself at the first, is, from the time of the creation of the world down, *still seen, still understood,* at least in the more obvious and majestic attributes of his character, *by the commemorative evidence* of these works of his hands. The fabric of the universe stands as the imperishable monument of his creative power; and *therefore* it is that they are without excuse; and further, are to be blamed, for that they blinded their eyes to these manifestations of his presence. "Because," the apostle continues, "*when they knew God,* they glorified him not as God, neither were thankful." There was a time, then, when they did know him. They began with knowledge; but what was the issue? "They *became vain* in their imaginations;" that is, in their reasonings and philosophic discussions they discoursed idly, inconsistently; "and their foolish heart was *darkened.*" At first they had light—the light of ancient tradition, of revelation orally preserved and sustained by monumental evidence—the *darkening* was a result of their ratiocinations.

Digitized by Google

"Professing themselves to be wise"—*philosophers* was the title these masters assumed—"they *became* fools." Behold a summary of the ancient schools of philosophy on these subjects of eternal interest, truthfully as it is concisely done! Behold the end of the highest efforts of human reason on the fairest field the world has ever offered! The grand conclusion is in another place given in a word by the same masterly hand; namely, that "the world by wisdom knew not God." And if we would see the practical consequences of this degeneration of doctrine, the remainder of this first chapter of the epistle to the Romans gives the revolting picture.

But Scripture is profitable for doctrine. When man has exhausted his philosophy, and reasoned himself into blank atheism, he has but to open this sacred volume, and in the very first sentence he reads, "In the beginning—GOD!" The grand problem is solved, that a child may understand. But the existence of a God is assumed, one may say. Not exactly that. There *is* a God, who *showed* himself, both in the beginning, and at divers times since: and the fact is recorded. We know it historically. To claim, therefore, the fact of the existence of a God, is no more an assumption on the part of the Bible, than the existence of such a man as Cicero, or such a city as Rome, is mere assumption by Plutarch. But it is not only on this highest question of human concern; on every inferior point of doctrine, Scripture is likewise profitable. When the philosopher has confounded his intellect about the origin of matter, and concludes at last it must be eternal, for that creation is impossible, he has but to read a word further in this book of divine instruction, and he learns that "In the beginning God *created* the heavens and the earth." Again, man puzzles himself about the mode of this creation—whether it be a generation, an emanation, or a phenomenon; whether it may not be that life is a dream, and matter an illusion. But when we read, "He spake, and it was done; he commanded, and it stood fast:"—"Of old hast thou laid the foundation of the earth, and the heavens are the work of thy hands;" and a great variety of similar passages, everything wears the expression of reality. The solid granite *is* substance, in spite of philosophy. Again he asks, How, from elemental matter, the earth rose into form, and received this variety of life and beauty; and how the heavens were adorned with all that gorgeous array of imagery and celestial splendours. Was it by virtue of some inherent properties of matter? Was it by the fortuitous concussion of infinitesimal atoms endued with motion and with instinctive likes and dislikes? Into such a limbo philosophy, so called, would plunge the world; but we read here again, that "The earth was without form, and void;

Digitized by Google

and darkness was on the face of the deep: and the *Spirit of* GOD *moved upon the waters*;" and gradually out of chaos came light, distinction, order; "the mountains rose, and the rivers flowed;" "the sun and the moon began their courses in the skies;" plants, animals, and man, successively appeared; and all this by the forming hand of a present God, whose care is over all his works; and without whose notice not even a sparrow falleth to the ground. But, it is asked, Is it not more rational to believe that, by the *laws of nature*, without any further concern of a God, these successive generations were developed, from the cryptogamies to the rose and the mountain oak; from the polyp to the elephant; from the frog through the monkey up to man? But the Bible represents the different orders of beings, as having distinct and separate origin by the fiat of the Almighty. It tells us that, instead of leaving the baboon to civilize himself into a man, by some inexplicable process of development and curtailment, He said, "Let us make man in *our* image and after *our* likeness;" not that of the ape. "And the LORD God formed man of the dust of the earth, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul." And further, as if to confound in advance these schools of man's wisdom, which insist that the different races of men must have sprung up from different soils, it is recorded that the command to this single pair which he had created, was, "Be fruitful, and multiply, and *fill the earth*;" and, by the mouth of the apostle, he declared the grand historic counterpart to this command, that he "*hath made of one blood* all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth." The fact is certain, because given on the authority of Omniscience. Philosophy, so far from being able to have discovered it, is unable to comprehend, and ready to reject it; and even now, men whom our country delights to honour for their learning, are endeavouring to force upon us their anti-scriptural conclusions for scientific theory.

We are lost again in confusion in our inquiries after the origin of evil. Are there two independent principles in nature, a good and a bad, which contributed to the production of the world? Is it that matter is essentially evil, and that spirit, in connexion with matter, necessarily partakes of its nature? Some such hypothesis is the best that philosophy can do for us; but we read here, that when the Creator had ended his works, he pronounced them *good*, and it was

> "*Man's first disobedience*, and the fruit
> Of that forbidden tree, whose mortal taste
> Brought death into the world and all our woe."

Is this God revengeful, and of like passions and frailties with man, as the heathen have imagined; or is he wise and good? Rea-

Digitized by Google

son has no answer to give; but in this book, where he proclaims his name, he says, "The LORD, the LORD God, merciful and gracious, long-suffering, and abundant in goodness and truth; keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity, and transgression, and sin; and that will by no means clear the guilty." And in another scene, the highest and purest ranks of created intelligences are shown as casting their crowns before him, and crying, "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty, which was, and is, and is to come;—thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory, and honour, and power!" The dark problem of man's destiny and hopes is, in the hands of philosophy, shrouded in still deeper gloom, and anxiously, often despairingly, he asks, "If a man die, shall he live again?" But now, "the Saviour, Jesus Christ, hath brought life and immortality to light through the gospel." We are assured that the God who styles himself the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, "is not the God of the dead, but of the living." We are told that the dead, small and great, shall stand before the judgment-seat of Christ, to be judged according to the deeds done in the body; and that the wicked "shall go away into *everlasting punishment*, but the righteous into *life eternal*." And so, if we go down through all the doctrines of practical life, the Scriptures are, in every sense of the word, *profitable*, and are the only source of reliable and authoritative instruction. In human teachings we are perplexed with uncertainties, and contradictions, and confusion. In the sacred page all is clear; all is plain to the simplest understanding; so that "he may run that readeth it;" and "the wayfaring men, though fools, shall not err therein."

This subject is, in its practical bearings, one of vital importance, because of the innate tendencies of the heart to turn from the divine to human wisdom. To this cause we are indebted for every calamitous error, and every grievous heresy that has afflicted the Church from the time of the apostles, and for every false theory for the "reconstruction of society" that has disgraced the world from the tower of Babel to the temple of Nauvoo, and every unchristian form of Socialism, from Paris to the Salt Lake. Nor is it in its general and historic aspect merely that it concerns us, but equally in our individual experience. For in so far as we neglect the study of the revealed word, and seek for doctrine in the conclusions of human reason, our views of divine things will be imperfect, defective, if not positively erroneous; and we shall find ourselves at the last cultivating a barren faith in philosophy, falsely so called. We subvert thereby the order of things; we magnify reason at the expense of revelation; we dishonour the mistress, that we may exalt the handmaid; we would dethrone God, that we might deify man

Digitized by Google

Then only do we "walk in the light," when we have a living faith in the inspired Scriptures as the *sole and sufficient* teacher in matters of doctrine. The want of this faith is the great want of the world. The neglect to cultivate it properly, is the great lack in all our systems of Christian education. It behooves us to take caution against this fatal error, before the allurements of rationalism shall have drawn us into the chilling shades of doubt and disbelief, where the soul feels not the warming and vivifying rays of evangelical Christianity. For, wander as we may through the mazes of speculation, we must come back at last with the humble and saving confession to the Son of God—"THOU hast the words of eternal life."

ART. III.—THE CHURCH AND ASIA.

A GLANCE at any Map of the World will show at once the vast extent of territory embraced in the grand division of the earth's surface called Asia. Including the adjacent islands, it stretches through eighty-eight degrees of latitude, and one hundred and sixty degrees of longitude. Its superficial area is about 17,500,000 square miles, or nearly as large as the Americas and Europe together.* Geographically, the Asiatic continent may be distributed under five divisions, whose boundaries are marked by prominent physical features.† 1. The central table-land, (Mongolia, Ili, Thibet.) It is situated near the centre of the continent, having for its bearers—north, the Great Altai; east, the Manchurian Mountains; south, the Himmaleh and Mountains of China; west, the Belur-tag, the Elburz and the Persian Mountains. 2. The Northern Slope, (Siberia,) extending northward from the central table-land, and comprising the northern portion of the continent. 3. The Eastern Slope, (Manchuria and Corea.) 4. The Western Slope, (Persian Empire, Turkestan, Caucasian Provinces, and Asiatic Turkey.) 5. The Southern Slope, (China Proper, Farther India, Hindostan, Southern shore of the Persian Empire, and Arabia.)

The population of Asia is immense. It is startling to read the estimates of reliable authorities on the subject. Including the islands which belong geographically to it, the sum of the population, as given in a recent work, is 655,643,300.† Making from this statement a liberal deduction, on the ground of its being, as the writer remarks, only "an approximation to the truth," still what myriads

* Book of the World, vol. ii, p. 417.
† M'Culloch's Geog. Dict., art. Asia, p. 172.

Digitized by Google

remain. More than one-half of the human race are now living beneath the sun of Asia! This population, according to Dr. Prichard,* is composed of seven races, or families: 1. The Syro-Arabian; including the Syrians, now nearly extinct; the Homerites, in Arabia, of whom little is known; the Arabs; and the Jews found in the northern parts of India, in the interior of Malabar, in Cochin-China, China and Tartary. 2. Caucasian nations; divided into, Western, comprising Circassians and Abassians; Middle, comprising several tribes; Eastern, seven tribes; and Southern, consisting of Imeretians, Mingrelians, Soani, and Lazians. 3. Arians; embracing the Hindoos, with the Siah-Pôsh, and the natives of Kashmír, shown by their languages to belong to the Hindoo race; the Persians, or Tájiks, "who inhabit not only the towns of Persia, but of Transoxiana, and all the countries subject to the Uzbek Tartars;" the Afghans, Baluchi and Brahúi, Kurds, Nestorians, who speak the Syrian language, Armenians, and Ossotines. 4. The Great Nomadic races; the Ugorian, or Ugrian, comprising Finns and Lappes, Tschudes, Ugrians Vogouls of the Uralian Mountains, and the Ostiaks on the Obi; the Turkish, comprising the Ouigers, or Eastern Turks, whose history has been elucidated by Abel Remusat; and the Seljúki and Osmanli Turks, known to European historians; the Mongolian, Mongoles Kalmuks, Bouriæts, &c.; the Tungusian, in China, called Manchus; the Bhotiyn, who inhabit Thibet. 5. The Ichthyophagi, or Fishing Tribes; the Namolles, Tschuk-tschi, and Koriaks, Kamtschatkans, Yakugers, Samoiedes, and Ainos or Kurilians. 6. Chinese and Indo-Chinese; the former embracing the Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans; the latter, the nations of Farther India and adjacent islands, comprising, (*a*) Aborigines: Tchampans, Cambojans, and Peguans; (*b*) More civilized: Anamese, Burmese, Siamese, and the Laos, or Lia; (*c*) Indo-Malayan. 7. Aborigines of India; the Cinghalese, embracing all the inhabitants of Ceylon who do not belong to the Tamulian race; the Tamulian, who inhabit the northern portion of Ceylon and the southern part of the Deccan, including also the people of Tulavi on the west, the Karnatas in the interior, and the Telingas on the eastern side of the Deccan; the Parbatiya,† or Mountaineers, the Bhils, the Khulis, the Ramusis, the Waralis, and the Katodis, are the most celebrated tribes in the north-western parts of the Deccan; in the more central and western parts are the Gonds, the Pulindas, the Khonds, the Sours, and the Yanadu-Yati; in the southern portions are the Thodaurs, Buddagurs, Curumbars, and Kathars; also the Cohatars, who occupy the

* Natural Hist. of Man, pp. 140–256.

† Natural Hist. of Man, Appendix, pp. 567, 568.

Digitized by Google

summits of the hills; lastly, a great number of petty, barbarous tribes, between the Indian and Indo-Chinese Peninsulas; as the Ahams, Garros, Cachars, Cossyahs, Manipurs, Miris, Abors, Kangtis, and Nagis, or Kukis.

The distribution of this population is worthy of remark. In the Northern Slope the proportion of inhabitants to the area is in the ratio of 1 to a square mile; in the Central Table-land and Eastern Slope, it is 10; in the Western Slope, it ranges from 6 to 63, the minimum occurring in Beloochistan, and the maximum in the plains of Armenia; in the Southern Slope it varies from 3, occurring in the Malay States, to 370 in China Proper, while in the Danish colony in Hindostan, it rises to 416.*

The religions of Asia are, Brahmanism, (in Hindostan,) Budhism, (in Farther India, China Proper, Central Table-land, Eastern Slope, and eastern part of the Northern Slope,) Confucianism and Rationalism, (China Proper,) Sinto, (Japan,) Shamanism, (Siberia,) Fetichists, the Sikhs, Parsees, &c., Jewish and corrupt forms of Christianity. The Brahmins number 100,000,000; Budhists, 260,000,000; Mohammedans, 155,825,000; Confucians and Rationalists, 67,000,000; sect of Sinto, 25,000,000; Fetichists, 50,000; Shamans, 50,000,000; Sikhs, Parsees, &c., 5,000,000; Jews, 800,000; Christian sects, 2,005,000.†

For our present purposes, the languages of Asia may be arranged in four great families: 1. The Indo-European, sometimes termed Indo-Germanic, frequently Japetic, and by late writers, Arian, or Iranian; comprising the languages of Hindostan, Persian Empire, Turkestan, and the Caucasian Provinces. 2. Syro-Arabian, often termed the Semitic; embracing the languages of Arabia, Syria, Asia-Minor, and of the aborigines of Palestine. 3. Languages of the Central Table-land, Eastern and Northern Slopes, called Turanian, and by Dr. Prichard, Ugro-Tartarian. 4. The Monosyllabic and uninflected languages, as the Chinese and Indo-Chinese.‡ The precise number of languages and dialects spoken in Asia, it is at present impossible to determine. What we have written, however, in reference to the population of Asia, suggests that it must be almost infinite. In Hindostan, it is stated there are *thirty* distinct languages.§ In Farther India, a great number of languages and dialects prevail; the same remark applies to the nations of the Central Table-land, Eastern and Northern Slopes; while in Western Asia, we find many dialects of the Arabic, Persian, Syrian, and

* Book of the World, vol. ii, p. 417. † Book of the World, vol. ii, p. 697.

‡ Edinburgh Review, No. 178, art. Ethnology: republished in the Eclectic Magazine, New-York, vol. xvi, p. 55. § M'Culloch's Geog. Dict., art. Hindostan.

Digitized by Google

Caucasian languages. In China there are three great dialects, from which branch off innumerable varieties of pronunciation.*

We come now to notice the present openings and encouragements, difficulties and wants of Asia, as a mission field.

The assertion would to many seem like mockery, were we to declare that the whole of Asia is now open to the Church. And yet how nearly would such a statement be sustained by facts. We are assured, that were the Church now filled with the spirit of the early Christians, the statement would be true in its fullest extent. But let us examine the point. Starting from the Bosphorus, Asiatic Turkey, Persia, Hindostan, Ceylon, and other islands of the Indian Archipelago, Farther India, Loo-Choo, and the consular ports of China, have already been occupied by the Church. Arabia, if we except Aden, is without a mission-station; but the only difficulties, so far as the country is concerned, are its deserts and the roving character of its tribes. We know of nothing else, either in its people or governments, to intimidate the Church in her efforts for its evangelization. Within the Central Table-land and Eastern Slope, no mission has been established; and yet we are not aware of any really formidable difficulty in the way of so desirable a movement. In Siberia, promising missions were commenced some years since; but the last one was given up in 1840: the reasons assigned being, the opposition of the Russo-Greek Church and the unsettled habits of the people.† We feel satisfied, however, that vigorous efforts to send the gospel to this the greatest plain in the world, would be eminently successful. Japan is the only country presenting really formidable difficulties to the Church; and even there light is dawning. The Loo-Choo Islands are intimately connected with Japan, and there a missionary has been labouring for several years. We understand, too, that the "Naval Missionary Society" is about to reinforce the mission in Loo-Choo. China exerts a powerful influence over the people and government of that insular empire; and at Hong Kong and the consular ports, large missions are in active operation. Large fleets of American and English whaling-vessels are constantly floating in her seas, and looking in upon her shores. At this time the United States East India squadron is about sailing from China to Japan, in the hope of forming with its government a treaty of friendship and commerce.

The population of those countries to which the Church now has access, is more than 550,000,000;‡ while that of the countries in which there are no missions, is only a little over 65,000,000. Again,

* Middle Kingdom, vol. i, p. 88. † Miss. Guide-Book, pp. 98–104.
‡ See Book of the World, vol. ii, p. 417.

Digitized by Google

the positions now occupied by the Church, are the salient points of the continent. From Western Asia the gospel will pass easily; southward, to Arabia; east, to Afghanistan and Beloochistan; north, to Turkestan; and onward to the western Steppes of Siberia. The stations in Hindostan command that vast peninsula; so with the stations in Farther India; while, from China, the way is direct and open to the Mongol tribes of the Table-land, the Tungusians of the Eastern Slope, and northward to the southern and eastern portions of the great northern Plain.

We observe further, that in some of these countries the profession of Christianity exposes the native convert to no legalized persecution; in others it is shielded by the laws of the land; while in none are the converts subjected to trials greater than those endured by the primitive Christians. The work of conversion is going forward most cheeringly. In Asiatic Turkey, Persia, Hindostan, Ceylon, Burmah, Siam, and China, native Christian congregations have been gathered; and churches for the worship of God, rise where once stood the gorgeous temples of heathenism.

From these facts we feel prepared to say, first, that the Church has no warrant or justification in withholding from the work of evangelizing Asia, the least moiety of her resources on the ground that the country is not open; and, secondly, that for the full and efficient operation of all the resources of the Church, Asia is open.

The existence of ancient, though corrupt forms of Christianity, in many parts of Asia, is a promising indication in reference to our subject. The Maronites occupy the steeps of Lebanon; the Jacobites reside in Syria, and near the Tigris; the Armenians, in Turkey and Persia; the Nestorians are scattered over Armenia, Mesopotamia, parts of Persia and India; the Greek Church extends through the districts of Aleppo, Damascus, and Jerusalem; while the Russo-Greek Church is established throughout the towns and military posts of Siberia.* Were the Spirit now poured upon these Churches, what a light would rise on Asia! This blessed work has, indeed, commenced. Among the Armenians and Nestorians, in connexion with the missions of the American Board, a glorious awakening is going forward. The work will, doubtless, advance until all these sects, scattered as they are from Jerusalem to Okhotsk, shall awake to a new spiritual life.

The profound peace now reigning throughout the eastern continent, is highly favourable to the spread of Christianity. The fierce nomadic tribes of the Central Table-land, no longer pour from their mountain-fastnesses to scourge the nations. The Mongols, "whose

* Miss. Guide-Book, pp. 71–78.

Digitized by Google

rapid conquests," says Gibbon, "may be compared with the primitive convulsions of nature which have agitated and altered the surface of the globe," now quietly pitch their tents near the sources of the Amour, the Hoang-Ho, and the Indus, or beneath the shadows of the Altai and the Thean-Shang. The Manchus rest in their upland home, or on the rich plains of China, from the peril and glory of conquest. No Nadir Shah, or Hyder-Ali, leads on his fiery hosts to the shock of battle and the sack of cities. All is quiet. Man, weary of conflicts, seems waiting for the response of an Oracle, higher, purer, more authoritative, than those of earth."

Those conversant with Asia have not failed to recognise, in the effete character of its superstitions, an auspicious omen for the gospel. We are far from believing that heathenism has lost all its power over the mind of Asia. Magnificent temples, glittering pagodas, and pompous ceremonies, mark its sway. The systems, however, have grown old. Brahmanism still rules in Hindostan; but the vigour of its manhood is now yielding to the decrepitude of age. Budhism, with its "vain repetitions" and senseless mummeries, still exerts a wide influence; but progress has ceased, and its energies are expended in maintaining its present position. Confucianism does not even profess to meet the great moral wants of man. There are in it dignified formalism and heartless scepticism, but no salvation from sin. Even the precepts of the Koran have ceased to goad on to wild battling the hearts of the faithful. We note, too, the absence of any rising religious sect, the novelty of whose doctrines might engross public attention, and the reckless zeal of whose votaries might fill the continent with the tramp of hostile legions and the clash of arms. There exist everywhere in Asia the choicest materials for the wily priest, or daring chieftain. That upon such a field no impostor is permitted to enter, while toward its thronging hosts the hearts of Christians now strongly turn, seems to indicate that its long night of heathenism is about to yield to the light of the gospel.

The recent improvements in ocean navigation and the surprising growth of commerce, tending, as they do, to unite and socialize the nations of the earth, furnish a strong incentive to the Church. Powerful steamers have brought the farthest coast of Asia within a few weeks of Europe and America. The same line connects the whole southern sea-board of Asia, from Suez to Shanghai. A branch unites Bombay and Australia: and from present indications we infer that, in a very few years, United States steamers will bring Asia and the Pacific coast of North America within a few days of each other. The intercourse, commercial and otherwise, between Chris-

Digitized by Google

tendom and Asia, is annually increasing. Merchants of every civilized nation receive their richest argosies from these seas. The statistics of trade show with what spirit and success the enterprise of western nations is directed to the east; and the boundless resources of the Orient indicate that to this enterprise no limits can, at present, be prescribed. Christian science receives, through travellers and others, large and valuable contributions from Asia. Its animal, mineral, and vegetable kingdoms, attract the attention of the world; and the ancient ruins, recently discovered on its plains, are elucidating Bible history. The Dutch and Spanish possess valuable islands near its southern coast. European colonies stud its border from Aden to Hong Kong. Within the limits of Hindostan, the Danes, Portuguese, and French have colonial possessions; while the empire of British India covers an area of more than 1,000,000 square miles, and contains a population of 120,000,000.*

The events of the last half-century, are full of encouragement. The Church has made rapid advances in spirituality; the missionary spirit has largely revived, and the success with which missionary operations have been crowned, is most gratifying. The frequent and stunning blows which the Papal power has received, indicate that the fall of Antichrist is at hand. The political aspect of the world at the present time, is deeply interesting. The Ottoman power, so terrible in story, is now moulded and directed by the sentiments of Christian nations; and the dominions of the Porte, forming as they do the connecting bond between Christendom and pagan countries, owe, in a great measure, their continued existence to European diplomacy.† On the possessions of Protestant England the sun never sets, and her language now girdles the globe. The Pacific coast of North America, almost within hail of Asia, is gathering on its soil people out of every nation under heaven. Observe, too, the present social condition of Europe. What mean those frequent and violent upheavings of society in those old kingdoms? The signs of the times indicate, we think, the approach of some great event. To many Christians they proclaim that "the heathen and the uttermost parts of the earth," as promised in the covenant of redemption, are soon to be given to the Son for his inheritance and possession.

We need scarcely remind the Church that she must grapple with difficulties in her efforts for the evangelization of Asia. The first we shall notice, is suggested by what we have already written

* Book of the World, vol. ii, p. 417.

† Dr. Durbin's Observations in the East, vol. i, p. 343.

Digitized by Google

in reference to its territory and population. To occupy so vast a field, to preach the gospel to such multitudes, is a work requiring the largest resources. In comparison with it, how sink the proudest achievements of earth! With those who regard only the human instrumentality employed, the magnitude of the result contemplated may stamp the present missionary efforts of the Church with enthusiasm, or something worse. We have no wish to conceal, in the slightest degree, the greatness of the enterprise. Let it go out before the world; let it possess the mind of every Christian that the Church is now attempting the spiritual conquest of all Asia. Were the Church fully to apprehend her grand commission, and Christians brought to feel a personal responsibility in regard to it, the battle would be half-fought. We cannot doubt either the duty of the Church, in reference to Asia, or her ability to perform it. It is not the magnitude of the work, but the indifference of Christians, that constitutes the difficulty. Acting under her great Head, and armed with the might of the Spirit, the Church is not only invincible, but irresistible in the accomplishment of her sublime destiny. Assured of final triumph, and that every true effort goes to produce and make up the grand result, why should the magnitude of the enterprise intimidate Christians? The spirit is craven that shrinks from toil where duty leads the way; and the humility is false that would lower the aim, or weaken the faith of the Church in this stern conflict. We would have the grandeur of this enterprise fill every heart. Discuss it in every social circle; teach it in every Sunday-school; proclaim it from every pulpit; blazon it on every banner, till "the conquest of all Asia" becomes, to the gathering tribes of our Israel, at once the watchword and the talisman of victory.

The great number of languages and dialects spoken in Asia, presents another difficulty. Here, too, we wish the whole truth to be known. We would it were shouted from the heavens, that the varieties of human speech found in Asia baffle and defy the present classifications of science; but then, we would have another voice declare the number of sin-ruined, redeemed, immortal beings, by whom these languages and dialects are spoken. Let the two statements go together, and we have no fear as to the result. The one may amuse the sceptic, or sooth the conscience of the faithless Christian; but the other will enlist the active sympathies of the Church, as it has moved the compassion of God. But let us examine the point. Each variety of speech found in Asia, is the vernacular of thousands of our race. It is the medium for transmitting thought and feeling to distinct tribes or nations. The smallest of these clans would afford an ample field for the life-labours of scores

Digitized by Google

of missionaries. Thus, then, while there may be in Asia an almost infinite variety of languages and dialects, yet in the department to which each missionary goes, there is only one. We are aware that in the same locality, as in large cities, different dialects, and even languages, may exist; but we mean to say, that the ability to use any one of these forms of speech, will introduce scores of missionaries to an amount of population sufficient to engross their whole time and energies. It matters not, then, so far as the work of the Church is concerned, whether there are in Asia one or a thousand varieties of speech.

And then the gospel is self-propagating. It is the "grain of mustard-seed," which, when sown, becomes "the greatest of all herbs;" the "leaven," which, when "hid in three measures of meal," leavened the whole. The message of the missionary in Asia will be like the voice of the traveller among the heights of the Himmaleh, starting a thousand echoes; or like the banyan of its plains, from whose parent boughs there strike down innumerable tendrils which grow up into fresh trunks, from whose branches other tendrils will spring. The history of missions confirms the legitimate expectations of the Church on this subject. Wherever the gospel has been perseveringly preached, there have been raised up native helpers, through whom the word of life has come to multitudes beyond the direct influence of the missionary.

Still another difficulty exists. As the Church looks over Asia, she finds it wholly in the possession of the enemy. The crescent of the false prophet gleams from the Golden Horn to the Indus; from the Strait of Babelmandel, to the cold waters of the Baltic. The praises of Brahma are hymned throughout Hindostan. The tenets of Budhism are enshrined throughout Farther India, the Central Table-land, and Eastern Slope; while with Confucianism and Rationalism, they share the mind of China. In the Northern Plain, the number and intense mixture of religions present a very Babel of confusion. Each of these forms of heathenism commends itself to the depraved heart by flattering its pride or gratifying its passions. The fierce Arab, the dreamy Turk, the treacherous Persian, and the wild Afghan, alike sanctify their crimes by the teachings of the Koran. The Hindoo finds both the apology and example for his vices in the mythology of his race; while to the proud Chinese, what so grateful as the stoical apothegms of Confucius, or the rationalistic paradoxes of Leau-Tsz? Heathenism is strongly intrenched throughout Asia. Its origin dates far back in the marvellous past. The legends of its gods form the first history of these nations. Its teachings are lisped by the infant, studied by the

Digitized by Google

aspiring youth, sung in the fiery rhapsodies of the poet, embodied in the loftiest conceptions of the philosopher, and imaged forth in the gorgeous trappings of state-pageantry. But for even this foe, there is a conqueror. The vaunting heathenism of Asia shall quail and perish before that gospel in whose presence have crumbled the temples of Greece and Rome, the Druidical altars of Britain, and the savage idols of the South Seas.

The climate of Asia presents no difficulty sufficient to intimidate the Church. Meteorological statistics establish its general salubrity. Some have supposed that the roving habits of many of the Asiatic tribes form an impassable barrier to their evangelization. That it is a difficulty, we admit; but that it is insurmountable, we wholly deny. Well-directed, persevering efforts will reach and influence the Bedouin of Arabia, or the Mongol of the high table-land. And then, when will the climate change? or when, under heathen influences, will these tribes cease to wander? *Never!* Their character, in this respect, is as fixed as the foundations of their mountain ranges, and the climate as changeless as the heavens that beam down on their plains. Government jealousy and restrictions, in certain parts of Asia, seem to stand in the way of the Church. We have already noticed this subject in the course of this article, and have stated the general result. It is a "vain thing" that "the kings of the earth set themselves, and the rulers take counsel together, against the Lord and against his Anointed .... *He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh; the Lord shall have them in derision.*"

It is difficult to apprehend the moral condition, and appreciate the *wants* of the Asiatic nations. The glowing narratives of early travellers, the speculations of modern infidels, and the oriental imagery interwoven with the strains of our best poets, have, in a degree, preoccupied and intoxicated the public mind. Oriental literature has been with many writers the object of the most fulsome admiration. Its philosophy and poetry have been lauded in the most rapturous terms; and its systems of chronology have been thought at once to contradict and overthrow the teachings of the Bible. The time for such rhapsodizing is passing away. The recent researches of oriental scholars are correcting existing errors on the subject. The marvellous character and vaunting pretensions of eastern literature vanish like the mirage of the desert, leaving to the weary student only barren sands and scorching heat. "The Chinese literature," says Abel-Remusat, "is, incontestably, the first in Asia, in respect of the number, the importance, and the authenticity of its monuments."* And yet authentic Chinese history dates

* Book of the World, vol. ii, p. 588.

Digitized by Google

back no farther than about B. C. 1000.* Sir John Davis remarks, that "the Chinese set no value on abstract science, apart from some obvious and immediate end of utility;" and he justly compares the actual state of the sciences among them with their condition in Europe previous to the adoption of the inductive mode of investigation.† "Perhaps," says Dr. Williams, "the rapid advances made by Europeans, during the last two centuries, in the investigation of nature in all her departments and powers, have made us somewhat impatient of such a parade of nonsense as Chinese books exhibit." ..... "In addition to the general inferiority of Chinese mind to European, in genius and imagination, it has moreover been hampered by a language the most tedious and meagre of all tongues, and wearied with a literature abounding in tiresome repetitions and unsatisfactory theories. Under these conditions, science, either mathematical, physical, or natural, has made few advances, and is now making none."‡ The Indian and Chinese systems of chronology, which far antedate the systems based on the Pentateuch, are now exploded; henceforth to be classed with the fabulous records of the Aztecs, or the grandiloquent antiquarian legends of the kings of Timbuctoo.§

The social condition, too, of these nations has been strangely misunderstood. Many who sympathize not with Christianity, have drawn enchanting pictures of their primitive simplicity and innocence; while thousands of Christians, though discrediting such statements, have suffered themselves to be lulled into most culpable apathy in reference to them. For full information on this point, we must refer our readers to the works already named in this article, and to others of a similar character; we can only notice a few features of the dark picture. As to physical comforts, the wealthy few enjoy a barbaric profusion, while the great masses struggle with poverty and suffering in their most terrible forms. Those born to titles and honours, have the advantages of a rude, unsatisfactory education, while the people are consigned to hopeless ignorance. The family institution, as it exists and blesses society in Christian lands, is here unknown. Woman is incarcerated in the harem, doomed to a seclusion scarcely less cruel in her domestic relations; or, despite her gentler nature, driven forth to the streets and fields, "hewers of wood and drawers of water"—the burden-bearers of nations. Crimes and vices, which in Christian society skulk in dark-

* Davis's History of China, (Harper's edition,) vol. i, p. 164.

† History of China, vol. ii, p. 252. ‡ Middle Kingdom, vol. ii, p. 145.

§ Book of the World, vol. ii, p. 492. Hist. British India, vol. ii, pp. 208–212. Middle Kingdom, vol. ii, pp. 193–210.

Digitized by Google

ness and secrecy, here stalk abroad, with gaudy blandishments, at noonday. Among the *religious duties* of the Hindoo, are *begging*, *pilgrimages*, *penance* and *self-torture*, *suicide*, the *suttee*, and *infanticide*.* What a catalogue! And this, too, in India! "The worship and services paid to the Hindoo deities," says a late writer, "are, generally speaking, irrational, unmeaning, and often immoral. They include no provision for instructing the people in the duties of life, or even in what is supposed to be divine truth."†

For the evils existing in society, heathenism furnishes no remedy. Its borrowed truth is paralyzed by the corruption in which it lies imbedded. The experiment has been tried for centuries, and has wholly failed. Such must ever be the result. Heathenism knows not the truth, shuns it, hates it, is in itself profoundly false—a stupendous lie. But heathenism has not simply failed to cure existing evils; it has ruined souls, for multitude like the stars of heaven. For thousands of years, the successive generations of Asia have trusted in it for eternal life; and it has given them eternal death. Theorize as we may, there still remains the overwhelming truth, that these countless hosts are passing from the gloom and despair of heathenism to the deeper gloom and fiercer despair of hell.

From the recent reports of the various societies sustaining missions in Asia, we ascertain that the number of Protestant missionaries labouring within its limits, is about six hundred. Distributing these among the entire population, we have one missionary to a population of one million ninety-four thousand four hundred and five. Omitting the Japanese empire, and all of China Proper, except the consular ports, we have one missionary to a population of four hundred and forty-six thousand and seventy-two. Finally, counting the population of only those countries in which the Church now has missions, we have one missionary to a population of three hundred and thirty-eight thousand eight hundred and thirty-eight. In Arabia, with a population of ten millions, there is only one missionary, (at Aden.) From the Sea of Aral, across the table-lands of Asia to Japan, a sweep of more than three thousand miles, with a population, including Japan, of about eighty millions, not a Protestant missionary can be found. In the Northern Plain, comprising a population of nearly four millions, there is no Protestant missionary. So with Afghanistan and Beloochistan; while in China Proper, with a population (exclusive of the consular ports) of more than three hundred and fifty millions, there has never been a Protestant mission established.

* Hist. Brit. India, vol. ii, pp. 228–233. † Hist. Brit. India, vol. ii, p. 228.

Digitized by Google

No part of Asia has presented such favourable openings to the Church, or has received so many missionaries, as India; and yet observe what a dearth of labourers even there. From Madras, southward, along the sea-board, for one hundred and fifty miles, there is only one missionary. At Combaconum, "a city of pagodas," there are only two missionaries. In the great city of Tanjore, there is only one missionary. At Seringham, where there is the largest heathen temple in the world, there is no missionary. At Manargoody, "where there are one hundred and fifty thousand idolaters, and where the heathen population appear to spread out endlessly," there is one missionary. "In the Presidency of Bengal I entered one province, with a million of inhabitants, and asked, Who is the missionary here? There was none at all. In another, with two millions of people, I asked, Who is the missionary here? None at all. I went to another, and another, and another, containing equal numbers of people, and found no missionary at all. In the Province of Oude, containing three millions of inhabitants, there is no missionary. In the fertile Province of Rohulcund, where there is a population of four millions, I asked, Who is the missionary here? Never was there a missionary at all. And yet India is well-nigh evangelized! The thing to me is most shocking and monstrous."*

We have now noticed the points proposed in the present article. With such a field before her, is it a time for the Church to indulge in enervating sloth and pampering luxury; or to amuse herself with feats of intellectual gladiatorship? If God's word is not a lie, if the present signs of the times are not the illusions of the magician, if the piercing wail of more than one-half of the human race lying in the darkness and wretchedness of heathenism, has not lost its power to move the heart, *then* has the time come when, in reference to the evangelization of Asia, the Church is called upon for *action*—instant, comprehensive, persevering *action*. No one pretends to think that the Church is doing her whole duty in regard to the heathen world. The Churches connected with the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, contribute annually *seventy-four cents* per member for the missionary cause; the Methodist Episcopal Church contributes annually for the same object, about *sixteen cents* per member. Are Christians really in earnest, when they profess to aim at the spiritual conquest of the world? The plea of inability on the part of the Church cannot be sustained. Witness her costly altars and magnificent structures for the worship of God, the splendid mansions and gorgeous equipages of the fol-

* Dr. Duff's speech at the Anniversary of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, Exeter Hall, London, 1851.

Digitized by Google

lowers of the despised Nazarene! *Inability!* Rise! ye spirits whom voluptuousness, baptized with Christian names, has hurried to untimely graves. Appear! ye souls, whom the gilded vices of Christian society have consigned to the bitter pains of eternal death! It will not do for the Church to plead poverty in justification of her fearful dereliction on this subject. At this moment there is sufficient superfluous wealth in the American Churches alone to place a copy of the Bible in the hand of every human being in Asia; to plant and sustain a missionary in every hamlet, and scores of them in every city of the continent. It is high time for the Church to gird herself for the accomplishment of her grand commission. We cannot more appropriately close this paper, than with the language of a living author, from whose eloquent pen may we hope to receive further contributions to the cause of missions? Referring to the calling of the Methodist Episcopal Church in reference to the heathen world, he proceeds: "Our zeal should look forward to the time when the Methodist itinerant shall traverse the wilds of Africa and the deserts of Tartary; and shout for joy along the Andes and the Himmaleh. But this is enthusiasm—yes, it is; yet it does not transcend the power or the promise of God. It is the enthusiasm that inflamed the prophets, and bled on the cross; and it must yet thrill through the Church before it will put on its full energy. Heretofore it has moved by occasional impulses. Ever and anon a glory as of the latter day has dawned upon it, but been followed by darkness; but now good men are looking at the signs of the moral heavens with new eagerness and hope. In all lands great and effectual doors are opening. New means of spiritual warfare are constantly arising. A special providence seems to control the course of civil events.... The idea is becoming general in the Church, that the morning of the latter day is approaching—that the final battle is at hand. In these circumstances, how stands Methodism—one of the largest corps of the evangelical host; disciplined and hardy by a century of conflicts, possessing energies unequalled by any other sect, and lacking only a more definite conception of its true capability to enable it to send trembling among the powers of darkness?"* We commend this momentous question to the prayerful consideration of every Methodist.

* Church Polity, (by Rev. Abel Stevens, A. M.,) p. 205.

Digitized by Google

Art. IV.—THE NEW FRAGMENTS OF HYPERIDES.

(MODIFIED FROM THE GERMAN OF SCHÄFER.)

ΥΠΕΡΙΔΗΣ ΚΑΤΑ ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ. *The Oration of Hyperides against Demosthenes*, respecting the treasure of Harpalus. The Fragments of the Greek Text, now first edited from the Facsimile of the MS. discovered at Egyptian Thebes in 1847; together with other Fragments of the same Oration cited in ancient writers. With a preliminary dissertation and notes, and a Facsimile of a portion of the MS. By Churchill Babington, M. A., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. J. W. Parker. London. 1850.

Of the more celebrated orators of Athenian antiquity, none have experienced so adverse a destiny as Hyperides. Whilst orations by all the others, who are designated in the famous Alexandrian Canon as The Ten, have been preserved to the present era,—even those of Lycurgus, which in the ninth century Photius endeavoured vainly to procure,—every expectation of recovering a manuscript of Hyperides has hitherto proved idle. By a similar mischance in the dissertations of Dionysius of Halicarnassus upon the ancient rhetors, it is exactly that part, where he would have treated of Hyperides, which has not been transmitted to our hands. Such a loss was felt to be the more unfortunate, from the fact that Hyperides was ranked in art second only to Demosthenes, and next to him was esteemed the most influential leader of the anti-Macedonian party in Athens. Highly gratifying, therefore, was the announcement, that Mr. A. C. Harris, of Alexandria, had obtained possession in Egypt of a papyrus (unfortunately broken) which apparently contained a speech of this great orator against Demosthenes. The first intelligence of the discovery of the MS. was communicated to the Royal Society of Literature in London, (January 13, 1848,) and has since been published in their Transactions, (Vol. III.) "When inquiring at Thebes last winter for Tahidic fragments," says Mr. Harris, "some broken Greek papyri were shown to me for sale, and I purchased them. One of them is remarkable, and will prove to be of great interest to the lovers of classical literature." In the course of the same year Mr. Harris published a facsimile of the fragments in eleven lithograph plates under the title, "Fragments of an Oration against Demosthenes respecting the money of Harpalus." In his Preface, dated London, Aug. 1, 1848, the editor writes as follows: "The following Fragments of a papyrus were bought by me from a dealer in antiquities at Thebes of Upper Egypt in the spring of 1847. They *seem* to form part of the Oration delivered

Digitized by Google

by Hyperides in accusation of Demosthenes respecting the treasure of Harpalus. . . . . In a visit to Thebes during the spring of the present year, I used my best endeavours to ascertain the spot from which these MSS. were taken by the Arab excavators, but without success. The Oration is written upon papyrus of a better sort." At the first information of the discovery in the Minutes of the proceedings of the Royal Society of Literature for 1847–8, a conjecture is expressed that the roll of papyrus was found in the tombs, and had been buried there with a mummy. "This MS. is unique among the contents of the tombs of Thebes. At first sight it would seem that, so far from expecting to find remains of classical literature in such a place, we ought to be astonished that some inexplicable accident should have enabled us to make this addition to our store; but when we reflect on the numbers of rhetoricians, philosophers, and literary men, who used to flock from Greece as well as from Rome to the banks of the Nile, and notice a practice that prevailed in that country of burying writings with the dead, our wonder ceases, and we begin to entertain legitimate hopes, that the discovery of this Oration may be followed by that of portions, at least, of many of the lost works of antiquity." This expectation has been subsequently realized by some further discoveries of Mr. Harris, who has recovered from the tombs several books of the Iliad, and a grammatical writing of the Alexandrian Tryphon.* The original Hyperidean MS., as

* In the London Literary Gazette, No. 1794, June 7, 1851, we find a notice, among other rare objects of antiquity lately exhibited at a *conversazione* of the Royal Society held at Lord Londesborough's, of a large and beautiful Greek manuscript. Mr. Arden, its owner, when travelling in Upper Egypt, some four or five years ago, bought a papyrus-roll of an Arab near the ruins of Thebes, and described as having been found in an ancient tomb of that city. This roll has been recently unfolded with care, pasted upon paper, framed and glazed. It is nearly four yards in length, divided into pages or columns containing twenty-eight lines, the length of which exceeds six inches, and the breadth two inches. The whole is written in a large and clear hand with singular accuracy, since few corrections or interpolations are perceptible. Although it is difficult to assign a precise date to the MS., there still seems every reason to believe that it is as old as the beginning of the Christian era, or indeed, which is by no means improbable, that it was written a century or two B. C. The delicacy of the texture of the papyrus affords a strong presumption in favour of the last-named period; for it is well known to Egyptologists, that coarseness and inferiority in this particular are indications of a considerably later time. The first portion of the MS. is much broken, and presents many gaps and mutilations. The close is entitled, *An Apology* or *Defence of Lykophron*. The second portion is much larger and more perfect, showing only here and there an hiatus, which will probably be easily restored. At its termination, we are informed that it is a *Defence of the Accusation of Euxenippos against Polyeuktos*. The author of these orations will, in all likelihood, prove to be the great Athenian orator, Hyperides,

Digitized by Google

Mr. Babington informs us, (p. xvi,) is now in London, having been committed to the care of Messrs. Ranking, the eminent bankers in St. Helen's Court, Bishopsgate-street. No fresh inspection of its contents could, however, be obtained, since it was found, upon making application, that Mr. Harris had taken the key of the box, in which it is preserved, to Alexandria. Nevertheless the facsimile, which has not yet, as it seems, found its way to the booksellers, is so carefully and beautifully executed that any important advantage from a re-examination of the papyrus can scarcely be anticipated.

The treatment of these relics, thus literally rescued from the tomb, and forming no inconsiderable portion of the principal accusation upon which the greatest of orators was convicted of bribery, and banished from his country, has been undertaken by three scholars, independently of each other. Böckh first published a memoir upon them in the Halle Litterarische Zeitung, October, 1848, Nr. 223–227, which has been brought out in a separate pamphlet, now before us, under the title of "Newly-discovered Fragments from the Orations of Hyperides:" Halle, 1848, (pp. 48.) About the same time M. Hermann Sauppe, without having seen a syllable of Böckh's dissertation, had nearly completed the deciphering and restoration of the Fragments. The results of his investigations were given to the world in Schneidewin's Philologus, 3. Jahrg., 1848, Heft 4, S. 610–658. The same scholar published in April, 1849, a second recension in the Epilogus to his Oratores Attici, P. II, pp. 347–353, in which he makes, of course, befitting reference to the treatise of his predecessor. Lastly, Mr. Babington has addressed himself to the same task in the work now under examination, without any knowledge of the labours of his German competitors. In his preliminary dissertation (p. xxiv, Note,) he remarks that he did not receive intelligence that Böckh had written upon the Fragments

whose works have been long lost to the world. Indeed, this appears to be almost certain, inasmuch as some of the Greek lexicographers mention a speech of Hyperides for Lykophron, and another by the same orator "against Polyeuktos concerning the accusation." But who Lykophron was, and what was the nature of the defence for him, remain to be more amply detailed. The subject of the second oration appears, however, to be known,—for Polyeuktos was accused with Demosthenes of receiving a bribe from Harpalus. Moreover, the Hyperidean MS., discovered at Thebes by Mr. Harris, is so exceedingly similar, both in the quality of the papyrus and the character of the handwriting, that it is not improbable they may have been copied by the same Greek scribe, and may originally have formed one entire MS. roll of the Orations of Hyperides. Let us have a facsimile. The fragments preserved in ancient lexicographers and grammarians from the Oration of Hyperides *ὑπὲρ Λυκόφρονος* (*πρὸς Λυκοῦργον,*) as also those from the Oration *πρὸς Πολύευκτον* (*τὸν Κυδαντίδην,*) have been collected by Sauppe in his Oratores Attici, pp. 295, 299.

Digitized by Google

in the Halle Litt. Ztg., until the whole of his book was in the hands of the printer, and almost every sheet struck off, and that he was even then altogether uninformed as to the nature of the paper or the views of Böckh, from not having access to a copy of the Journal abovenamed. This last statement is surprising, inasmuch as Mr. Babington's edition did not make its appearance before the public until the spring of 1850, the Preface being dated December 20, 1849. Nevertheless a mere glance into his book is sufficient to show that in its preparation he was quite unacquainted with the treatise of his predecessor.

To estimate correctly the value of these different attempts to arrange and restore the Fragments in question, it is first of all necessary to take the MS. into examination. Mr. Babington has presented us with two lithograph engravings, copied from Mr. Harris's Facsimile, the first of the alphabet and other noticeable peculiarities in chirography, etc., the second of a larger Fragment (xvi, see pp. 4, 7.) The manuscript, which in its original form was one roll of papyrus, is written in columns, each containing on a fluctuating average from 27 to 29 lines. One page or column (the first of Fragm. iv) has 30 lines, whilst those in the immediately adjacent Fragment have only 28 still remaining, although it is evident that another line was written when the MS. was perfect. The number of letters in a line are generally fifteen or sixteen, but here again we observe considerable variation. Thus, for example, in Fragm. iv^{b}, xiv^{c}, i^{b}, there are but thirteen letters, whilst, on the other hand, in xv^{a} we find nineteen, and in ii^{b} eighteen, the last letters of the line in such cases being written in smaller characters. Words are frequently broken off, but never, as Böckh alone has remarked, except at the end of a syllable. The break is sometimes indicated by a mark, not unlike the algebraic symbol >, which is placed indifferently at the end of a word, e. g. *ἐπανορθῶν* > and *κρίνας* >, or in the middle, e. g. *νό*>*μων*. Consonants that are pronounced with the following syllable, are always drawn over to the latter, more especially in compound words, e. g. Fr. xvi^{b}, 25 *ἀ-νοισθησόμενα*, 27 *ἀ-πεκρίνατο*, i^{a}, 12 *ἐ-*[*ξα*]*πατηθῆναι*, xxi, 2 [*ψηφί*]*σματα*; a solitary exception occurring in iv^{c}, 4 *προδεδανεισ-μένος*. The same thing happens as a general rule in the elision of vowels: Fr. xix, xxii, 11 *ἀλ-λ' ὄντινα*, xiv^{b}, 23 *ὑ-φ' ὑμῶν*, xxi, 3 *κα-θ' ἕ*, xvii, 19 *κα-τ' ἐμοῦ*; yet we also find xi^{b}, 1 *ὥστ'-αὐτός*, and ix, 8 *τοῦθ'-ἡμῖν*. There is occasionally no division between the words; in some instances they are apparently kept distinct, but in others their terminal letters are closely united with the commencement of the next succeeding word. No stops, breathings or accents occur anywhere in the MS., no marks of diæresis, apostrophe or crasis, no capital letters

Digitized by Google

or contractions, with the exception of a curious stroke, which is frequently found to the left below the line, in which a new member of the sentence commences. These points are discussed by Sauppe (Philologus, l. c.), and still more fully by Mr. Babington in his preliminary dissertation. As to other peculiarities in the orthography of the copyist, it may be noticed that he seems to insert or omit at pleasure the Iota mute, often placing it also where it does not properly belong, e. g. *οὕτωι*, *πλείωι*. Again, the *ν ἐφελκυστικόν* stands frequently before consonants, e. g. v^{b}, 10 *ἦκεν φέρων*, xviii, 10 *ἔδωκεν φυλάττειν*, xxiii, 22 *ἔπαθεν τὸ παιδίον*; but is erased in *εἰλήφασιν πρός* xxix, 26. For other details of a similar kind we refer the reader to the editors. Böckh has spoken of them summarily; but more precise and copious information is furnished by the introductory essay of Mr. Babington, and also by Sauppe, in the Philologus, l. c. The writing of the papyrus, somewhat resembling the Alexandrian cursive-writing in the Codex Cottonianus and Codex Alexandrinus of the Greek Bible, has been compared by Messrs. Böckh and Sauppe with that of the papyrus containing the twenty-four books of the Iliad, found by Bankes at Elephantine, and with that of Letronne's MS., in which Th. Bergk has recognised fragments from the works of Chrysippos. The forms of the letters *μ*, *ξ*, *σ*, *τ*, *υ*, *ψ*, *ω* approximate closely to those in the Codex Bankesianus, and the same disposition to unite letters together is perceptible in both these papyri. Since Letronne's MS. was written one hundred and fifty years before the Christian era, Sauppe with great probability assigns to our Fragments a date at all events not later than the first half of the second century before Christ. Mr. Babington investigates this question at considerable length (pp. xix–xxiv,) but without arriving at any very definite result. He observes that if we judge from the form of the characters alone, it seems that the MS. may be almost as old as the third century B. C., and is probably not later than the third century A. D., but inclines most to the opinion of his learned English friends, amongst whom he particularly mentions Mr. Sharpe, which attributes the papyrus to the age of the Ptolemies. One thing is certain—it is as late as the age in which *ἀφείλατο* was in use, because this unattic form has been detected and corrected. On the inference deducible from this circumstance Mr. Babington, after quoting the instructive note of Lobeck on Phrynichus, p. 183, remarks that "putting the Septuagint out of sight, both on account of the uncertain dates of its several parts, and also in consequence of the corrupt condition of its text, it appears that this form (*ἀφείλατο*) is not so early as the time of Demosthenes (and therefore of Hyperides, whose present

Digitized by Google

Oration was delivered B. C. 324,) but that it may, perhaps, be as old as Polybius, who was exiled B. C. 167. That it is at least as ancient as the Christian era, appears pretty certain." Mr. Bonomi has drawn attention to the superior quality of the papyrus, as affording a presumption in favour of the high antiquity of the MS., inasmuch as those Egyptian papyri which are most carefully made are invariably the oldest.

That these Fragments formed part of an Oration of Hyperides (Ὑπερείδης, see F. G. Kiessling Lycurgi Fragm., p. 153, Sauppe Orat. Att. 2, p. 175) *κατὰ Δημοσθένους* is shown by the citations of the old lexicographers. Of the ten fragments collected from their writings by Sauppe in the Oratores Attici 2, p. 290, fg., three are found again in our papyrus (107, 108, 109,) and, in especial, the phrase *καὶ καθήμενος κάτω ὑπὸ τῇ κατατομῇ*, which Harpokration, who probably lived at least as early as the fourth century of our era, quotes in his Lexicon (s. v. *κατατομή*) from Ὑπερείδης *κατὰ Δημοσθένους*, is found word for word in our sixteenth Fragment. "Further, Harpokration remarks that the word *ἐπιστάτης* is used in the same Oration of one that is *ἐφεστηκὼς πράγματι ὀτῳοῦν*. In Fragm. iv Demosthenes is called *ἐπιστάτης τῶν ὅλων πραγμάτων*. Again, Harpokration, Photius and Suidas tell us that Nicanor is mentioned in the speech of Hyperides against Demosthenes, and that this Nicanor is Nicanor the Stagirite. The name Nicanor does occur in our fifth Fragment, and it is certain from Diodoros that he is the Stagirite." Other quotations of the ancient grammarians and lexicographers can be readily referred to what is here preserved. In our Fragments we also find the confirmation of Plutarch's statements in the fifteenth chapter of his Life of Demosthenes. A restoration (in which Sauppe and Babington both concur) in iii[a], 13, (17) *ἐπὶ γήρω[ς οὐδῷ]* is supported by Pollux, who notes (Fragm. 285) that the expression is used by Hyperides, although he does not mention the title of the Oration. The testimony of Pollux has been overlooked by Mr. Babington.

Unfortunately the Fragments are very defective, and abound in gaps and mutilations. Even the introduction of the Oration is lost; important passages are manifestly wanting in the middle, and the epilogue is also incomplete. No single column is entirely free from injury, nor can it be ascertained how many of them stood in juxtaposition. The breadth of the margin separating the columns is usually a little less than an inch, and there is likewise a broader margin above and below the pages, the former of which when perfect was 2½ inches or a trifle more, the lower at least 3¼ inches in width. It is from this upper and lower border that the place which the

Digitized by Google

Fragment occupied in the column may be recognised. With respect to the distribution of the Fragments, Mr. Harris, in his Facsimile, has suffered them to follow each other without any kind of classification or arrangement. External and internal evidence has led the editors to abandon this course. Three of the Fragments (ix, xiii, xvii) evidently form no part of the Oration against Demosthenes; whilst others that stand widely apart in the work of Mr. Harris are seen by their contents to be closely interconnected, or are still more directly united with each other. The latter circumstance has been detected by Böckh only in Fragm. xv and iii, the last of which undoubtedly continues and terminates the sentence broken off in the former at the close of the second column. In this particular Sauppe has been far more fortunate. He discovered that Fr. xvi[a] forms the lower portion of the page beginning at Fr. vii[a], and that by supplying a few missing letters the uniting link of the separated parts is exhibited in Fr. xv[b]. Further, he found in Fr. xxii the detached right-hand side of the lines preserved in larger proportion in Fragm. xix, and in the letters contained in Fragm. xxvii a mutilated or torn off portion of Fr. xxvi. Again, he has seen that Fr. xiv, consisting of the lower parts of three columns, dovetails accurately with the upper part of Fr. viii; and, lastly, he has joined Fr. xii, which contains the lower lines of two columns, with the third and fourth columns of Fr. vi. To this last restoration he was guided by the sense, it being impossible to procure external proof on account of the lacuna still remaining in the middle of the page. Certain letters also that are wanting in Fr. xiii were detected in Fr. xxviii. In this way Sauppe has succeeded in restoring to their true position detached parts which Böckh pronounces worthless, brought others into their proper connexion, and thereby laid a much more secure foundation for the arrangement and restoration of the Fragments. Finally, under this head, Mr. Babington has in a few cases struck into the right path, but in others wandered widely astray. With his predecessors, he has perceived that Fr. iii coheres with xv, and agrees with Sauppe in conjecturing that the columns of Fr. xii are the lower parts of the third and fourth columns of Fr. vi. On the other hand, he has assigned Fr. viii and xiv, which Böckh compared on account of the similarity of their contents, and Sauppe has brought into direct combination, to two different parts of the Oration. It is still more astonishing that he perceived but half the truth in reference to Fragments xvi[a] and vii[a]. With Böckh he recognises from the nature of the argument a mutual connexion, and discovers in vii the upper portion of the lower columns in xvi, but then arranges

Digitized by Google

them as follows: xvi[a], vii[a], xvi[b], vii[b], whereas their true relation is precisely the reverse. In proof of the accuracy of the course pursued by Sauppe we exhibit the passage, in which vii[b], xxv[b], xvi[b] dovetail with each other:—

VII[b], l. 10.—Ἅρπαλο[ν δὲ] Δὴ ἀποδεῖξαι τὰ [χρή]-Μ[ι]ατα ὁπόσα ἐστίν· Οὐχ ὅ|πως πύθο[ιτο] Τὸν ἀρ|ιθμὸν || αὐτῶν xvi[b],

l. 15.—Ὡς ἔ|οικεν, ὁπόσα ἦν, Ἀλλ' ἵνα εἰδῇ, ἀφ' ὅσων Αὐτον δεῖ τὸν μισ[θὸ]ν. Πράττεσθαι κ. τ. ἑ.

The letters on the left of the simple perpendicular stroke are found in xxv[b], and αὐτῶν after the double perpendicular stroke forms the commencement of xvi[b]. The letters enclosed in brackets show Sauppe's restorations.

From what has now been said it is clearly evident that the most important contributions to the restoration of our Fragments have been made by Sauppe, and we shall consequently follow his arrangement, appending in brackets the figures of Mr. Harris. That every portion of the text is restored to its true and proper position is not claimed by Sauppe, and without further evidence cannot, perhaps, be satisfactorily proved, inasmuch as the connexion of thought in oratorical composition has confessedly great freedom. In the restitution of what is missing the German editors are frequently unanimous; in numerous instances Böckh has seen the truth, and Sauppe has accordingly altered his second recension, whilst in other passages the last-named scholar has best supplied the hiatus. Frequently, as is self-evident, a certain restoration cannot possibly be produced, and hence a fair opportunity is given to the ingenuity and conjectures of the learned. Both editors have parted off the lines in exact correspondence with the MS., so that the extent and contour of detached portions may be accurately seen; in the Oratores Attici this mode of printing has been necessarily abandoned. While Messrs. Böckh and Sauppe have in this matter confined themselves to what was absolutely necessary, Mr. Babington has pursued a style of publication which involves a far more extravagant sacrifice of money and space. He gives first in types, which were cast for Kipling's edition of the Codex Bezæ and for the most part resemble the characters of our MS., the individual columns, and adjoins thereto, in red ink, his conjectural restorations of the letters that are either missing altogether, or whose relics are utterly illegible. Whatever was found "scarcely legible" in the papyrus from mutilation or obscure writing, and could not, therefore, be deciphered with entire certainty, is distinguished by being printed in a smaller

Digitized by Google

character. Thus the reader is enabled to see with great facility what has been preserved with tolerable distinctness in each column; what letters are injured or ill-formed; and likewise those which are supplied entirely from conjecture. It is to be regretted that of the marks employed by the original scribe, only the above-mentioned interlinear stroke has been reproduced. Below every column the Greek text is then printed in ordinary type, with accents, breathings, and stops, in continuous lines; here the restorations and conjectures of the editor are not distinguished from the traditionary writing. If we now compare his text with that of his predecessors, we shall discover proof of careful reading, from which, however, no very important advantage has accrued, since in this respect their omissions are still fewer than his own. Isolated words, and even parts of words, are sought to be restored, which they, as we believe, with sounder judgment, have left untouched. Many of his restorations coincide with theirs, but in other cases differ more or less widely, and when this happens Mr. Babington appears to us to have hit the truth in scarcely a single instance. He is not so completely master of the language as to perform with confidence and trustworthiness a task so difficult as the treatment of such Fragments undoubtedly is. How difficult it is to restore the words of the orator in lacunæ, such as those of which our MS. is full, we will show by a striking example. That Fragments xix and xxii combine immediately with each other, was seen by Sauppe, who in their subsequent adjustment had for this reason only a few letters to subjoin. The boundary or limit of the two Fragments is pointed out by a vertical stroke. Messrs. Böckh and Babington have attempted to supply what they found wanting in Fr. xix. Hence result the following variations:—

Babington (p. 15): XIX.	Böckh (p. 31): XIX.	Sauppe: XIX and XXII.
		6 . . . . .
	λ[α]	ν . . . . .
λεπ. ν καὶ α . . .	λέγ[ω]ν καὶ αἰτ[ιώμε-	λέγ[ω]ν καὶ αἰτιώμε-
νος, ὅτι Ἀλεξάν[δρῳ	νος, ὅτι Ἀλεξάν[δρῳ	νος, ὅτι Ἀλεξάν[δρῳ
χαριζομένη [ἡ βου-	χαριζομένη [ἡ βου-	χαριζομένη |ἡ βου-
λὴ ἀνε[λ]εῖν αὐ[τὸν οὐ	λὴ ἀν[ει]πεῖν αὐ[τὸν	λὴ ἀνε[λ]εῖν αὐ|τὸν
βούλεται, ὡς το[ῦτο	βούλεται, ὥσπ[ερ μὴ	βούλεται, ὥσπ|ερ οὐ
πάντας ὑμᾶς ε[ἰδό-	πάντας ὑμᾶς ε[ἰδό-	πάντας ὑμᾶς ε|ἰδό-
τας ὅτι οὐδ' εἰ ὐ[έλοιτε	τας ὅτι οὐδεὶς [τὸν	τας, ὅτι οὐδεὶς |τὸν
τοιοῦτον ἀν[δριάντα	τοιοῦτον ἀν[δρα οἷός τ'	τοιοῦτον ἀν[αι]ρεῖ, ὃν
ἔστιν πριάσθ[αι οὐδ' ἄλ-	ἔστιν πριάσθ[αι εἰ ἄλ-	ἔστιν πριάσθ|αι, ἀλ-
λον τινὰ μηχ[ανᾶσ-	λον τινὰ μὴ [πεῖ-	λ' ὄντινα μή|τε πεῖ-
θαι ἔστιν μη	σαι ἐστὶν μη[δὲ	σαι ἔστιν μή|τε [χρ]ή-
. . . . ἀ[ν διαφθε[ιρ	[χρυσίῳ] διαφθε[ῖραι.	μασιν] διαφθε|ῖραι.

Digitized by Google

In this passage Hyperides rebuts the assertion of Demosthenes, that the Areopagos had instituted proceedings against him for the purpose of gratifying Alexander: *No man makes away with one who is of such a character that he can be bought* (like Demosthenes,) *but him who can neither be won over by persuasion, nor seduced by money.* Böckh erred by assuming that "Demosthenes, as it seems, had accused the council of being willing to adjudge a mark of honour, probably the public proclamation of a crown at the Dionysia, to some man only at the instance of Alexander, or with a view to court his favour; this man Hyperides takes under his protection." Mr. Babington, it will be seen, pursues a very singular course. He supposes that the orator is here treating of the removal of a statue of Alexander, to the erection of which at Athens Demosthenes is represented by Hyperides as favourable, but nevertheless confesses that the letters which he reads so differently from his competitors are exceedingly obscure.—We subjoin a second Fragment (viii^a,) in order to demonstrate how greatly Mr. Babington has been distanced by his fellow-labourers. Sauppe has restored the close by combining it with xiv^a:—

Sauppe.	Böckh (p. 22):	Babington (p. 22):
ο]ὐ [γ]ά[ρ ἐσ]τιν ὁμ[ο]ίως	*ο]ὐ [γ]ά[ρ] ἐστιν ὁμοίως*	*. . ἐστιν ὁμοίως*
δεινό]ν, εἴ τις ἐλα-	*ἀδικ]ον εἴ τις ἐλα-*	*· . . ν εἴ τις ἐλα-*
βεν], ἀλλ' εἰ δθεν μὴ	*βεν], ἀλλ' εἰ δθεν μὴ*	*βεν]· ἀλλ' εἰ δθεν μὴ*
δεῖ, ο]ὐδ[έ] γ' ὁμοί[ω]ς [ἀ-	*ἐξῆν]· οὐ]δ[έ] γ' ὁμοί[ω]ς*	*. . . . ὁμοίως*
δικ]οῦ[σι]ν οἱ ἰδιῶται	*ἀδικο]ῦ[σι]ν οἱ ἰδιῶται*	*δφειλ]ουσιν οἱ ἰδιῶται*
λαβ]όντ[ες] τὸ χρυσίον	*λαμβάν]οντ[ε]ς τὸ χρυσίον*	*λαβ]όντ[ε]ς τὸ χρυσίον*
καὶ οἱ] ῥήτορες καὶ οἱ	*καὶ οἱ] ῥήτο[ρ]ες καὶ οἱ*	*καὶ οἱ] ῥήτορες καὶ οἱ [στ-*
στρατη]γοί· διὰ τί; ὅτι τοῖς	*στρατη]γοί. διὰ τί; ὅτι τοῖς*	*ρατ]ηγοί. διὰ τί; ὅτι τοῖς*
μὲν ἰδ]ιώταις Ἁρπα-	*μὲν ἰδ]ιώταις Ἁρπα-*	*τε ἰ]διώταις Ἁρπα-*
λος ἔδω]κεν φ[υ]‖λάτ- xiv^a	*λος ἔνε]κεν φ[ιλίας*	*λος ὡς ἔοι]κεν φ[έρει*
τειν τ]ὸ [χρ]υσίο‖ν, οἱ δὲ	*ἐδίδ]ο[υ χ]ρυσίο[ν] . .*	*τ]ὸ [χ]ρυσίο[ν] . . .*
‖στρατ]η[γοὶ] καὶ οἱ ῥήτο-		
ρες ἀ[λλ]ων ἕνεκα		
ἔχουσ]ιν· οἱ δὲ νο-		
μοι] . . εν ἀδικοῦ-		

Here again, so far as the restoration depends simply on conjecture, Sauppe and Böckh concur even down to points of comparatively little moment. We will not reproach Mr. Babington with the circumstance of his not having discovered what presented itself naturally and unsought, but with having introduced the superfluous τε, the meaningless ὡς ἔοικεν, and the inadmissible present (*φέρει.*) If further proof is needed that he is not so skilled in Greek expression as to be competent to essay with certain hand the restoration of our Fragments, we adduce from Fr. i^a (8), 21 δι' ὅ,τι, where *διὰ τί* is

Digitized by Google

necessary, *ἐπικεφάλαιον*, for which *ἐπὶ κεφαλαίου* must indisputably be read, and from i[b] (9), 16 *ἀλλὰ σὴ ἀπόνοι[α, ὦ Δημό]σθενες, ὑπ[ὸ τὸν ἀ]γῶνα δ[ικαζόμενον] νῦν προ[κι]νδυν[εύει] εἰ καὶ προαναισχυ[ν]τεῖ*, where Sauppe has restored [*καὶ γὰρ ἡ*] *σὴ ἀπόνοι[α, ὦ Δημό]σθενες, ὑπ[ὲρ ἁπάντων] τῶν ἀδ[ι]κ[ού]ν[των] νῦν προ[κι]νδυν[εύ]ει καὶ προαναισχυντεῖ*. To compare more examples of the same kind would be a work of supererogation, and we will rather turn to the consideration of those passages in which Mr. Babington's conjectures deserve examination, or from whose discussion independently of this some advantage may be looked for. After our previous observations, it will probably require no justification that we henceforth avail ourselves of Sauppe's [S.] recension and arrangement. Even in the above-quoted Fragment 18, 13 (xiv[a]) in the words *οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ ῥήτορες ἄλλων ἕνεκα ἔχουσιν*, Sauppe points out the complementary addendum *ἄ[λλ]ων* as uncertain;—the expression is too vague and indefinite, nor does it apparently fill up the lacuna. So likewise the next line does not seem restored by *ἔχουσιν*; perhaps we should read *ἀ[δικημά]των ἕνεκα [εἰλήφασ]ιν*. Mr. Böckh [B.] has also read T (p. 19,) whilst Mr. Babington thinks that E may be recognised.—In 1, 10 (xxv[a]) Mr. S. has restored *ἐπε]ιδὴ γὰρ ἦλ[θεν ὦ ἄν]δρες δικα[σταὶ Ἀρπαλ]ος εἰς τὴν [Ἀττικὴν] καὶ οἱ πα-*. Here Mr. Babington [Bab.] supplies *πα||ρόντες*, as B. also had conjectured, and instead of Ἀττικήν writes *ἐκκλησίαν*. We believe these supplements correct, since the Fragments that stand in connexion with this passage treat of the popular assembly, at which Harpalos was present.—In restoring 2 and 3 (vii[b], xxv[b], xvi[b] and xvi[c]) important assistance is furnished by the fragment from Philochoros, which is preserved in the Lives of the Ten Orators, p. 846, b. That it is defective, and may be restored with the help of Photius, was first seen by Mr. S., and accordingly Dübner, in the Paris edition of Plutarch, and Westermann, in the Βιογράφοι, p. 285, have written: Βουλομένων τ' Ἀθηναίων Ἀντιπάτρῳ παραδοῦναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀντεῖπεν (ὁ Δημοσθένης), ἔγραψέ τ' ἀποθέσθαι τὰ χρήματα εἰς ἀκρόπολιν * μηδὲ τῷ δήμῳ τὸν ἀριθμὸν εἰπόντα· φήσαντος δ' Ἁρπάλου ἑπτακόσια [συγκατακομίσαι τάλαντα, τὰ ἀνενεχθέντα εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν εὑρέθη τριακόσια] καὶ πεντήκοντα ἢ ὀλίγῳ πλείονα, ὥς φησι Φιλόχορος. The MSS. exhibit *ἢ ὃ η*, and we consider this the true reading. *Μηδέ* is adopted by the editors from the text of Photius, but incorrectly, inasmuch as Harpalos must declare in the assembly the exact sum, and in fact does declare it, for the following words in the Lives of the Ten Orators: *αἰτίαν ἔσχεν ὁ Δημοσθένης δωροδοκίας καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μήτε τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἀνακομισθέντων μεμηνυκὼς μήτε τὴν τῶν φυλασσόντων ἀμέλειαν*, do not refer to the statement of the

Digitized by Google

amount which Harpalos had brought with him to Athens, but to the balance deposited in the Acropolis, whose precise sum Demosthenes had not declared to the people. In the first quotation, however, it appears to us that something has fallen away before *ἤδη*, as already pointed out in the Zeitschrift für die Alterthumswissenschaft, 1848, 33, S. 258. Messrs. B. and Bab. have adhered exclusively to Wyttenbach's text, and overlooked the entire lacuna,—an oversight that has not failed to re-act prejudicially upon their attempts to restore the Fragments of Hyperides. Mr. S. has taken the true course; we may, however, in 2, 10 express our preference for "Αρπαλον δ' ἤ δ η ἀποδεῖξαι instead of "Αρπαλον δ ὲ δ ὴ ἀπ.—In 3, 25 Messrs. B. and Bab. have concurrently written: *ἐν τῷ δή[μ]ῳ ἐ[πτα]κόσια φή[σ]ας εἶν[αι] τάλαντα νῦν τὰ ἡ[μι]σῆι ἀναφέρεις κα..*, which tallies exactly with the three hundred and fifty talents of Philochoros; the erroneous I (at the termination of *ἡμισῆ*) cannot excite our wonder, since it is also found, as previously mentioned, in other passages of our MS. Mr. S. reads *π* in lieu of *ἡ* (the difference between these two letters being scarcely perceptible in the original writing) and conjectures: *νῦν τὰ π[άντα] σῇ ἀναφέρεις κα[ταγραφῇ]* with the following explanation: *thou canst, according to thy reckoning, bring up to the Acropolis only such and such a sum.* But this sense could not have been expressed by the naked dative.—In 2, 22, Mr. Bab. reads *σιον τὸν χοφευτ[ὴν*, and would restore the hiatus by supplying *Χαρί]σιον.* Messrs. B. and S. edit only . . . *ον*, and judging from the Facsimile the *σι* cannot in fact be recognised with full certainty.—In 4, Messrs. B. and S. have both perceived that the last line of iv^{b} is continued in the first of iv^{c}, whilst, from not discovering this fact, Mr. Bab. assumes that a line has perished, and to restore the supposed lacuna has been betrayed into unnecessary and erroneous conjecture.—In 9, 10 (i^{b}) Mr. S. has proposed in the Philologus: *[καὶ γὰρ] οὐχ ὑπὲρ [εἴκοσι τα]λάντων δ[ικάζετε,] ἀλλ' [ὑ]πὲρ τ[ριακο]σίων, οὐδ' ὑ[πὲρ ἰδίων] ἀδικημ[άτων, ἀλλ' ὑ]πὲρ ἁπάντ[ων.]* For *τριακοσίων* Mr. Bab. substitutes *τετρακοσίων*, whilst B. decides against both these words. We think the first most likely to be true, inasmuch as three hundred and fifty talents, or something more, were really forthcoming from the original seven hundred, and in a summary statement of what was missing, the orator would probably select no other round number than three hundred. Further, Mr. Bab. has written *οὐδ' ὑ[πὲρ ἐνίων] ἀδικημ[άτων,]* in place of which Mr. B. edits *οὐδ' ὑ[πὲρ ἑνὸς] ἀδικήμ[ατος, ἀλλ' ὑ]πὲρ ἁπάντων.* The last seems to us the true reading, and we do not understand why Mr. S., whilst renouncing his earlier conjecture, should have written in the Orat. Att. ii, p. 349^{a}, 11 *οὐδ' ὑπὲρ ἑνὸς ἀδικημάτων.* Perhaps, how-

Digitized by Google

ever, it may be a mere typographical error.—18 (v^{a}), 12. Mr. S. with great probability fills up the gaps in the following manner: *κ[αὶ ὅτι χρήματα . . . . . δοθέντα ἐκ τῆς [διοικήσ]εως σαυτῷ [περι-π]οιησάμενος . . .* After *χρήματα* the MS. has *εις* (S. reads *ειο*,) which Messrs. B. and Bab. would have us combine with a form of *φέρειν* (*εἰςφέροις* B., *εἰςοίσεις* Bab.) We think that *εἰς [πόλεμον]*, or something similar, must originally have stood. For of an *εἰσφορά* there is no trace in this passage.—14, 1 (v^{b}). The MS. exhibits *πρὸς τ[ὴ]ν ἐλπίδα προσέ[πε]σεν ὥστε μηδένα προαισθέσθαι.* In the verb after the first *ε*, a *π* may at all events be distinguished. Mr. Bab. imagines that a trace of *η* may moreover be perceived before *σ*, and accordingly edits *προσεποίησεν*, which can hardly be correct; Messrs. B. and S. both concur in *προσέπεσεν.* As, however, an A is written above the I in *ἐλπίδα*, Mr. B. has concluded that *Ἑλλάδα* must have been the original writing. In our opinion this inference is correct, and the expression *πρὸς τὴν ἐλπίδα προσέπεσεν* entirely inadmissible, for "*altogether contrary to expectation*" would be *παρὰ τὴν ἐλπίδα*, not *πρὸς τὴν ἐλπίδα.*—15 (v^{c}). Mr. S. writes: *ταῦτα σὺ π[ερι-γρη]σ[αι τ]ῷ ψηφ[ίσματι, σ]υλλαβὼν τὸ[ν Ἅρπα]λον, καὶ τοὺς μὲ[ν μισ]θ[ωτοὺ]ς ἅπαντας [μετα]β[αλ]έσθαι πεπ[οίη]κας ὡς Ἀλέξαν-[δρον,] οὐκ ἔ[χ]οντας ἄλλ[ην] οὐδεμίαν ἀποσ[τρο]φήν, τοὺς δὲ [σατράπας,] οἱ αὐτοὶ ἂν ἤκ[ον ἀπιδόν]τες πρὸς ταύ[την τὴν] δύναμιν, ἔχοντε[ς] τὰ χρήματα καὶ τοὺ[ς] στρατιώτας, ὅσους ἕ[κα]στος αὐτῶν εἶχ[ε]ν, τούτους σύμπα[ν]τας οὐ μόνον κεκώλυκας ἀποστῆναι ἐκ[εί]νου τῇ συλλήψει τῇ Ἁρπάλου, ἀλλὰ καὶ . . . [ἕ]καστον . . .* The commencement is very happily restored; in the remainder of the passage the editors partially agree, but *σατράπας* and *ἀπιδόντες* are the convincing and satisfactory restorations of Mr. S. alone. For the first Mr. B. has *ἄλλους*, which, on account of the necessity for a sharply marked opposition, is too indefinite, and the same remark applies to *βαρβάρους*, the supplement of Mr. Bab. The words *τοὺς δὲ σατράπας* are preceded in the MS. by *τοὺς με[ν . . . . .]ς.* In this lacuna Mr. S. thinks the end of a Θ and the initial stroke of an Ω may be recognised at the beginning of the fourth line, whilst B. finds a X, and Bab. a Λ with traces of a second Λ. He has, therefore, edited *ἄ||λλους*, which is decidedly erroneous, because, as alleged in a former part of this paper, a line is never broken off in the middle of a syllable; and besides this objection, *ἄλλους* would be here again far too vague an expression. Mr. S. has written *μισ||θωτούς*; but it deserves consideration whether we ought not to entertain some doubt respecting the propriety of a conjectural restoration that involves such a division of the syllable, even though in Fragm. 5, 4 an exception is exhibited from the rule that is otherwise invariably followed. Mr. B. proposes

Digitized by Google

συμμάϸχους,—a word which gives apparently too many letters for the fourth, and too few for the fifth line, besides suggesting of necessity the question, what *σύμμαχοι* can be meant?—for at this epoch Athens was wholly destitute of allies. We imagine that [Ἑλ]||λ[ηνα]ς must be read,—a word which accords excellently with [πρε]σβεύεσθαι, as edited by B. and Bab., whilst S. conjectures [με]||[τα]β[αλ]έσθαι; in the fifth line a letter, perhaps, is wanting, and at the commencement of the sixth Mr. Bab. has read *βευεσθαι*, whilst Mr. B. could distinguish with certainty only *βε.εσθαι*. So we obtain the antithesis we need: *τοὺς μὲν Ἕλληνας ἅπαντας πρεσβεύεσθαι πεποίηκας ὡς Ἀλέξανδρον* ——, *τοὺς δὲ σατράπας οὐ μόνον κεκώλυκας ἀποστῆναι κ. τ. ἑ.* At the close of this Fragment instead of [ἕ]*καστον* a perfect (in opposition to *κεκώλυκας*) may have stood, as pointed out by Mr. Bab. —In 16, 19 (xv[a]) we must undoubtedly read and supply: [κ]*αὶ οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν· [οὐδ]ἑποτε γὰρ οἶμαι . . .ν αὐτῶν με . . . . εἰκότως φί[λους] τοὺς ἀπ' Εὐρίπου [κέκ]τηται.* What has been suggested for the purpose of filling up the subsequent larger hiatus (where from seven to nine letters have perished) is proved by external evidence to be wholly inadmissible.—17 (xv[b] and iii[a]). Hyperides is enlarging upon the disgrace which Demosthenes had incurred by giving occasion at such an advanced period of his life to a prosecution for bribery from the youths of the city. Here Mr. S. (in the Orat. Att. l. c.) has restored after Böckh the commencement as follows: [*εἶτ'*] *ο[ὐκ αἰσχύ]νει νυνὶ τηλικοῦτ[ος] ὢν ὑπὸ μειρακίων κρινόμενος περὶ δωροδοκίας*, agreeing in all essential points with Mr. Th. Bergk, who in the Zeitschr. f. d. Alterthumsw., 1849, S. 232, [b], first drew attention to the importance of this passage (compare iii[a], 3: *νῦν δὲ* —— *οἱ νέοι τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἑξήκοντα ἔτη σωφρονίζουσιν*) for fixing the year in which Demosthenes was born. See the dissertation on "Eubulos" in Schneidewin's Philologus, 5, 15. A few errors have crept into Mr. Sauppe's citations in illustration of this Fragment. In those to line 10, the reference must be to Deinarchos, 1, § 108, 110; and in the note on *ἐπὶ γήρως οὐδῷ* to Lycurgus against Leokr., § 40. This last expression has not escaped Mr. Bab. (who writes *ὀδῷ*,) but the remaining restorations, in which Messrs. B. and S. coincide, he has unfortunately missed.—20, 2 (viii[a]). Mr. S., following the track of Mr. Böckh, writes (in the Orat. Att., l. c.): *δι' ἄγνοιαν* [*ἢ δι' ὀλιγω*]*ρίαν*, but in this place Mr. Babington's *ἀπει*]*ρίαν* seems equally eligible. In the subsequent context [*καταῤῥή*]*τορευθείς*, as edited by Mr. S., is a capital restoration. [(To us it smacks rather of Plutarch or Lucian. Nor does its import seem sufficiently grave for the residue of the sentence. The Facsimile exhibits *κ . . . γορηθείς*, with *ευ* written above the *η*. The supplement of

Digitized by Google

Mr. S. gives too many letters at the close of the fourth line. For these reasons we prefer the reading of Bab.: *ὑπὸ τούτων κ[ατα]γορευθεὶς ἐν τῷ [δικα]στηρίῳ ἢ ἀπο[θανεῖ]ται ἢ ἐκ τῆς πατ[ρίδος] ἐκπεσεῖται αὐτ. . .)*]—22 (xi ^{b}), 2. Messrs. B. and Bab. have both recognised *τύχης*, and this is adopted by S. in his second recension. Is there in these words an allusion to the times of the Battle of Chæroneia? In the conclusion of the Fragment Mr. S. has written: *οὐ πάντα δι[καίως ἂν α]ὐτῷ ἡμεῖς [ὑπη]ρετοῖμεν καὶ [δὴ καὶ ἀ]πο[θ]νή[σ]κοιμ[ε]ν [ὑπὲρ α]ὐτοῦ* (*scil. τοῦ δήμου.*) [(So too Bab., with this exception that, following more closely the traces of the MS., which, at the commencement of the eleventh line, seems to furnish *ει δ . . . .*, he has edited: *καὶ, εἰ δ[έοι, ἀ]ποθνή[σ]κοιμεν* instead of *καὶ [δὴ καὶ ἀ]ποθνήσκοιμεν.*)] To the reception, also, of *δ[ικαίως ἄν,]* appropriate as it seems, some hesitation arises from the fact that a space of precisely the same extent with this hiatus in the following line is occupied by the letters *υπη* only, and Bab., therefore, writes: *δικαίως αὐτῷ ἡμεῖς ἂν ὑπηρετοῖμεν,*—a collocation of the words which is certainly admissible. Mr. B. has preferred *δίκαι' ἄν.* —24 (xi ^{d}). This Fragment is so exceedingly mutilated that little more can be made out than *στῆσαι εἰκό[να Ἀλεξάν]δρου βασιλ[έως . . .* The next line begins with ΚΗΤΗΣΘΕ, over which stands a correction represented by Mr. B. as *τη του*, and by Mr. S. as *τι του*, whilst Bab., who gives in plate 1 a Facsimile of the passage, supposes, but assuredly without reason, that it is a scholium, and cannot well have been any other word than *πρῶτον*. At all events *του* seems certain, and the first letter may also have been *η*. We, however, know just as little as the editors, how to deal with this lacuna. [(In the first line of this column . . . *ο τ* . . . . . ., and in the second *εβουλε* . . . . . can be distinctly recognised, and are in fact exhibited by Bab. Perhaps we may read: . . . *δτ[ε Δημοσθένης] ἐβούλε[το Ἀθήνῃσι] στῆσαι εἰκό[νας Ἀλεξάν]δρου βασιλ[έως καὶ Νί]κη[ς] τῆς θε[οῦ* . . . After the ΘΕ we imagine that the Facsimile exhibits distinct traces of an O, and it may probably be assumed that the correction (*ἢ τοῦ*) above the line refers to the combination of the masculine form *Θεο[ῦ]*, with the feminine of the article. On the acquiescence of Demosthenes in the proposition submitted by Alexander respecting his own apotheosis cf. Deinarch. against Demosthenes, c. 94: *λέγων ὡς οὐ δεῖ τὸν δῆμον ἀμφισβητεῖν τῶν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ τιμῶν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ*, with Mätzner's note, and on the statue of Alexander at Athens, Pausan. Attic., c. 9.)]—28 (vi ^{b}), 2. Mr. S. edits: *καὶ τὸ μὲν κατηγορεῖν ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ καὶ ἐξελέγχειν τοὺς εἰληφότας τὰ χρήματα καὶ δεδωροδοκηκότας κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος ἡ[μῖν] προ[ςήκει], ξέν[ους τε καὶ φίλους] κατη[γοροῦσι]· τὸ δ[ὲ . . . . . .*

Digitized by Google

ε]ἰληφότας . . . ἡ βουλή. These restorations cannot possibly be correct; for no guest-friends of Hyperides, or of the other accusers, were implicated in the matter, since the charge concerned Athenians alone, and throughout this Oration there is no recognition of Demosthenes as a friend of the speaker. In our judgment Mr. B. seems to have hit the truth, and with a few trifling alterations we would read: *ἡ[μῖν] προ[ξέταξεν [ἡ βουλὴ τοῖς] κατη[γόροις]· τὸ δ[ὲ κρίνειν τοὺς ε]ἰληφότας τὰ χρήματα κ. τ. ἐ.* Moreover, no other council can here be alluded to than that of the Areopagos, which is expressly named in the words immediately following.—The lacuna between vi ᵃ and xii ᵃ (29,) Mr. S. would from the sense restore as follows: *διόπερ δεῖ πάντας [ὑ]μ[ᾶς ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταὶ κολάσαι τοὺς μεταφέρειν ἐθέλοντας ἐκ τῆς πό]λεως.* We think this suggestion inadmissible, more especially on account of the words *εἰς τοὺς τάφους τοὺς τῶν προγόνων*, which, were it adopted, would stand in no intelligible relation with the preceding or subsequent context. Mr. B. has properly referred to Deinarch. against Demosth., § 109, ff., where our whole passage seems to be imitated, and has conjectured as the exordium: *διόπερ δεῖ πάντας ὑμᾶς —— ἀποβλέψαντας κ. τ. ἐ.*;—the first infinitive which depends on *δεῖ* being *τιμωρήσασθαι τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας.* In *ll.* 14, 15 (xii ᵃ, 1) *ἄλλην* is not completely preserved. Mr. B. thinks that *ἀλ[λὰ] καί* may be distinguished.—30 (xii ᵇ). At the close of this Fragment we believe that the sense requires: *οὕτω καὶ Δημοσθένης τι πρὸς [ὑμᾶς] κλαιήσει, [ἐξὸν αὐτῷ] μὴ λαμβάνειν.*

So far the Fragments before us may be confidently assigned to the Oration against Demosthenes. There still remain three passages which decidedly do not belong to it, and seven others (xx, xxiii, xxiv, xxix, xxx, xxxi, xxxii) with which nothing can be done, since they contain only single words or a few letters and flourishes; e. g., Fr. xx . . . . . N . . . ΠΑ . . . . Ο . . . Π . ., Fr. xxix, [π]ΕΠΟΜΦΕ. The three passages first alluded to (ix, xiii, xvii) are printed separately by all the editors. It is clear, as Böckh has most correctly explained, that ix and xiii form part of the exordium of a Defence against a public prosecution. The same scholar (as also Mr. S.) at first considered Fr. xvii as a portion of an Oration respecting an inheritance, but as a more attentive investigation convinced him that this is by no means a necessary supposition, he subsequently attempted to prove it, as suspected by Mr. Bab., part of the same Apology as ix and xiii. Sauppe has advanced conclusive reasons against this hypothesis in the Orat. Att. ii, 352 ᵇ, 22, Note. The editors, however, unanimously pronounce them Fragments from the Speeches of Hyperides.

Digitized by Google

To the illustration of these Fragments the commentary of Messrs. B. and S. has made important contributions. Mr. Babington confines himself principally to the quotation of parallel passages from the grammarians and other ancient writers, which he has taken diligent pains to collect, but with which he often intermingles much unnecessary matter, as e. g. in the note on 5, 5 (iv ^{c}), where he elucidates *θεωρικόν* by citing the well-known passage from Harpokration; and again in that on 20, 24 (xiv ^{c}), where the same author's enumeration of the three Gymnasia is in like manner brought forward in explanation of *Ἀκαδημίας*. We have noticed also several errors in interpretation, as e. g. in understanding *ὑπὸ τούτων* 20, 4 (viii ^{c}) to refer to the Areopagites, where the Sycophants, with whom Hyperides includes Demosthenes, are evidently meant. Sauppe has conferred a special service by his luminous treatment (in the Philologus, p. 647) of the question as to the importance of the disclosures made by these Fragments in reference to the personal characteristics of Hyperides, and the nature of the legal proceedings instituted respecting the Harpalian treasure, as also by his brief but comprehensive delineation of the course and circumstances of this singular prosecution. The result at which he arrives is that Demosthenes, through the combined action of the Macedonian faction and of those among their opponents who were for war with Alexander at any price, was implicated without any fault on his part in the trial referred to, and by its instrumentality overthrown. The party with whom he had acted, and to which Hyperides also belonged, could not forgive him for having restrained the Athenians from plunging for the sake of Harpalos into a contest that must necessarily have terminated in the total ruin of their city.

Upon one question Sauppe has only touched, and excused himself for the present from its more precise investigation,—we mean the relation of the Oration of Deinarchos to that of Hyperides. We hope that at a later period he will pursue further the intimations he has given. Important doubts have been already expressed against the Oration of Deinarchos abstractedly considered (cf. Westermann, Quæst. Demosth. 3, 118, ff.), and to these it may be added that it now appears to be a mere copy of the Oration before us. So at last respect will be paid to the judgment of the often unduly despised Demetrios of Magnesia (whom Bentley, Opusc., p. 372, calls *summum criticum atque historicum*) in the sentences preserved by Dionysius in his dissertation upon Deinarchos, c. 1: *καὶ νομίσειεν ἄν τις εὐήθεις εἶναι τοὺς ὑπολαβόντας τὸν λόγον τὸν κατὰ Δημοσθένους εἶναι τούτου· πολὺ γὰρ ἀπέχει τοῦ χαρακτῆρος· ἀλλ' ὅμως τοσοῦτον σκότος ἐπιπεπόλακεν, ὥστε τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους αὐτοῦ λόγους, σχεδὸν ὑπὲρ ἐξ-*

Digitized by Google

ἥκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ὄντας, ἀγνοεῖν συμβέβηκε, τὸν δὲ μὴ γραφέντα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μόνον ἐκείνου νομίζεσθαι. Before our Fragments were discovered, we entertained the opinion that the three Orations upon the trial of Harpalos, which are imputed to Deinarchos, were not actually delivered before the court, but were to be regarded as model speeches or scholastic performances, although we saw no reason for denying them to be the production of Deinarchos, especially since Dionysius (c. 10) enumerates them amongst his genuine compositions. Now, however, we no longer doubt that they are of later manufacture, and accelerated by their divulgation the loss of the genuine speeches of Deinarchos.

Art. V.—HENGSTENBERG ON THE PENTATEUCH.

Dissertations on the Genuineness of the Pentateuch. By E. W. Hengstenberg, D. D., Professor of Theology in the University of Berlin. Translated from the German, by J. E. Ryland. Edinburgh, 1847.

In the introduction to these volumes, Dr. Hengstenberg enters into a discussion of the *causes of the denial of the genuineness of the Pentateuch*, and gives us the views of some of the most eminent theologians and historians on the subject. He shows that it is not for the want of historical and traditional evidence that its genuineness is denied—nor for the absence of that kind of proof which leads the critic to acknowledge the genuineness of Herodotus, Thucydides, or Josephus—but that the consequence of its acknowledgment is the real cause of it. For if Moses wrote the Pentateuch, its last four books, at least, must contain matters of fact, real *miracles* and *prophecies*, which the Rationalists as much abhor as nature does a vacuum. Setting out with what is a mere *petitio principii*,—the impossibility, at least the violent improbability, of miracles and prophecies—they deny the genuineness of every writing which would establish them.* The Rationalists act in direct opposition to the rule laid down by Bacon, the father of experimental philosophy, that we are *first* to collect *facts*, and then form our theory.

Another cause of the denial of its genuineness, is a misapprehension of its spirit and doctrines. Wherever principles are inculcated

* We have a remarkable instance of this in Strauss, who, in the third edition of his Life of Jesus, seemed disposed to abandon his objections to the genuineness of the Gospel of John, but in the fourth edition resumed them again, principally, as he confesses, because "without them one could not escape from believing the miracles of Christ."

Digitized by Google

which are regarded as inconsistent with the divine character, the suspicion is started that they did not proceed from Moses. But where dogmatic prejudices do not exist, the genuineness of the Pentateuch is acknowledged; and it is pleasing to see the ablest historians, even in Germany, take the side of orthodoxy on this subject. Heeren,* John Von Müller, Wachler, Leo, Ranke, and Ideler, acknowledge it. So, it would seem, does Von Rotteck. Schlosser admits that the principal portions of the Pentateuch proceeded from Moses, and Luden thinks that the greater part of the Jewish history is evidently true.

The arguments in proof of its genuineness are so cogent, that some of the Rationalists themselves admit the Mosaic authorship of its principal portions. Eichhorn, in the first edition of his *Introduction to the Old Testament*, asserted the genuineness of the whole, a few interpolations excepted; but in the last edition he modified his views, and considered that some parts of the Pentateuch were written by Moses himself, and the rest by some of his contemporaries. Gesenius, who belonged to the same party, was, it appears, during the most of his life, an advocate of the late origin of the Pentateuch; yet he subsequently modified his views, and in the eleventh edition of his Hebrew Grammar,† he remarks, doubtfully, that "it is still a subject of critical controversy whether the Pentateuch proceeded either wholly, or in part, from Moses."

Dr. Hengstenberg expresses very strongly his indignation at the manner in which the Pentateuch has been attacked. In reference to De Wette, he says: "A criticism so ridiculously absurd as his, if it had been directed against the genuineness of a profane writer, or against a portion of profane history, would now be considered as being quite out of date, or would only have sufficed to confer on its author the unenviable celebrity of a Hardouin."‡ And he says further, in reference to the principal oppugners of its genuineness: "They are systematically ignorant of the ablest vindications of the genuineness of the Pentateuch. They do not read them, much less refute them." These strictures are perfectly just.

The most natural way to establish the genuineness of the Pentateuch, is to show that it has existed ever since the time of Moses, and has always borne his name. That it has existed ever since the return of the Jews from the Babylonian captivity, is admitted by all parties; but some of the Deists and Rationalists contend that it

* Heeren has not expressed himself as fully as some of the others; he nevertheless regards the history in the Pentateuch as true.

† Professor Conant's translation, p. 8.

‡ A Jesuit in the seventeenth century, who denied the genuineness of the histories of Tacitus, Livy, &c.

Digitized by Google

was composed during that period. This, however, is refuted by the allusions made to it in books written before that event. The earlier defenders of the Pentateuch appealed to the Samaritan copy, as furnishing conclusive proof of the existence and authority of the Pentateuch among the ten tribes of Israel. Our author, in discussing the claims of the Samaritan Pentateuch, first inquires, *Who were the Samaritans?* and he supports the hypothesis of their purely heathen origin with much acuteness and learning. In this opinion he is followed by Hävernick and Robinson. Most critics, however, are of opinion that they were a *mixed* people, composed of Israelites and heathens, and that Shalmaneser did not remove *all* the inhabitants from the kingdom of Israel, but simply the most of them, and incorporated some of his own subjects with the remnant. 2 Kings xvii. This latter view Dr. Davidson adopts. Kitto's Cycl. Bib. Lit. It may well be questioned whether sufficient data exist upon which we can form an opinion, with any degree of probability. It would seem, *a priori*, very improbable that *all* the Israelites were carried away by Shalmaneser. Nor is the declaration, "There was none left but the tribe of Judah only," (2 Kings xvii, 18,) to be pressed upon. There is no more reason for interpreting the "none" absolutely, than there is for thus interpreting the "*all*" in Matt. iii, 5, where it is said there went out to John the Baptist *all* Judea. Dr. Hengstenberg lays a great deal of stress upon the representation that is given of the colonists' being ignorant of the knowledge of God, which made it necessary for the King of Assyria to send back to them a captive priest to teach them the way of the God of Israel, (2 Kings xvii, 27,) which he thinks clearly shows that there was no one in the land capable of instructing them; i. e., no Israelite. This, however, would only prove that all the *priests* had been carried away. That our Saviour and his apostles treated the Samaritans as heathens, affords no proof of their purely heathen origin. Their being principally of heathen extraction cut them off from Jewish privileges. We have an illustration of this in the mulattoes of our own country; for, though they are descendants of *whites* and negroes, they are generally treated precisely as negroes. To us it seems by no means improbable that the great bulk of them were heathens, intermixed with the remnant of the ten tribes.

Finding no proof of the Israelitish origin of the Samaritans, our author concludes that the fact of the Samaritans having a Pentateuch affords no evidence of its existence among the ten tribes, and of its transfer from the latter to them. He thinks it quite possible that the Samaritans derived their Pentateuch from the Jews. But here

Digitized by Google

he is met with the objection, that the animosity existing between them and the Jews would have prevented it. To this he replies, that the animosity was principally on the part of the Jews against the Samaritans, and that the latter very readily received the smallest favour from the former. And he observes: "The Samaritans possessed a threefold translation of the Pentateuch,—a Greek, a Samaritan, and an Arabic version. Not one of these versions is an independent production of their own; all three serve to show their dependence on the Jews;"—that their Samaritan version* is founded on the Chaldee of Onkelos;† and that the Samaritan Pentateuch itself has very frequently, in the text, the conjectures which stand in the Masoretic manuscripts as K'ri, which are certainly of Jewish origin. The Samaritan Pentateuch also agrees in more than two thousand places with the Septuagint where it differs from the Hebrew. For these reasons and some others, Dr. Hengstenberg regards the Jewish origin of the Samaritan Pentateuch as by no means improbable, and he thinks that the Samaritans obtained it in order to support their claims to an Israelitish origin.

On the other hand, it has been contended that the priest who was sent by the Assyrian king to instruct the colonists whom he had transplanted in the kingdom of Israel, must have had a Pentateuch, and that there must have been copies of the book of the law among the remnant of the ten tribes. That the Samaritan‡ Pentateuch is an independent copy, transmitted from the time of Rehoboam, through the ten tribes, has been held by Morin, Houbigant, Capellus, Kennicott, Michaelis, Eichhorn, Bauer, Bertholdt, Stuart, and others. This is not improbable, when once it is *proved* that the Pentateuch existed among the ten tribes.

Abandoning the Samaritan Pentateuch, as furnishing no proof of the reception of the Pentateuch among the ten tribes, Dr. Hengstenberg proceeds to show, by positive proof from other sources, that it certainly *was received* by them. His first proof is the Prophet Hosea, who began to prophesy about 785 B. C. This book contains many allusions to the Pentateuch, showing that it was well known to the prophet. Some of the instances selected by our author may be doubtful; but after making due allowances for accidental circumstances, it must be acknowledged that the numerous coin-

* The reader must distinguish between the Samaritan Pentateuch itself, and a version of it made at a later period.

† Onkelos died B. C. 60.

‡ Some of the earlier critics attached a great deal of importance to the Samaritan Pentateuch. Dr. Kennicott regarded it as equal to the Hebrew in value. But Gesenius, in his able dissertations upon it, has ruined its authority, by showing that it abounds in frequent alterations of the original Hebrew Pentateuch.

Digitized by Google

cidences between the prophet and the Pentateuch, prove the existence of the latter at that age. In the following passage there is a clear reference to a written law: "I have written to him (that is, to Ephraim, who was of the ten tribes) the great things of my law," viii, 12; the latter part of which Dr. Hengstenberg translates, *the multitude* (literally, the *myriad*) *of my law*. This obviously refers to the numerous precepts of the Mosaic law.

Our author next proceeds to notice "*the traces of the Pentateuch in Amos.*" * The allusions in this prophet to the Pentateuch he regards as very valuable, from the fact that he, one of the common people, "a herdman and gatherer of sycamore fruit," was so well acquainted with it, which shows that it was well known among the people at large in Judea, of which country the prophet originally was; and it would seem to have been known also among the ten tribes, to whom the prophet principally addressed himself, since he manifests such a strong tendency to introduce the very words of the Pentateuch. And, further, it is shown "that the whole Israelitish system of religion, with the exception of the deviations introduced by Jeroboam, was strictly in accordance with the prescriptions of the Pentateuch." The references in this prophet to the Pentateuch are very numerous. We can give only a few of them: "And led you forty years through the wilderness;" chap. ii, 10:—exactly as in Deut. xxix, 5, with the exception of the transposition of one word. "And I raised up of your young men for Nazarites; but ye gave the Nazarites wine to drink;" ii, 11, 12. Compare this with Num. vi. The order of the Nazarites, according to the prescriptions of the Pentateuch, was in existence in the kingdom of Israel. Chap. iii, 2: "You only have I known of all the families of the earth;" evidently referring to Deut. xiv, 2: "The Lord hath chosen thee to be a peculiar people unto himself, above all the nations that are upon the earth." Chap. iv, 4: "Bring your sacrifices every morning, and your tithes every three days;" (English version, after three years.) Compare this with Num. xxviii, 3 and Deut. xiv, 28, in which latter passage it is commanded: "At the end of three years thou shalt bring forth all the tithe," &c. "Offer a sacrifice of thanksgiving with leaven," (iv, 5,) in allusion to Lev. ii, 11. In the following passage there is a clear allusion to the Passover and the Feast of Tabernacles: "I hate, I despise your feast-days, and I will not smell in your solemn assemblies. Though ye offer me burnt-offerings and your meat-offerings, I will not accept them; neither will I regard the thank-offerings (שְׁלָמִים) of your fat beasts;" v, 21, 22. In viii, 5, mention is made of the new moon and the sabbath.

* Amos prophesied 787 B. C.

Digitized by Google

Next follow *the traces of the Pentateuch in the Books of Kings.* Here, too, the allusions to the Pentateuch are quite numerous, a few of which we shall give: "As the Lord God of Israel liveth, before whom I stand, there shall not be dew nor rain these years, but according to my word." 1 Kings xvii, 1. Compare these words addressed to Ahab, king of Israel, with Deut. xi, 17: "And the Lord's wrath be kindled against you, and he shut up the heaven that there be no rain." The sacrifices that were offered by Elijah and the false prophets of Baal, in their contest, were in accordance with the directions of the Pentateuch. Compare 1 Kings xviii, 23, 33, with Lev. i, 6–8. "Because thou hast let go out of thy hand a man whom I appointed to utter destruction, therefore thy life shall go for his life, and thy people for his people;" xx, 42. This corresponds to the Pentateuch: "None devoted, which shall be devoted of men, shall be redeemed, but shall be surely put to death." Lev. xxvii, 29. In chap. xxi, 3, Naboth says to Ahab: "The Lord forbid it me, that I should give the inheritance of my fathers unto thee." This refers to Lev. xxv, 23: "The land shall not be sold forever, for the land is mine;" and to Num. xxxvi, 8: "That the children of Israel may enjoy every man the inheritance of his fathers." Ahab's wicked stratagem to seize upon an unlawful possession, contains an allusion to the Pentateuch: "And set two men, sons of Belial, before him, to bear witness against him, saying, Thou didst blaspheme God and the king," &c.; xxi, 10. In capital offences, by the law of Moses, two witnesses were required. Num. xxxv, 30. Reference is also made to Exodus xxii, 28, where it is forbidden to revile God (English version, the gods) or curse the ruler. In 2 Kings iv, 1, a woman says to Elisha: "The creditor is come to take unto him my two sons to be servants." The creditor had a right to do so according to the law. Lev. xxv, 39. In verse 16, Elisha says to the Shunemite: "About this season, according to the time of life, thou shalt embrace a son." This singular expression is taken from Gen. xviii, 10, 14. In verse 23, it is said, it is neither new moon nor sabbath, showing that both these festivals were observed in the land of Israel. The ministry of the prophets in the kingdom of Israel, Dr. Hengstenberg regards as "an inexplicable enigma, unless on the supposition of the public introduction of the Pentateuch."

He next notices *the clear allusions to the Pentateuch, made by Jeroboam when he instituted the calf-worship* in the kingdom of Israel: "Behold thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt." 1 Kings xii, 28. Compare this with the institution of the same form of worship by Aaron in the wilderness: "These be thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the

Digitized by Google

land of Egypt." Exodus xxxii, 4. And when he had established this calf-worship, and had forbidden his subjects to go up to Jerusalem to attend divine service, the priests and Levites left the ten tribes and betook themselves to the kingdom of Judah: "And after them out of all the tribes of Israel, such as set their hearts to seek the Lord God of Israel, came to Jerusalem to sacrifice to the Lord God of their fathers." The Levites gave up their whole earthly means of subsistence; and Dr. Hengstenberg observes that the reason of their conduct "could rest upon nothing but the clear letter of the law, the violation of which must brand its ministers, as they indeed felt, even in the eyes of those who desired it from them, and shared it with them. Why should the pious go from Israel to Jerusalem to offer sacrifices there? Why should Jeroboam consider it absolutely necessary to forbid the pilgrimage to Jerusalem? Why did so many citizens of the kingdom of the ten tribes leave their houses and possessions to sojourn as strangers in Judah? Why, but for this reason, that the Pentateuch strictly required one sanctuary, distinguished the ark of the covenant as the only sanctuary of the nation, and stigmatized the worship of images."—P. 208. And when Jeroboam celebrated the Feast of Tabernacles, he altered merely the month and retained the *day* of the month, the 15th, so as to depart as little as possible from the Mosaic law. The sacred historian also observes that it was "in the month which he had devised of his own heart," 1 Kings xii, 33; which is an allusion to Num. xvi, 28, where Moses says in reference to his works, "I have not devised them of mine own heart."

The arguments which Paulus, De Wette, and Gesenius have brought against the existence of the Pentateuch among the ten tribes at the time of the separation of the two kingdoms, are next answered: "The introduction of Jeroboam's form of worship, say they, implies the non-existence of the Pentateuch. Could Jeroboam have undertaken to introduce a worship which is so directly opposed to a reiterated law of the Pentateuch? How could he, if he found the Pentateuch in the hands of his subjects, choose exactly that image for the national god, which their ancestors in the wilderness had rebelliously set up? Would it not have been a mockery of this statute-book of their religion, if Jeroboam had introduced the ancient idolatry with the identical words employed by Aaron, when he erected the golden calf?"

"Reasoning *à priori*, this argument has considerable plausibility, provided attention be not paid to the nature of the human mind, and the facts of history. But on examining it more closely, it loses all force. The history of all religions shows, that in their sacred

Digitized by Google

records, no commandment or prohibition has existed, however clear and distinct, which a wrong bias has not attempted, by all the arts which a mind averse from the truth has at command, to free itself from without impugning the authority of the original record. By such argumentation as the above, how plainly it could be shown that the Scriptures were not in existence in the sixteenth century, or, in short, that they never existed! To take only one out of numerous examples: What a plausible proof of the non-existence of the New Testament might be drawn from the present practice of divorces, and the marriages of the divorced by the ministers of the Church? The expressions relating to this subject in the New Testament, are quite as decided and clear as the expressions in the Pentateuch, which Jeroboam explained away."—Pp. 208, 209. The adoration paid by the Papists to images, we think, would be a striking illustration; for the second commandment strictly forbids the bowing down to *any* image. Their refusal to give the laity the cup in the administration of the Lord's Supper, in violation of Christ's positive command, is another instance in point.

Dr. Hengstenberg thus concludes his observations on the traces of the Pentateuch, in the Books of Kings: "We have now proved that the Pentateuch, from the time of the separation of the two kingdoms, was in existence, and legally introduced among the ten tribes. Having gained this position, we can with greater security advance farther. The expedients which Jeroboam employed in order to bring his innovations into agreement with the Pentateuch, and to set aside the prerogatives of Judah, were so violent, that the choice of these desperate measures is only conceivable by admitting that the conviction was general among the people, that the Pentateuch, as a complete whole, had Moses for its author, and was the common property of the whole nation. Beside, what would have been more convenient than to have rejected either the whole, or such parts as were unsuited for his purpose, as interpolated or forged?"

"How could a conviction of the authenticity of the Pentateuch, diffused among a whole people in the time of Jeroboam, be otherwise accounted for, than on the ground of its truth? It adds to the difficulty of any other explanation, that the composition of the Pentateuch cannot be placed in the period of the Judges, on account of the peculiar circumstances of those times. There remains, therefore, only the age of David and Solomon. But to be able to secure the reception of the Pentateuch as a book of Moses, if not composed till a period immediately preceding that in which there would be a most powerful interest to maintain the contrary, would indeed be a task!"—P. 212.

Digitized by Google

The names of God in the Pentateuch are next discussed. Whoever reads with any degree of attention the first chapters of Genesis, cannot fail to observe the singular fact, that in different sections different names are given to the Creator. In the first chapter and in a part of the second, he is called Elohim, *God;* while in the remaining part of the section, and in nearly all the third, he is called Jehovah Elohim, *Lord God.* Also, in various other places in Genesis, Elohim is confined to one portion and Jehovah to another. This distinction could not have been accidental;—in the explanation of it, however, there has been a difference of opinion. The adversaries of the Pentateuch regard it as a proof of the fragmentary character of the work—as an indication that it was composed by several writers. On the other hand, some very eminent Biblical critics take the ground that the subject-matter of different portions of the Pentateuch required this distinction in the divine names; that the name of the Deity always agrees with the office ascribed to him; that the occasion on which it is used is always appropriate. With these latter critics, Dr. Hengstenberg agrees, and discusses with great learning and much acuteness, the passages where the names of the Deity occur, satisfactorily refuting the objections to the genuineness of the Pentateuch, on the ground of its fragmentary character, at the same time demonstrating its unity with great cogency of reasoning. The result of his investigation is, that Elohim is used to designate the Deity in a *general* sense as the Creator of the universe, and that Jehovah designates him as God in a *special* sense,—as the Being who manifests himself in providence and grace.

In examining the subject, our author gives us an elaborate dissertation on *the origin of the name Jehovah.* Some have held it to be of Egyptian origin. This he shows to be quite untenable, and very aptly quotes the language of Pharaoh: "*Who is Jehovah*, that I should obey his voice to let Israel go? *I know not Jehovah;*" which he considers a proof of the Egyptians' ignorance of the name. Others have endeavoured to derive the name from the Phœnicians, relying chiefly upon the fragments of Sanchoniathon. With good reason, Dr. Hengstenberg rejects the fragments of this author as unworthy of confidence, and regards his so-called translator, Philo Byblius, as a deceiver. And he observes: "Nowhere can a Phœnician etymology of the word Jehovah be found." As equally unsuccessful, our author considers the attempts of some to show the similarity of the names Jehovah and Jove. The *o* common to both immediately vanishes when we take into consideration that the *o* in Jehovah does not belong to that word, but to Adonai. Further, a communication between the Hebrew and Latin can only be effected

Digitized by Google

through the Greek. Now Διος corresponds to *Jovis;* and in Latin, the form Jovis is of later date. According to Varro, the ancient form was *Diovis;* so that nothing remains in common to Jehovah and Diovis but the Vav (*v*). Thus reasons our author; and he thinks the man undeserving of a confutation who would argue in favour of the similarity of the two names from their having one letter in common, and who would thus ascribe a different origin to the word from that given in Scripture. He supposes Jehovah, or rather Jahveh, (which he thinks the true pronunciation,) to be derived from the verb הָוָה, *to be*, the future being used to denote continuance of existence. It thus means the absolute and immutable Being—he whose property is *to be*. With these views Gesenius himself coincides: "Those only waste their time and labour, who endeavour to refer this name to a foreign origin, or assign to it any special relation with Jupiter, Jovis, or the like."*

Some of the Rationalists are of opinion that the import of the name Jehovah is too profound for the earliest age of the world. They would regard the Jewish religion as a gradual development from Polytheism into Monotheism. The existence of the name Jehovah, even before the Mosaic age, refutes this hypothesis. The plural form for God, *Elohim*, denotes his plenitude of power. There is no reason whatever for supposing that it was once used by the Hebrews to indicate their belief in a plurality of gods. To the Hebrews, names were of the highest importance, generally expressing some peculiar property or attribute in the object to which they were given. The names that Adam gave the various animals that came before him, doubtless indicated their leading characteristics. With us it is quite different; and we should, therefore, guard against the error of considering as fanciful the distinction made in the divine names.

The only argument adduced of any importance by the opponents of the ancient origin of the name Jehovah, rests upon the passage in Exodus vi, 2, &c.: "And *Elohim* (God) spake unto Moses, and said unto him, I AM JEHOVAH: and I appeared unto Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, as El Shaddai, (God Almighty,) but by my name Jehovah was I not known to them."—"I will bring you out from under the burdens of the Egyptians; and ye shall know that I am Jehovah." There would be force in this argument if we looked simply at the name and not at its *import*. Olshausen, on Matt. xviii, 19, says: "*Onoma* (name) is the personality, the essential being, and that not in its state of not recognising or not being recognsied, but in its manifestation." The meaning of the passage is not that the

* Hebrew Lexicon, word *Jehovah*.

Digitized by Google

bare name was unknown to them, but its full meaning,—that he was about to manifest himself to them in delivering them from Egypt in such a manner as he never before manifested himself.

Dr. Hengstenberg goes through the divine names (Elohim and Jehovah) in the Pentateuch, showing their appropriateness to the occasions upon which they were used. In Gen. i, ii, 1–3, the title Elohim is used exclusively; and Dr. Hengstenberg admits that Jehovah would here be appropriate, and he quotes various passages of Scripture where Jehovah is spoken of as the Creator of all things. Yet he conceives the author's object was to show "how God gradually made himself known as the being who was from eternity, as JEHOVAH—how by degrees, from being Elohim, he became, to human apprehension, Jehovah." The sacred historian accordingly first speaks of the Deity by his most general designation, God. In chap. ii, 4, begins a more particular description of the creation, and from this verse to the close of chap. iii, Jehovah Elohim, Lord God, is used in almost every instance. A transition is here made from the indefinite Elohim to a personal manifesting God. "He feared a misunderstanding—feared that man might regard that God who held converse so humanly with man, as personally different from the Creator of heaven and earth, as a mere subordinate God and mediator. In this section, therefore, he uses Jehovah Elohim in combination, in order that in the sequel, where Jehovah occurs, the Elohim manifested in him may be acknowledged, and where Elohim occurs, the Jehovah concealed in him might also be acknowledged." The contents of this section exhibit a manifestation of God in his loving-kindness, as Jehovah, in preparing a paradise for man, in forming woman as his help-meet, &c. In this section, however, when the serpent addresses Eve, and she replies to him, Elohim is used. The serpent first employs Elohim as a God afar off—one who was not to be feared. Eve, in yielding to the tempter, takes up the same word. Jehovah is converted into Elohim, and Eve's clear conception of Jehovah becomes obscure. How different was her language upon this occasion, from what it was upon the birth of Cain: "I have gotten a man from Jehovah." Here the idea of a present and assisting God was prominent in her mind. The offerings* made by Cain and Abel are represented as made to JEHOVAH. This is very proper; for they were offered to a manifesting and personal God, the God of Revelation and Grace. "And Cain went out from the presence of *Jehovah*." Here Elohim would be improper; for God is referred to as manifesting himself. "Then

* Throughout the whole of Genesis, with two or three exceptions, sacrifices are represented as offered to Jehovah.

Digitized by Google

men began to call upon the name of Jehovah." In this passage divine worship is expressed, and the appropriateness of the name Jehovah is obvious. "And Enoch walked with HA-ELOHIM (literally, *the God*) and he was not, for Elohim took him." On this passage, Dr. Hengstenberg observes: "The use of the first Elohim is accounted for, from the tacit contrast between Enoch's conduct and a corrupt world (compare vi, 9); and the second Elohim was rendered necessary by the first—since he walked not with the world but with God, so he was taken away from the world by God to be with God."

In the description of the deluge, the advocates of the *document* hypothesis think their theory derives remarkable confirmation from the use of the divine names (Jehovah and Elohim). But our author contends that here, too, the sacred writer uses them with discrimination, to express peculiar and distinctive acts of the Deity, and to show the connexion between Jehovah and Elohim. Where acts of mercy are spoken of, Jehovah is generally used: e. g., "Noah found grace in the eyes of Jehovah." And when Noah entered the ark, it is said, "Jehovah shut him in." And after the deluge, it is stated that "he builded an altar to Jehovah," where the propriety of the word is obvious enough. But those who contend that the account of the deluge is composed from different documents, find great difficulty in separating these documents. It cannot, indeed, be done in some cases without doing violence to the connexion. In chap. vii, 16, in reference to the entry of Noah and the animals into the ark, it is said: "And they that went in, went in male and female of all flesh, as GOD had commanded him: and JEHOVAH shut him in." It is not easy to conceive that this passage was derived from two documents, one of which used Elohim and the other Jehovah. We will give a few more examples illustrating the distinction in the divine names. When Abraham in Egypt denied his wife, he assigned as the reason, his dread of being slain on her account; for "I thought surely," said he, "the fear of GOD is not in this place." These words addressed to a heathen king would have been inappropriate if Jehovah had been used, for he, it is to be presumed, knew nothing of Jehovah. But the sacred historian, in speaking of the barrenness of the Egyptians on account of Sarah, appropriately ascribes it to Jehovah. When the Deity appeared to Abraham to call him from his native land, with propriety he is called Jehovah; yet when he commands him to offer up his son Isaac, he is called God, where we would expect Jehovah. Dr. Hengstenberg supposes this difficulty can be solved by the consideration that as the result of Abraham's trial would bring him into a nearer relation with the Deity, there was a suitableness in denoting this change by his being called God *just*

Digitized by Google

before the trial, and Jehovah *immediately after* it. Our author also grants that there are several instances, in the latter part of Genesis, where we would expect Jehovah but find Elohim. He, however, thinks that the sacred writer purposely kept Jehovah in the background, since the beginning of the very next book opens with a peculiar manifestation of Jehovah in bringing the Israelites out of Egypt, thus making a distinctive contrast between the different manifestations of God. And further, that the Israelites' conception of Jehovah, while they were in Egypt and looking forward to a brighter day, was more properly that of Elohim.

Though some may doubt the correctness of our author's views on these points, it cannot be denied that there is great probability in them. But even if Genesis were composed from different documents, would it follow that Moses did not write it? Is there anything absurd in the hypothesis that there were documents relating to the early history of the world transmitted to the Mosaic age?* But if the last four books of the Pentateuch bore marks of being composed from different documents, which is not the case, the improbability of its having proceeded from Moses would be very great. There is, indeed, a *unity* of design in the Pentateuch which shows that it is the work of one author.

Next follows a lengthy dissertation on *the art of writing among the Hebrews*. Until very recently, no objection to the genuineness of the Pentateuch was more common than that of the non-existence of writing in the Mosaic age. This objection, once brought forward with so much confidence, is now abandoned by some of the most discreet adversaries of the Pentateuch. The genuineness of the Homeric poems, denied by Wolf and some of his ablest contemporaries, is now generally acknowledged by scholars; and Dr. Hengstenberg thinks that it is ascertained "that the use of the art of writing among the Greeks reaches as far back as the Mosaic times." "But while it is now admitted," says he, "that the art of writing was in existence in the Mosaic age, attempts are made to dispute, on various grounds, its use among the Hebrews."

The most common objection made to the Hebrews' being in possession of the art of writing in that early age, is, that "they continued to be in Egypt what they were in Canaan, a rude, uncultivated, pastoral people, separated from the other inhabitants of the land," and consequently had no occasion to write, and of course never

* Dr. Hengstenberg's reasoning, if it be admitted in all its force, does not prove that Moses in the composition of Genesis did not make use of a written document or oral tradition; it simply shows that there is no proof of his having used more than *one* document.

Digitized by Google

learned the art. Our author shows that this misrepresentation is untrue; that, on the contrary, they availed themselves of the arts and conveniences of civilized life;—that "Judah had a signet; Joseph wore a richly adorned garment; Abraham paid for the land he purchased, and Jacob's sons for corn, with money; Abraham's servants' presented Rebecca with a gold ring and bracelets, &c.;" that during their residence in Egypt they had permanent possessions, and dwelt in houses with door-posts and lintels, (Exodus xii, 4, 7, 22, 23,) and mixed with the Egyptians, so that the destroying angel would pass by one door and stop at another." It is thus easy to see how the Hebrews could become acquainted with the arts and sciences of learned Egypt. But it has been objected that the priests alone in that country were in possession of the art of writing. To this our author replies, that there is not a single reason for it, and many against it; and in support of his position he quotes Diodorus, Plato, Herodotus, &c. And he further observes, that even if writing did not exist in Egypt* at that time, the Hebrews might have obtained it from a Semitic people; and he contends that writing was in use before the time of Moses, alleging as a proof, that the Israelitish officers were called Shoterim, (from שָׁטַר, *to write*,) Scribes. To us it seems very improbable that the Hebrews derived their knowledge of writing from the Egyptians, for the simple reason that they possessed it *before* they went among that people. Cadmus, according to an ancient tradition, carried the alphabet from Phœnicia into Greece before the time of Moses. The Hebrews in the patriarchal age lived contiguous to the Phœnicians, (and the Hebrew and Punic languages are very similar,) from whom they could readily have learned the art of writing, though there is nothing improbable in the hypothesis that they derived it from their ancestors, and that it existed before the Deluge. Beside these considerations, the last four books of the Pentateuch everywhere speak of writing as existing in the Mosaic age. Even if this testimony were nothing more than tradition, it would certainly be of great weight, and ought not to be set aside without the most cogent reasons.

Next follows a dissertation on the *Pentateuch and the time of the Judges*. It has been objected by De Wette and other Rationalists,

* A manuscript has been discovered in Egypt containing an act of the fifth year of the reign of Thouthmosis III., who reigned in Egypt at least two hundred years before Moses. (Eschenburg's Man. Clas. Lit., p. 356.) "From the researches of travellers and hieroglyphists in late years, it is proved beyond doubt that many of the hieroglyphical inscriptions were written before the exodus of the Hebrews, and that writing must therefore have been in use at or before that period." (Kitto's Cyclo. Bib. Lit., art. *Writing*.)

Digitized by Google

that the religious condition of the Israelites, from the time of Moses to that of David, is irreconcilable with the existence of the Pentateuch:—"That until the time of David and Solomon no national sanctuary was thought of, where alone Jehovah might be worshipped;" and that under David his worship first obtained a fixed priestly institution. Bertholdt, De Wette's follower in the criticism of the Pentateuch, rejects this argument, and remarks that the non-observance of the Mosaic laws during these times no more proves that the Pentateuch did not exist, than the imperfections in the administration of justice in the middle ages prove the non-existence of the Theodosian and Justinian codes of law. Dr. Hengstenberg, however, denies that there was any such neglect of divine worship as is asserted by De Wette;—that, on the contrary, the post-Mosaic history furnishes us with positive arguments for the genuineness of the Pentateuch. To the objection made by some that the account of the last assembling of the people under Joshua at the "sanctuary of the Lord" at Shechem, instead of Shiloh, but ill accords with the authority of the Pentateuch, he replies that the first assembly gathered by Joshua in prospect of his death was very probably made at Shiloh, the usual place of meeting for the Israelites, and that the second and last one was made at Shechem on account of the sacred associations connected with the place, for it was there that God first appeared to Abraham after his arrival in Canaan; that by the term מִקְדָּשׁ, (rendered *sanctuary*,) there is no necessity of understanding a building, but simply a holy place, and the mention made (Joshua xxiv, 26) of an oak *in* the sanctuary of Jehovah shows that it was not a building. It has also been objected that the non-observance of the rite of circumcision by the Israelites in the wilderness, is not consistent with the authority of the Pentateuch: "*All* the people that were born in the wilderness by the way, as they came forth out of Egypt, them they had not circumcised." Josh. v, 5. Dr. Hengstenberg ascribes the omission of the rite to the wickedness of the Jews during their journeying through the wilderness, which caused God to swear that they should not enter into his rest; and since circumcision was a sign of God's covenant with the people, it was proper that when they revolted from him, they should be deprived of that which was the sign of divine favour; that the command "circumcise again the children of Israel the *second time*," implied that they had *before* been circumcised; and, finally, that it was not omitted during the *whole* of their journey, "but only from the time when the exclusion of the existing generation from the promised land was declared." But while De Wette, Bertholdt, and Von Bohlen deny all reference in the Book of Judges

Digitized by Google

to the Pentateuch, other opponents of the genuineness are of a quite different opinion. Vater, for example, acknowledges some references in several passages to the Pentateuch, and Hartmann expresses himself in the following strong language: "In the Book of Judges we find, indeed, Moses' book of the law and a written Torah not expressly mentioned, but we cannot deny allusions to the narration and commands of Moses; we must candidly allow that the *compiler of the Book of Judges must have been acquainted with the Pentateuch in all its extent*, of which any one may satisfy himself who will compare chap. i, 20 with Num. xiv, 30; v, 4, with Deut. xxxiii, 2," &c.

Passing by numerous references in the Book of Judges to the Pentateuch, we single out the narrative of Jephthah, (chap. xi, 15–26,) which is taken almost verbatim from the Book of Numbers. We have not space for the parallel passages and references, but simply remark that every one not obstinately prejudiced against the truth, nor amazingly stupid, must clearly perceive the reference to the Pentateuch. The opponents of the genuineness, however, contend that in the time of the Judges the law of Moses respecting sacrifice was not observed,—the command to sacrifice only in that place which Jehovah had chosen from all the tribes to place his name there. In opposition to this, Dr. Hengstenberg shows that during the whole period of the judges, the people had but one sanctuary; that whenever they sacrificed at any other place than the tabernacle, it was because God had there manifested himself to them, which was a sufficient warrant for the acceptableness of their sacrifice. That one of the great feasts, at least, was celebrated in Shiloh, and that the whole nation assembled there to attend it, appears from Judges xxi, 19. In various places in this book we find other allusions to the institutions of the Pentateuch. Also, in the Book of Ruth we have references to the Mosaic law in the marriage of the wife of a deceased brother, and in the redemption of property. Jephthah's sacrificing his daughter is thought by some to indicate that the age of the judges was extremely barbarous. This subject Dr. Hengstenberg discusses at considerable length, and takes the ground that Jephthah did not slay her as is generally believed, but that he consecrated her in perpetual virginity to God in the service of the Tabernacle. We have not room for his arguments, nor for the answer that may be given them. We would simply say, that, in our opinion, the language used by Jephthah when he made his vow, cannot be explained figuratively. He vowed that whatever came forth from the door of his house to meet him, he would offer as a *burnt-offering* to the Lord. The Hebrew וְהַעֲלִיתִהוּ עוֹלָה can only mean, *to*

Digitized by Google

*offer a burnt-offering.** And as he fulfilled his vow, he must have sacrificed her. The Scriptures, it is true, sometimes speak of a *spiritual sacrifice*, but in such a way as not to be misapprehended: "Present your bodies," says St. Paul, "a *living* sacrifice to God." Rom. xii, 1. But if Jephthah really sacrificed his daughter, that act does not show that the Pentateuch was not then in existence. To offer human sacrifices was a custom among surrounding nations, and it was difficult for the Israelites to rid themselves of heathen influence, notwithstanding the positive injunctions of the Mosaic Law. This their whole history testifies. Dr. Hengstenberg thus concludes his investigations on the Judges, in reference to the Pentateuch: "We do not believe that any one can now, with a good conscience, say that De Wette's Essay still remains unanswered."

The statements of the Pentateuch respecting its author are next discussed by Dr. Hengstenberg with his usual ability, and the various passages which ascribe its authorship to Moses, are brought forward and presented in all their force, and the objections that have been made to them are refuted. These passages are numerous, and the only conclusion that can be drawn from them is, that either Moses was its author, or it is a palpable forgery—a forgery such as is not met with in the whole annals of literature. We shall give some of the most important passages: "And the Lord said unto Moses, Write this for a memorial in *the* book," &c. Exodus xvii, 14. "All the curses which are written in this book." Deut. xxix, 21. "And it shall be when he (the king) sitteth upon the throne of his kingdom, that he shall write him a copy of this law in a book out of that which is before the priests the Levites." Deut. xvii, 18. "And it came to pass, when Moses had made an end of writing the words of this law in a book, until they were finished, that Moses commanded the Levites—take this book," &c. Deut. xxxi, 24, 25, 26.

The objection made to the genuineness of the Pentateuch on account of Moses' speaking of himself in the third person, "The Lord said unto Moses," &c., which we might suppose none but an ignorant or dishonest man would bring forward, has been reproduced by some of the adversaries of the Pentateuch. That Paine should have made this objection, was not at all surprising; but that a classical scholar should do it, is almost incredible. For it is well known that Cæsar, in his Commentaries, speaks of himself in the third person; so does Xenophon in his Anabasis † and Memorabilia. ‡ But

* And so it is rendered by different versions:—Septuagint, ὁλοκάυτωμα; Vulgate, holocaustum; German, Brandopfer; French, holocauste.

† "There was in the army a certain Athenian, Xenophon," &c. Book iii, ch. 1.

‡ "Tell me, Xenophon, he said, &c. And Xenophon replied," &c. Book i, ch. 3.

Digitized by Google

this objection is scarcely worth a refutation. "Now the man Moses was very *meek*." This declaration, it has been thought by some, could not have proceeded from Moses, as being inconsistent with true humility. The Hebrew word עָנָו, primarily, means *oppressed, afflicted*. It, however, "has the accessory idea of humility, meekness; i. e., *the humble, the meek*, who prefer to suffer wrong rather than do wrong."—*Gesenius*. Moses had been charged with being tyrannical, and he adds, to clear himself from this accusation, that no one was more willing to suffer wrong than himself.

The adversaries of the Pentateuch contend that *it contains traces of an age posterior to that of Moses*, and this may be regarded as the strongest objection that has ever been brought against its genuineness. The passages which have been thought to indicate a later age are thoroughly discussed by our author, and all, at least nearly all, its anachronisms entirely disappear. Most of the defenders of the Pentateuch grant that it contains a few interpolations; Dr. Hengstenberg, however, denies that it contains any, and he is of opinion that there is in it nothing unsuitable to the Mosaic age. We shall glance at some of the most important of these passages: "And the Canaanite was then in the land." Gen. xii, 6. In immediate connexion with this passage it is stated that Abraham passed through Canaan, and that the Lord appeared to him and promised to give him the land, and the sacred historian added the remark "the Canaanite was then in the land," to show "the contrast between the present and the future, the reality and the idea"—to show that the land, though promised to Abraham, was actually in the possession of others. That this could have been written by Moses is obvious enough. Again, in xiii, 6, 7, in reference to Abraham and Lot, it is said, "the land was not able to bear them.—And there was a strife between the herdmen of Abram's cattle and the herdmen of Lot's cattle, and *the Canaanite and the Perizzite dwelled then in the land*." This remark seems to have been made to show *why* the land could not bear Abram and Lot. There was not room enough for them and these heathen. The name of a certain city, Hebron, it has been contended, is post-Mosaic, and that it was called Kirjath-Arba before the conquest of Canaan. Dr. Hengstenberg argues that the original name of the city was Aebron, and that when the Israelites captured it they restored its original name, which was associated with sacred recollections in the patriarchal age. In Gen. xiv, 14, it is stated that Abraham pursued the kings unto Dan. And as there was a city in the land of Canaan to which the Israelites upon their conquest of the country gave the name Dan, it has been thought by some that the passage must have been written after

Digitized by Google

the time of Moses. Our author shows that there were two Dans. In 2 Samuel xxiv, 6, mention is made of Dan-Jaan; the addition, *Jaan*, seems to have been made to distinguish it from Dan-Laish, which was taken by the Danites. The district or town to which Abraham pursued the kings may have been called Dan* previous to the invasion of the land of Canaan by the Israelites. The name "Bethel" has also been thought to be post-Mosaic. In Judges i, 22–25, it is stated that the house of Joseph captured Bethel, and that the name of the city before was Luz. But this statement certainly does not prove that the passages in the Pentateuch, where Bethel occurs, were written after the conquest of the city. For, as Dr. Hengstenberg remarks, the name Bethel was given by Jacob to the *place*, or *region*, where God appeared to him, there being no city there at that time, and the Luz by which it was known among the Canaanites, was not superseded by the name Bethel until the Israelites conquered it. For our part, we see no difficulty here at all.

The following passage in Genesis has been regarded by many critics as belonging to a post-Mosaic age: "And these are the kings that reigned in the land of Edom before there reigned any king over the children of Israel." Gen. xxxvi, 31. At the first glance it would seem to have been written after Israel had a king. Our author, however, thinks it could with propriety have been written by Moses, since God promised Jacob *that kings should come out of his loins*. The nation of the Israelites expected kings, and an enumeration of the dukes of Edom, Jacob's brother, called forth the remark that these dukes reigned before Israel had a king. Though we think our author's view is admissible, we are nevertheless of opinion that the concession that it was not written by Moses will be of no great service to our adversaries. That the Pentateuch in the course of more than three thousand years should have suffered no interpolation whatever, is not in the highest degree probable. Some passages may have been written in the margin, by way of explanation or remark, which were afterwards incorporated into the text; the names of some places that had become obselete, may have been exchanged for more modern ones. That this could have taken place without destroying the authenticity of the text, needs no proof. The passage which we have first considered, may have been introduced from 1 Chron. i, 43. Several interpolations of a similar nature have occurred in the New Testament, though, from the great number of

* If this be thought inadmissible, there will be little difficulty in allowing that the name of the place in the time of Moses, (whatever it was,) and which he wrote, was afterwards exchanged for a name better known.

Digitized by Google

MSS. and versions, we are able to detect them. In the Septuagint Old Testament, in Joshua, we have two remarkable instances of interpolations, as remarks or additions. When Joshua razed Jericho to the ground, he pronounced a curse upon its rebuilder. We find, in 1 Kings xvi, 34, that Hiel the Bethelite laid its foundation in Abiram his first-born, and in his youngest son he set up the gates thereof. The substance of this is added in the Greek version to the Hebrew text. Again, in Joshua xvi, 10, it is stated that the Ephraimites drove not out the Canaanites who dwelt in Gezer, but the Canaanites dwell among the Ephraimites until this day, and serve under tribute. But the Greek version adds, "until Pharaoh king of Egypt came up and took it and burnt it with fire, and killed the Canaanite and Perizzite who dwelt in it, and gave it as a dowry to his daughter;" which is manifestly taken from 1 Kings ix, 16.

In Exodus vi, 26, 27, it is said at the close of the genealogy of Moses and Aaron, "These are that Moses and Aaron to whom the Lord said," &c. This passage some think is post-Mosaic; but Dr. Hengstenberg regards it as quite reconcilable with its Mosaic authorship, and understands "these are that Moses and Aaron" as equivalent to saying, this is the genealogy of Moses and Aaron; or, these are Moses and Aaron according to their genealogical relations. The law of the king in Deut. xvii, has been regarded as inconsistent with Samuel's opposition to the appointment of such a ruler and Solomon's unholy conduct, and it is inferred that it must have been framed after the age of Samuel and Solomon. But here it is shown by our author that when a king (Saul) was appointed for the Israelites, obvious references were made to the law in Deuteronomy, and further, that the sin of the Israelites did not consist so much in asking a king as in the spirit with which it was done; and that asking a king while Samuel the Prophet survived, was rejecting him, and was equally as sinful as if they had asked a king in the days of Moses and Joshua. Beside these considerations, some of the laws in the Pentateuch relating to the king would not have been so appropriate had they been written in the time of Samuel and Solomon, or in a subsequent period.

In Deut. xi, 22–24, a promise is made to the Israelites that if they were obedient to God their possessions should extend from "the river Euphrates unto the uttermost sea;" which promise, some have alleged, has never been fulfilled. Dr. Hengstenberg answers this objection by observing that there was no prominent natural boundary short of the Euphrates which could be designated,—that the boundaries could not be geographically exact. "How, for example, would it strike us, if, instead of the Euphrates, Salchah had been

Digitized by Google

named, or the point where the Nahar Amman falls into the Zerkah? The promise can only bear the same relation to a strict geographical statement as a marble block to a statue." And when a description is given of the boundaries of Palestine, not a word is said of the Nile, the Euphrates, or the Red Sea.

Our author next answers the alleged contradictions in the Pentateuch in regard to Edom, and then proceeds to notice the positive arguments which the account of Edom gives for the genuineness of the Pentateuch. "First: the position which the Pentateuch assigns to the Israelites in relation to the Edomites, forms a striking contrast to the relation actually existing and allowed by all the prophets of Israel to Edom in later times." Secondly: the regal government of Edom, as described in the Pentateuch, was elective,—even foreigners were called to the throne. But in later times the kingdom of Edom was hereditary. Thirdly: "according to an express statement in Gen. xxxvi, 31, all the eight kings reigned at a time when Israel had as yet no king. We do not see what could induce a later writer not to continue any further the line of Edomitish kings." Fourthly: it is very evident that the eighth Edomitish king was a contemporary of the author of the Pentateuch. Fifthly: the most considerable city in later Idumea, Selah, or Petra, is not mentioned at all in the Pentateuch; and as there were many occasions for mentioning it, the silence regarding it is a proof that it did not then exist. Sixthly: the exact notices respecting a tribe of whom, subsequent to the Mosaic age, no traces can be found, &c. "These be the words which Moses spake unto all Israel *on the other side Jordan*, (English version, *on this side.*) Deut. i, 1. This passage the adversaries of the Pentateuch regard as a proof that its author must have lived in Canaan, and that Moses could not have written it, since he did not bring the Israelites into that land. Some of the defenders of the genuineness are of opinion that the Hebrew prepositions מֵעֵבֶר and מֵעֲבָר* mean *on this side* as well as *on the other side.* Our author, while acknowledging that there may be some weight in this opinion, nevertheless thinks that it labours under great difficulties. His view is, that the tract of country east of the Jordan was called *beyond* Jordan, in contradistinction to the great body of Canaan between Judea and the Mediterranean Sea, and in confirmation of this he adduces several analogies. That the phrase *this side* or *the*

* We do not think that the meaning "this side," can be easily deduced from these prepositions. They are derived from the verb עָבַר, *to pass over*. The Septuagint, Vulgate, and German versions render them *beyond*. The French version, sometimes, *this side*; at others, *the other side*, or *beyond*.

Digitized by Google

other side has not always reference to the position of the speaker or writer, is clear from Cæsar's Commentaries, waving other authorities. That part of Gaul between Rome and the Alps was called *Hither Gaul;* that part between the Alps and the Atlantic, *Farther Gaul;* yet Cæsar, when carrying on war beyond the Alps from Rome, calls these two great divisions of Gaul by the names by which they were known at Rome, though to him Farther Gaul was Hither Gaul. Besides, to appeal to the Scriptures themselves, we find in 1 Kings iv, 24, that the part of the Persian empire west of the Euphrates is called *beyond* the river, (English version, *this side,*) though in fact, to the writer, it was on this side. Several other instances might be referred to. Dr. Hengstenberg, however, does not clearly show how it was probable that the land east of the Jordan was called *beyond* Jordan, which we think can be easily done. Abraham and his posterity sojourned for a long while between the Mediterranean Sea and the Jordan:—to them the land east of the Jordan was *beyond* Jordan. When the Egyptians visited the country east of the Jordan, they doubtless passed through the Isthmus of Suez, and perhaps crossed the Jordan:—to them, also, this country was *beyond* Jordan. It was extremely natural, then, for Moses to use this expression.

The phrase in the Pentateuch "unto this day," does not indicate that the events referred to occurred long before they were recorded. We would simply refer to the New Testament in proof of this. Matthew observes, (xxviii, 15,) in regard to the story the Jews propagated concerning the resurrection of Christ, "and this saying is commonly reported among the Jews *until this day.*" This Evangelist certainly did not write much over thirty, perhaps not more than ten years after the event. Dr. Hengstenberg shows that the phrase is evidently used in the Pentateuch in some instances where a very short period of time intervened.

Passing by several points of difficulty discussed by our author, we come to *the Theology of the Pentateuch in relation to its genuineness.* Under this head our author first takes up the anthropomorphisms (the ascribing human affections to God) of the Pentateuch. The Deists contend that to represent God as judging, thinking, repenting, &c., which the Pentateuch ascribes to God, is impious. But their view of the divine character must be very erroneous. *Their* God is a mere intelligent power pervading the universe. As reason and revelation both demonstrate that God is a spirit, a supreme intelligence, and as we know of no instances of intelligence without the existence of affections, it is but reasonable to suppose that those which are holy exist in

Digitized by Google

the divine mind; and our whole moral nature leads us to ascribe every moral perfection to God. Nor can the anthropomorphisms of the Pentateuch be shown to be immoral. Dr. Hengstenberg justly remarks in regard to anthropomorphisms: "They are absolutely necessary. Without them nothing positive can be asserted of God. God himself has referred us to them. He who would get rid of them, loses God entirely while he tries, as much as possible, to purify and refine his conceptions of him." But while the Pentateuch ascribes certain human affections to God, and to some extent represents him under human forms and similitudes, it clearly teaches his incorporeality and pure spiritual nature, forbidding the making any image or likeness of him; and though *he* is represented as repenting that he had made man, yet it is said of *him* that he is not "the son of man that he should repent." Num. xxiii, 19. As far as concerns the glorification of God by man, God repented that he had made him, yet, upon the whole, God's purpose and plan were unaltered.

It has frequently been objected to the Pentateuch, that it represents the Deity as vindictive and wrathful, which character has been regarded by not a few as inconsistent with what is known of God from his works and providence, and especially from the Christian revelation. But we must bear in mind that God, like a wise legislator, accommodates his laws to the condition of men. The Pentateuch contains both a civil and a religious code of laws, the violation of which was punished in *this world* * by very severe penalties. In that age very stringent laws were necessary in order to keep the people from grievous sins, idolatry especially, and to show in the most striking manner God's hatred against sin, and that it might be a warning to future generations. And in the book of nature and in Christianity, as well as in the Pentateuch, God's hatred of sin is clearly manifested.

Dr. Hengstenberg discusses at considerable length *the right of the Israelites to the land of Canaan*. Some, as Michaelis, argue that the Hebrews, from time immemorial, held Palestine as a pasture land, and that they never surrendered that right, and when they took the land they simply recovered their right. Others, as Faber, contend that the idea of property in that age was very faint and indefinite, that *power* gave right, and that our opinion of what was right in that age is not to be derived from modern conceptions. Dissatisfied with these views, our author adopts the opinion, which is far

* We do not mean that Moses and the rest of the Israelites did not expect future retribution, but simply that Moses is silent respecting it.

Digitized by Google

preferable, that the right of the Israelites to Canaan depended upon the free gift of God, who is Lord over all.

The purloining of the vessels of the Egyptians by the Israelites, is next considered. According to the English version, God commanded the Israelites, when they were about to leave Egypt, "to borrow of their neighbours jewelry," &c., and thus to spoil the Egyptians. Exod. iii, 22. The defenders of the Pentateuch generally take the ground that the spoiling of the Egyptians was perfectly justifiable, because God possesses absolute power over all property, and can transfer it to whomever he pleases, and because the Israelites had been oppressed by the Egyptians. Dr. Hengstenberg regards this defence as weak. The Hebrew verb שָׁאַל, rendered by our translators *borrowed*, he renders "*desired*," and its Hiphel form הִשְׁאִיל, rendered "*lent*," he translates *to cause to ask, to give willingly:* i. e., the Egyptians willingly gave them these things without expecting a return of them. שָׁאַל, it is true, means *to ask*, as well as *to borrow*, yet we hardly think that its Hiphel form should be rendered *to cause to ask*, but rather, *to cause to borrow*; * i. e., *to lend*, since the lender in a certain sense is the cause of the borrowing, for without his consent the borrower could not borrow. (Compare the Greek δανείζω, *to lend*, mid. δανείζομαι, *to have lent to one, to borrow*.) The Egyptians expected the return of the Israelites, for the latter declared that they were going three days' journey into the wilderness to sacrifice to God. They then asked or demanded of the Egyptians jewels, &c., to be worn during their sacrifice; the Egyptians, of course, expecting their return, would also expect a restoration of their jewels. But the point of difficulty is to free the Israelites from the charge of deception toward the Egyptians—a deception which God himself is represented as commanding them to practise. That God does sometimes deceive *wicked* men, is clear from Scripture. In 1 Kings xxii, we have an account of Ahab's being deceived by false prophets and slain in battle; and it is said that the Lord sent a lying spirit to deceive him, that he might be slain. And in 2 Thess. ii, 11, in reference to the wicked: "God shall send them strong delusion, that they should believe a lie." There was deception practised upon Pharaoh; for Moses asked of him to let the Israelites go into the wilderness *to sacrifice*, clearly intimating that they would return again. As Pharaoh and a part of his people were devoted to destruction, deception may have been practised upon them

* Gesenius gives the Hiphel of this verb to mean, *to loan, to lend;* Buxtorf, *Mutuavit, Commodo dedit petenti.* The same verb in Syriac in Aphel, which corresponds to Hiphel in Hebrew, means *to lend.*

Digitized by Google

to a certain extent without the violation of any of the moral attributes of God. In plundering them of their property, we see no difficulty. God has an absolute right to dispose of property as he pleases. The man who does not object to God's overthrowing the Egyptians in the Red Sea, or to his slaying their first-born by an Angel, will hardly object to his depriving them of their property by human instrumentalities.

Passing by several other points discussed by our author, we proceed to sum up briefly the arguments for the genuineness and authenticity of the Pentateuch, which appear to us the strongest, though some of them Dr. H. does not touch:—

I. The Pentateuch professes to be written by Moses, and there is always presumptive truth of the declaration of the writer, unless some strong indication of imposture can be shown, which, in the present case, there is not.

II. There has been no period in Jewish history, with which we are acquainted, when the Pentateuch was ascribed to any other person than Moses. Let us briefly run over the proofs of this, beginning with 2 Chronicles. In this book it is related that Josiah read the book of the law of Moses before all the people. (B. C. 624). In the same book, in the time of Hezekiah, about a hundred years earlier, mention is made of a written law of Moses; a century and a half earlier still we have the same allusion made. And, B. C. 937, Levites are spoken of who had the book of the law of the Lord. In 2 Kings reference is made to the book of the law of the Lord. Going still farther back, we have, in the book of Joshua, an express reference to the Pentateuch, under the title of the book of the law of Moses. Now the book of Joshua was written before the time of David. For it is said in it, that "the children of Judah could not drive out the Jebusites, the inhabitants of Jerusalem, but that they dwell with the children of Judah at Jerusalem unto this day," (Joshua xv, 63;) that is, when the book was written. The same allusion is made in Judges. But we find in 2 Sam. v, 7–9, that David drove them out. The Pentateuch must, therefore, have existed before the time of David. Besides these references, we find numerous allusions to it in the Prophets, and in the various institutions of the Jews in every period. And when we consider the great importance of the book as the standing code of laws of the Jewish people, and that they have universally ascribed it to Moses—that at present it is one of the articles of their faith—we have strong reason to believe that it really proceeded from him.

III. It is very improbable that Moses would have intrusted his

Digitized by Google

laws to the uncertain mode of tradition, when the art of writing afforded such a convenient and certain way of transmitting them to posterity. If it has been thought an argument in proof of the genuineness of the Homeric poems, that it would be unreasonable to suppose that they could have been committed to memory and preserved so long without being written, we think the same kind of argument can be used in regard to the Pentateuch.

IV. The historical stand-point of the Pentateuch certainly accords with the Mosaic age, and had it been written later, the description of nations and kingdoms would have been far different. The particularity of description which everywhere abounds, shows an eye-witness, while the manners and customs which are ascribed to its characters are such as belonged to that early age.

V. The journeying of the Israelites through the wilderness could only have been written by one well acquainted with the whole affair. The location of the various places is described with so much accuracy that it would have been impossible for a forger in Palestine to have executed it. The researches of modern travellers, confirm in a remarkable degree the authenticity of the Pentateuch.

VI. *The archaisms in the Pentateuch* indicate its great antiquity. Whoever reads with any degree of attention the Hebrew Bible, cannot fail to perceive in the Pentateuch a considerable difference from the other books of the Bible in the use of words and phrases. הִוא, *a pronoun*, occurs in the Pentateuch as *common* gender, *he* or *she;* in the other books a separate form, הִיא, is used for the feminine. This latter form, however, is used eleven times in the Pentateuch. נַעַר in the Pentateuch is common gender, meaning a *boy* or *girl;* in the other books, with perhaps one or two exceptions, it has an addition ה, making it נַעֲרָה. אֵל for אֵלֶּה, *these*, is found only in the Pentateuch, with the exception of 1 Chron. xx, 8. There are various other words and phrases of a similar nature which are confined to the Pentateuch.

It has, nevertheless, been objected that the difference between the Pentateuch and the other books of the Bible is not as great as we might expect from its alleged antiquity. But we must bear in mind that the Oriental languages possess more stability than the Western. And it is said that the Arabic language has suffered but little change within the last twelve centuries. As the books of Moses contained the civil and religious code of the Israelites, it fixed and moulded in a great degree the whole language, which was not until a later period disturbed by foreign influence. It must also be remembered that Moses wrote the Pentateuch without vowel

Digitized by Google

points. These points and the marks indicating the doubling of the consonants, were not written until about two thousand years after Moses. Accordingly, the changes that occurred in the vowels and in the doubling of the consonants fail to be seen on account of the language being punctuated by a later standard.*

VII. If the Pentateuch was not written by Moses, to whom shall we ascribe it? From the Mosaic age to the Babylonian captivity, there was no person upon whom we can fix with any probability as its author. It suits no other age but the Mosaic; and those who deny its genuineness are by no means agreed respecting its age and authorship.

VIII. To these arguments in proof of the genuineness of the Pentateuch, we must add the testimony of our Lord Jesus Christ, who expressly calls it Moses' writing.

We shall now make a few remarks of a somewhat different nature on the authenticity of the Pentateuch.

Moses alone taught a pure system of theology. While the scientific Egyptians were worshipping the beasts of the field and the crocodiles of the river—while the Chaldeans and Assyrians were prostrating themselves before the sun, or worshipping fire—while the polished Greek was adoring a plurality of gods of vicious character,—the Jews, far behind them in most of the arts of peace and war, adhered, as taught by Moses, to the unity, eternity, omniscience and omnipresence of God—those attributes of the Deity which modern philosophers demonstrate. He was surrounded by idolaters, yet uncontaminated by them.

The laws of Moses are perfectly free from everything like augury, divination, and conjuration, which ran through every system of paganism; interwoven with all their religious services. Why the Jewish religion alone should have been free from these superstitions, can only be explained by referring it to a *divine* origin.

But the Deist objects that the early history of every, or nearly every other nation is fabulous, and, therefore, that of the Jews is fabulous too: but he objects little to the point; for *why* is the early history of other nations fabulous?—simply because there were no historians in those early ages. Greece was settled about eighteen hundred years B. C.; but we have no Greek historian before Herodotus, who lived about 450 B. C. Rome was founded about 750 B. C.; yet its most ancient historian was Fabius Pictor, who lived about 200 B. C. Is it any wonder, then, that the early history of these nations is fabulous? The vast chasm was to be filled up with something.

* The principal change that takes place in words is in their vowels and in the doubling of their consonants: at least it is so in the English language.

Digitized by Google

Here was ample room for the fictions of the poets. How different is the case with the history of the Jews, who possessed written records and historians from Moses to Malachi. The Jewish history contained in the Pentateuch has every mark of credibility, and its miracles are referred to in the subsequent books of the Bible. It is, however, unnecessary to dwell longer upon this point, since the truth of the history in the Pentateuch follows naturally from its genuineness.

Art. VI.—RECENTLY PUBLISHED WRITINGS OF NEANDER.

1. *Allgemeine Geschichte der christlichen Religion und Kirche*, von Dr. A. Neander. VI. Band. Aus der *hinterlassenen papieren* herausgegeben von K. F. T. Schneider. Pp. 805. Hamburg. 1852.
2. *Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen von* Dr. August Neander, *herausgegeben von* Professor J. L. Jacobi. 8vo. Berlin. 1851.

In the work first named at the head of this article, we have a precious proof of that entire devotion to the cause of Christ's kingdom which marked the latest hours of Neander's life, as it had before characterized so many laborious years. No part of his great Church History abounds more in material of interest and importance than this posthumous volume, which extends from the end of the thirteenth up to the middle of the fifteenth century. In suffering and weakness was this last work of the great man's life accomplished; disease had almost worn away his feeble frame, and his eyes no longer served him in that close scrutiny of the original sources which had always been, with him, a necessary preparation for treating any portion of the history of Christ's Church. Reduced to dependence upon amanuenses—not always the most skilful—the heroic scholar had need of toil and patience more than ever, and they were not wanting. Painfully, yet earnestly and faithfully—but not without constant inward consolations, and not without glimpses of the bright land of rest, where there is no dimness of vision, nor pain, nor weariness—did he pursue the task to which in his youth and hope, believing that God had called him, he had solemnly consecrated himself—the task of setting forth the history of the Church of Christ as a speaking witness of the divine power of Christianity; as a school of Christian experience; as a voice, sounding through the ages, of edification, of instruction, and of warning, for all that will hear it.

Digitized by Google

The circumstances under which this last volume appears, afford sufficient excuse, if any be needed, for an occasional lack of that nice precision, that careful gathering up of the threads of the narrative in detail, and that masterly inweaving of them all into the web of his philosophical history, that so marked all those parts of the work to which Neander himself had given the finishing touch. It must not be inferred, however, that the volume is a mere collection of scattered and unfinished fragments. The manuscript, in the main, was left by the great master in a form not unworthy of him; and, thanks to the reverent industry and unceasing care of the editor, it appears now in a form at once authentic and readable. M. Schneider was one of Neander's most devoted and faithful students, and prepared, under his direction, the last editions of his monographs on Bernard, Chrysostom, and Tertullian. He has spared no labour nor even expense in editing the present work; and we may be sure that it is, as he has given it, as correct and complete as it could have been made by any hands except Neander's own. He tells us in his preface, that he prefers to be charged with having followed the text of the manuscripts too closely, and even too slavishly, rather than with changing the language of the author, at his own will and pleasure. His close connexion with Neander gave him ample opportunity to learn his methods and habits of working, and this knowledge has been turned to good account in the arrangement of such parts of the work as had not been at all revised for the press by the author. Neander himself, in view of his failing health, and especially of his waning eyesight, often spoke of completing his Church History in a compendious, or at least abridged, form; but his love for this, his life's work, and a hope, cherished almost against hope, that his eyes might regain their strength, tempted him to labour on to the last upon his original plan.

The volume carries the history of the Church down from the time of Boniface VIII. to the beginning of the Council of Basle. The first division, which treats of the Church Constitution and of the Papacy, during the period named, was left by the author in a far more complete form than the second and later portion. It begins with that remarkable epoch in the history of the papacy which might almost take its name and designation from Boniface, whom even a papal annalist styles *factiosus, et arrogans, ac omnium contemtivus.*

"Destitute of all spiritual character and of all moral worth, this Pope made the loftiest claims for the papacy, and therefore brought upon himself the greatest humiliations. We shall see how, in the order of Divine Providence, the humiliations which Boniface brought upon himself, and the consequences which flowed from them, gave rise to the subsequent strifes which shook and shattered

Digitized by Google

the theocratic ecclesiastical system of the middle ages. The chain of events can be readily traced, link by link, from this period down to the time of the General Councils."—P. 2.

The chief aim of Neander in treating the period of Church History between Boniface's time and the Council of Basle, is to illustrate the opposition between the monarchico-absolutistic and the aristocratico-reformatory tendencies—these being, according to his views, the two leading ideas developed in that time. The doings of the Council of Costnitz are pretty fully examined, fifty pages being allotted to their treatment.

The plan pursued by Neander in his former volumes was to treat, under each period of the history, first, of the external history of Christianity, its limits, extension, &c.; secondly, of the Church constitution, discipline, schisms, &c.; third, of Christian life and worship; and fourth, of Christian doctrine. But the third of these heads is wanting in the present volume; the lamented author devoted all the brief remainder of his allotted time to the subject of theology and doctrine, with which no less than five hundred pages are occupied. Here the line of thought follows the opposition between the corrupt middle-age system of the Church and the germs of new creations which characterize this period of history. The writers and thinkers who were the precursors of the Reformation attract his sympathies at once, and are brought out boldly upon his canvass. His long and elaborate account of WICLIF is imbued with strong admiration for the character of that valiant man, whose acuteness as a thinker, and boldness as a reformer, was only excelled by his devotion as a Christian. "Wiclif was distinguished," says Neander, "as well by his intellectual gifts, his independent mode of thinking, and his zeal for science, as by his devotion at once to the welfare of the Church and to the religious interests of the masses. In the thoroughly *practical* aim of his labours, we note a feature which strikingly characterized the English mind in that age as well as in the present. He combined with it another element far more common in England then than afterwards—an original speculative talent." One of Wiclif's earliest reformatory works (On the Ten Commandments) gives Neander occasion for an acute and discriminating comparison of the English Reformation with the German. He treats at large Wiclif's doctrine of the Lord's Supper, and of his heroic attacks upon the then established pretence of transubstantiation.

The tendencies to reformation in BOHEMIA are very fully treated, occupying not less than one-third of the entire volume. The subject was a thoroughly congenial one, and Neander depicts the heroic spirits who anticipated more than a century the spirit and doctrines of the

Digitized by Google

Reformation, with a cordial sympathy that gives life to his conception of their character and work, and warms his narrative style into a glowing eloquence. Among the predecessors of Huss, the names of Milicz, Conrad of Waldhausen, and Matthias Von Janow, stand preëminent. The character and services of the latter are now for the first time fully made known, at least in recent times; his principal work, *de Regulis veteris et novi Testamenti*, has heretofore lain unexamined in manuscript at Prague, or, at least, only published in small fragments. Neander gave this manuscript a thorough examination, and devotes no less than seventy pages to an exposition and review of it.

But the "sainted Huss," as Neander loved to call him, forms the central figure in this glorious group of "Reformers before the Reformation." Our author's admiration of Huss's talents, character, and work, seems to know no limits; and in giving the full history of his life and writings (taking nearly three hundred pages) which this volume affords, he has performed a labour of love. Huss's writings were probably more thoroughly studied by Neander than they have ever before been, and he gives us rich and copious extracts from them. Although this part of the volume failed to receive the finishing touch from the author's hand, and shows, here and there, signs of the unpropitious circumstances under which it was prepared, it is yet, without doubt, the best account of Huss's life and writings, and of their bearing upon the history of the Church, of which we are possessed.

The concluding section (pp. 728–790) is an incomplete essay upon the Mystics of the fourteenth century, the so-called "Friends of God." The origin of this form of Mysticism, Neander finds in the constant tendency of the German mind to seek for the elements of religious life and growth not merely in outward and ecclesiastical forms, but in the inner depths of the human heart in its relations to God; and also in the reaction of the theological mind against the scholastic doctrine which had separated itself almost entirely from religious feeling. The name "Friends of God" is not to be understood as the designation of a sect or party; it was applied to a class of writers and preachers, and to the people who followed them, in believing that love to God should be free from all individual self-seeking, in opposition to that "condition of bondage, in which man seeks after God for something else beside and beyond God himself." After this brief exposition, he gives an account, in rapid sketches, of the chief leaders of the movement, and of others more or less allied to them, viz., Nicholas of Basel; Master Eckart, the semi-pantheistic Dominican; John Ruysbrock, the *doctor ecstaticus* of Brabant, per-

Digitized by Google

haps the most dreamy and visionary of the Mystics; and John Tauler, *theologus sublimis et illuminatus*, under whose preaching men are said to have fallen down senseless. It is worthy of remark that Neander, who has himself, from his spirit of contemplation and unselfish piety, been called "the Friend of God," spent his last days in the study of these Mystics, and that his wandering mind, in the gentle phantasies that floated before it in his last hours, was dwelling upon them.

We hope soon to be furnished with the final volumes of Professor Torrey's excellent translation of Neander's great work, including the posthumous portion of which we have given so brief and hurried an account.

The second work named in our rubric is a collection of scientific papers and addresses. Neander was a member of the Berlin Academy of Sciences from 1839 to the time of his death. His papers, read at the various meetings of the Academy, were printed in its "Transactions;" but as those learned volumes are not generally accessible, it was thought advisable to reprint them for more extended circulation. The editor has also added to them a number of addresses and essays of similar character, elsewhere delivered. The first paper in the volume is an essay on "The Relations of Theology to Rational Science." The second paper treats on the "Life and Character of Eustathius, Archbishop of Thessalonica," well known as a commentator on Homer, but not at all known in his character as moralist and reformer, in which respect this essay sets him in a new light. Then follows an essay on the "Historical Importance of the Ninth Book in the 2d Æneid of Plotinus." Neander depicts the great Neo-Platonic philosopher as the representative of the Hellenic mind, struggling against Oriental and Christian influences. In the fourth paper we have the "Classification of the Virtues, by Thomas Aquinas." Neander thinks that in his services for the development of moral philosophy, the Angelic Doctor stands second only to Aristotle; both in this essay and in his Church History he labours to impress upon his readers the preëminent value of Aquinas's contributions to ethical science. The comparison, in the essay, between Aquinas's division of the Virtues and that made by the ancient philosophers, is very instructive. Indeed, this paper, and the ninth in this volume,—"On the Relation of the Grecian Ethics to the Christian,"—may be regarded as valuable contributions to the History of Ethics, a branch of knowledge which sadly needs to be treated anew in a thoroughly scientific spirit. This latter essay draws a series of parallels between the principles of Christian

Digitized by Google

morals and those of the Stoics, and of Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, and Plotinus. The fifth and sixth Essays, treating of "Pascal's Philosophy of Religion," have been translated and published in Kitto's Journal of Biblical Literature. The seventh paper, on "Matthias Von Janow," agrees in the main with the account of that reformer given in the Church History, as stated above. The eighth inquires into the origin of the sect known under the name of "Yezidis, or Devil Worshippers,"of whom Layard gives us some account in his "Nineveh and its Remains." Neander makes use of the various extant accounts of these strange people—especially that of the American Missionary, Mr. Grant—and comes to the conclusion that the Yezidis are the remains of the Euchites of the eleventh century, one branch of whom, under the name of Bogomites, penetrated into Europe in the twelth. The last paper in the volume is a Church-historical sketch of "The Last Half-Century in its Relations to the Present," in which Neander treats especially of the influence of Schleiermacher, and of the Church-Union in Prussia.

Art. VII.—CHATEAUBRIAND.

Memoiresd' outre Tombe par M. Viscount du Chateaubriand. Paris. 1850.

Chateaubriand associated his name with so many places and ideas that almost every one, at some time or other, is drawn into an imaginative relation with him. The picture which first caught our eye on entering the Louvre, was one representing an aged monk and a handsome youth about to commit the body of a lovely maiden to a grave, obviously hollowed by themselves, in the verdant depths of a forest. The pious tranquillity of the aged priest, the despairing grief of the young lover, and the exquisite loveliness of the corpse, instantly revealed that unity of effect which leaves an indelible impression. On turning to the catalogue, we found the painting entitled "The Burial of Atala." With this souvenir of Chateaubriand, encountered within a week of landing in Europe, is linked the memory of the only Breton we ever knew. We stood together on the Campanile at Venice, and while discussing that curious impulse which assails nervous organizations when looking down from a height and induces an almost irresistible desire to leap, he calmly observed that it was his intention to gratify the propensity, in a few months, by springing from the precipitous cliff that bounded his family domain in Brittany. Many days of previous intercourse with this suicidal youth had revealed a thoughtful, self-possessed, and highly

Digitized by Google

cultivated mind, that forbade our ascribing his remark to mere eccentricity; and his melancholy view of life and his fine endowments, associate him in our recollection with his gifted countryman, who, at a similar age, "arrested the fowling-piece with a tear."

Chateaubriand owed his first literary fame to American subjects; through him our country assumed a poetical interest to European minds—although, it must be confessed, this result is to be ascribed rather to the fancy and enthusiasm than the authenticity of the writer. Lafayette had just returned to France, and awakened there a sentiment of glory in behalf of the new republic whose liberties he had assisted to rescue; and while this feeling was yet prevalent, appeared the vivid descriptions of nature and the forest-life of the distant continent, from the glowing pen of Chateaubriand. The vicissitudes of his career, the tenacity of his opinions and sympathies, his extensive wanderings, and especially the remarkable identity of the man with his country and the age, render his memoirs of unusual interest. They exhibit the history of an eventful era, mirrored, as it were, upon a reflective and ardent soul; they illustrate how the spirit of reform wrestles with the mind of an intelligent conservative; and they afford the most impressive glimpses of nature, literature, revolutions and society, as they appear to the consciousness of a man of sentiment and philosophy thoroughly exposed to their agency and yet capable of tranquil observation. Strongly attached to the ideas of the past—religious, political, and domestic—on account of his education and instincts, he was borne along the tide of those vital changes that mark the last century, at once their victim and expositor,—now inspired, and now persecuted by the course of events; and yet always preserving intact the noble individuality of his character.

It is this which makes us the willing auditors of his story, and which, in spite of the constant egotism and occasional extravagance of his autobiography, wins our warmest attention and frequent sympathy. The hardihood with which he accepts the conditions of a destiny alternating between the greatest extremes of misfortune and prosperity; the zeal that sustains his pilgrimage in the trackless forests of the West and the arid desert of the East; over seas and mountains, through unknown crowds of his fellow-beings, and in the lonely struggles of bereaved affection, lends a warmth to every page of his narrative; and amid the varying panorama through which he conducts us, not for a moment are we unconscious of the Breton, the royalist, and the Frenchman of the old *régime*. It is this combination of intense personal identity with the most changeful scenes and fortunes that gives its peculiar charm to the life of Chateaubriand.

Digitized by Google

Other travellers have as well described America and the Holy Land, Napoleon and the Alhambra; we have pictures of the French Revolution more elaborate than his; the trials and the triumphs of the man of letters have been equally well chronicled, and the war of opinion as eloquently reported; but these, and the countless other phases of Chateaubriand's experience, are lighted up in his record by the fire of imagination, outlined, with wonderful distinctness, by strong feeling, and often exquisitely softened by the atmosphere of sentiment. Sketches which impress us with the intensely picturesque effect of Dante are interspersed with speculative gossip that would do credit to old Montaigne, and the author and lover seem to change parts with the adventurer and the statesman, as we find the experiences of each detailed with equal complacency; yet through and around them all the original man is apparent—his melancholy reveries, his poetic ecstasies, his profound sensibility to nature, his love of glory, his devotion to the past, his vast anticipations, his philosophic observation, keen sense of honour, patriotism, and independent yet loving spirit: nothing can be more manly than his enterprises, his endurance, and his industry, and nothing more childlike than his account of them. We are often inclined to forget the offensiveness of vanity, as we read, in the fruits of its unconscious revelations; we cannot but perceive that it is the vividness of his own impressions and the importance he attaches to them that render Chateaubriand so effective an author; and intolerable as would be commonplace events thus unfolded, those of universal interest, which chiefly occupy his memoirs, derive from this cause an infinite attraction. Far more real appears the historic scenes reviewed, when thus linked with the thoughts and feelings of such a man, and the whole process of his authorship is ingeniously displayed by so minute a history of his life; indeed, the one is but the exponent of the other; his books are the genuine offspring of his experience and his biography—not the life of one man, but an episodical history of the times.

The most careful limning in this remarkable picture is that of the early scenes. Like all reminiscences, those of his childhood are the clearest, and the original elements of his character there defined give us the key to much of his subsequent history. Following him from St. Malo through the most exciting and dramatic incidents, and amid every variety of climate and condition, the image of the isolated, thoughtful, and baffled youth rises continually to our fancy, and explains every trait of the man. The sea, the turret, the woods, the paternal austerity, the sisters' love, the mother's piety, the suicidal purpose, the ideal attachment, the rude manners, and heart tremb-

Digitized by Google

ling with sensibility—all this half-Crabbe-like and half-Shaksperian picture of a young provincial noble's existence in Brittany just before the Revolution, haunts the memory of the reader with its sad yet truthful lineaments. It also gives him the clue to Chateaubriand's solemnity of mind and loyalty of purpose. In the solitude and secret conflicts of his boyhood originated the strength of mind, the want of external adaptation, and the poetical habit of his nature. It drew him into intimacy with the outward universe and his own soul, and laid the foundation of the contemplative spirit that accompanied him in a career of almost incessant activity; thus inducing a kind of Hamlet or Jacques-like idiosyncrasy that, when deepened by exile, poverty, and baffled sentiment, gave the element of pathos which distinguishes the most effective of his writings, and is the key-note of his memoirs.

The life of Chateaubriand, thus minutely related, and made alive and dramatic by the fidelity and emotion with which it is portrayed, naturally arranges itself into scenes, each of which illustrates an entire act. Thus, from the chateau-life of his childhood we follow him to college, and thence to Paris, and stand beside him at the window where his heart sickened as the heads of the first victims of the Revolution were borne along on pikes; then behold him seated by an Indian camp-fire, within hearing of the Falls of Niagara; a few months elapse and he is discovered sauntering in Kensington Gardens, meditating a work of genius, or sharing his last crust with a brother exile in a London garret; within a year the teacher of an English country maiden in a distant parish; shortly afterwards the secretary of Cardinal Fesch, at Rome; then a pilgrim to Jerusalem, animated by the old crusader spirit; previously a soldier in the French army besieging Thironville, or begging, wounded, at a fisherman's hut; again, in retirement at the *Vallée aux Loups*, planting or writing; now fraternizing with the Parisian *littérateurs* of a past generation, now braving Napoleon in an inaugural discourse before the French Institute, and now fêting the English nobility as ambassador to the Court of St. James—waging political battles in Paris, assisting at the Congress of Verona, or talking regretfully of the past, in his latter days, at Madame Recamier's *soirées*. The life of the province, the university, the capital—the voyageur, the soldier, the author, the *diplomat*, the journalist, the exile, the man of society, the man of State, and the man of sentiment—all were known to their full significance in his adventurous career. Stern as were the realities of his lot, a vein of absolute romance is visible throughout: continually an episode occurs which the writer of fiction would seize with avidity and elaborate with effect. Imagine the use to which might be

Digitized by Google

thus adapted such incidents as the night he was an involuntary prisoner in Westminster Abbey, the circumstances of his emigration, and his departure from the army of the princes—his encounter with a French dancing-master among the Iroquois, his *mariage de convenance*, and his subsequent love-adventure in England—his brilliant *début* as an author, his shipwreck on returning from America, his vigil at the death-bed of Madame Beaumont, and his walk out of Brussels while listening to the cannons of Waterloo! The breath of every clime, the discipline of all vocations, the fiercest controversies and the most abstract reveries, associations of the highest kind and events of the most universal import—fame and obscurity, riches and poverty, devoted friendship and pitiable isolation, contact with the past through keen sympathy and intense imagination, identity with the present through indefatigable activity—made up the existence of Chateaubriand, which was the successive realization of all that constitutes the life of the mind, of the heart, and of the age itself.

His social experience was quite as varied, interesting, and historical as the events of which he was a witness or an agent. Of the most illustrious of his acquaintance and intimate of his friends, he has left excellent portraits, and highly characteristic personal anecdotes. Indeed, the manner in which descriptions of nature and adventurous incident are blended, in his memoirs, with those of renowned or attractive individuals, make them resemble a long picture-gallery, where the features of the great and loved beam from the wall amid beautiful or wild landscapes, domestic groups and memorable scenes from history. Beginning with the members of his own family, he delineates the persons, traits of character, and manner of Moreau and Mirabeau, Laharpe and his literary coterie, Napoleon and Washington, Canning, Neckar, Talleyrand, the Duchess de Berri, Charles X., Lafayette, the French emigrants in London, the Aborigines in America, his Irish hostess, with her passion for cats, at Hempstead, Charlotte, his beloved English pupil, Madame Bacciocchi, Madame de Coulin, Madame Dudevant,—in a word, all his political, literary, and personal acquaintances. The distinct outline and graceful colouring of these portraits bespeak the artist; but we owe the effective style in which they are conceived to the relation in which the limner stood to the originals; the heat-lightning of his love or indignation often gives us veritable glimpses more impressive than a detailed but less vivid revelation could yield: thus his two interviews with Bonaparte and Washington, the manner in which Malesherbes infected him with that enthusiasm of discovery which sent him across the ocean in search of a northwest passage,

Digitized by Google

and Madame de Staël's favourite appellation, "My dear Francis," bring each individual directly before us. Byron was a school-boy at Harrow when Chateaubriand, the impoverished exile, caught sight of his curly head as he wandered by the seminary in his peregrinations round London; and De Tocqueville, the able expositor of our own institutions, he knew as the intelligent child of a friend at whose country-house he visited. Compare the hunting party of Louis XIV., which he attended as a young noble of the realm, with the morning call upon Washington at Philadelphia, and we have the last glimmer of feudal royalty in the old world with the first dawn of republican simplicity in the new.

The business-like manner in which his marriage was contracted, is in violent contrast with the romantic earnestness of his reminiscences of sentiment; and his veneration for the ties of family and rank, strangely combined with a zest for the primitive in human nature. The instinct of glory led him to cherish enthusiasm for greatness, that of blood for races, and that of poetry for the original, the fresh, and the intrepid. Hence he sympathized with genius, of whatever clime—with exiled princes and Indian chiefs; and while wisdom, tenderness, and valour so attached him that he dwells almost passionately upon those eras marked by satisfactory intercourse with others, ever and anon misfortune, pride, and a sense of the unattained draw him back to self and the glow of companionship, and love fades into the "pale cast of thought." He survived the most renowned of his contemporaries and the most endeared of his friends. Yet few men have been more sincerely loved than Chateaubriand, and few have mingled intimately with the intellectual leaders of any epoch and won a greater share of admiration with less compromise of self-respect; for he was quite as remarkable for the independence of his character as for the strength of his attachments.

One of his most pleasing traits was an ardent love of nature. To gratify this on a broad scale, he cheerfully undertook long and hazardous voyages, and delighted to expose his whole being to the influence of earth, sea, and firmament, with the *abandon* of the poet and the observant spirit of the philosopher. His sensibility in this regard is evident in the force and beauty of his impressions. His mind caught and reproduced the inspiration of the universe, and his affections linked themselves readily with objects hallowed by association. Thus he speaks of Madame de Beaumont's cypress, the poplar beside his window in the *rue de Mirousel*, the nightingales at the restaurant he frequented, and the doves whose brooding note accompanied studies, with a degree

Digitized by Google

of feeling rarely coëxistent with such rude experience of the world. "*Je me sentais*," he says, "*vivre et végéter avec la nature dans une espèce de pantheisme.*" He possessed the genuine instinct of travel, and the migratory impulse of birds. It is remarkable that a disposition like this—characteristic of the naturalist and poet—should be so developed in a man whose name is identified with a long political career. The conventionalities of life, however, and "*tracasseries politiques*" were ungenial to him. He describes the two sides of his character very justly when he says:—"*Dans l'existence intérieure et théorique, je suis l'homme de tous les songes; dans l'existence extérieure et pratique l'homme des réalités. Aventureux et ordonné, passionné et méthodique.*" He was indeed a poetical cosmopolite—one of the most perfect examples of that style of character known to modern times. In his candid self-revelations, the primeval instincts of the natural, and the complex relations of the civilized human being are successively brought into view; for the rapture with which he first greets the virgin forest of the new world is soon followed by an instant resolution to join the army of his king, of whose flight he was informed by an old newspaper, accidentally picked up in the cabin of a backwoodsman; and if, as we accompany his musing steps along the banks of the Jordan, it seems as if one of the heroes of Tasso's epic had revived in the person of a French paladin, the associations of a later and less chivalric era are soon excited by the *procès verbal* that condemned his brother to the guillotine—printed in another page of his memoirs as a sad but authentic link in his family history. Listen to him as he thinks aloud in the Colosseum at moonlight, and you would infer that he was a bard unallied to the realities of the present—a dreamer whose life was in the past; but the idea is dispelled, almost when conceived, by an enthusiastic description that succeeds of one of those Parisian *réunions* or political climaxes in which he took so active a share.

His reminiscences of travel have a sweetness and vitality, like the dexterously-preserved flowers of an herbal, as if he transmitted us the very hues and sensations of the regions he traversed with so keen a sympathy—the marine odour and crumbling architecture of Venice, the religious atmosphere of Rome, the fresh verdure and exuberant nature of the western hemisphere, the Petrarchan charms of Southern France, the Moorish tints of Spain, the substantial glory of England, the grandeur of mountains relieved against the transparent and frosty air of Switzerland, the extremes of metropolitan and the simple graces of rural life—these, and

Digitized by Google

all other sensitive and moral experiences of the traveller, Chateaubriand, as it were, imbibed as the aliment of his mind and reproduced as memorials of his life. Like Byron, he became part of what he loved; and the intensity of his own consciousness rendered nature, art, and society, or rather their traits and essential spirit, his own. In the aboriginal wigwam and the Arabian tent; at Memphis, Carthage, and Jerusalem; at Golgotha and Hempstead, Granada and Rome; at the banquet of the monarch, on the sick-bed of the hospital, in the prison and the boudoir—when dragged triumphantly in his carriage by the applauding law-students from the Bibliotheque Genevieve to his domicile, and when left, propped against a wall, a wounded fugitive in Germany—he rose above the material and the temporary, caught the true significance, bravely met the exigency, and felt the ideal as well as the human interest of the scene and occasion.

It is this spirit of humanity, this poetical tone of mind,—the lofty thought, the genuine feeling, in short, with which he encountered vicissitude and contemplated beauty, and not the mere outward facts of his career, that gives a permanent and ineffable charm to his name. A halo of sentiment encircles his brow, not less evident when bowed in adversity than when crowned with honour. He demonstrates the truth of the brave old poet's creed, that the mind of a man is his true kingdom. His self-respect never falters amid the most discouraging circumstances; he redeems misfortune of its worst anguish by the strength of his love or his religion. The scope of his view wins him from the limited and the personal; the ardour of his emotions compensates for the coldness of fortune; he is ever aware of the vast privilege of the rational being to look before and after; memories either glorious or tender, and visions of faith shed a consoling light both upon the clouds of outward sorrow and inward melancholy; always a poet, a philosopher, a lover, and a Christian, Chateaubriand the man is "nobler than his mood," however sad, baffled, or absorbed it may be. This dignity, this sense of the lofty, the comprehensive, and the beautiful, seldom deserts him. It gives tone, elevation, spirit and interest to each phase of his life, and makes its record poetic and suggestive.

The political career of Chateaubriand has been the subject of that diversity of opinion which seems inevitably to attend this portion of all illustrious lives. A rigid, narrow course in regard to party, it would be irrational to expect and illiberal to desire in a man of such broad insight and generous instincts. His imaginative tendency and chivalric tone also unfitted him to be either consistently sub-

Digitized by Google

servient to a dogma or invariably true to a faction. The nobility and sentiment of the man, however, shed their light upon the politician. The character and spirit of his statesmanship, though at times too ideal in theory, were individual, and often indicative of the highest moral courage. He broke away from the life of a court, in his youth, with the intrepidity of the most zealous republican; when Mirabeau clapped him fondly on the shoulder, he thought his hand the claw of Satan; and while he sought, in voluntary exile, immunity from the horrors of the Revolution, he was loyal to his order when the time came to resist the fanaticism of the Jacobins—fought in its ranks and shared the privations of emigration. It has been well said that he was "a monarchist from conviction, a Bourbonist from honour, and a republican by nature;" and, incompatible as such principles may seem with each other, he suffered and toiled in behalf of all of them. He solicited a mission of discovery at the age of twenty to escape from the ungenial social and political atmosphere of France, as well as to gratify an adventurous taste. He dedicated his great work to the First Consul, and accepted from him the embassy to Rome, with a sincere faith in his patriotism; and bravely dared his anger, by instantly resigning another office the moment he heard of the Duke d'Enghien's execution. It was his boast, that only after the "success of his ideas" was he dismissed from the political arena. In 1830 he stood alone among the peers, and urged them to protest in favour of the banished king; and yet, for the sake of tranquillity, acceded to the request of his opponents not to utter his intended speech against the new government. He also declined their offer of a portfolio, saying: "I only demand liberty of conscience, and the right to go and die wherever I can find freedom and repose." Thus, while Chateaubriand failed entirely to please both parties, he was yet eminently true to himself, and won respect from each. He declared of Bonaparte: "*Il était animé contre moi de toute sa forfaiture, comme je l'étais contre lui de toute ma loyauté.*" The episode of the Breton against the Corsican is one of the most characteristic in the history of both. It is conceded that he always sacrificed personal interest to his idea of public good; and if he sent a French army to crush liberty in Spain, he has, theoretically at least, vindicated his motives. His constant purpose was to give the people a system of graduated monarchy, in which he firmly believed their true welfare to consist, and, at the same time, to reassert the dignity of France. He was the invariable and eloquent advocate of the liberty of the press and of religion.

The most inveterate advocates of reform, if endowed with just moral perception and even an inkling of chivalric sentiment, can

Digitized by Google

hardly fail to respect the devotion of Chateaubriand to that system which, despite its inhuman abuses, lends the highest dignity and value to the past. He clung with the almost absolute loyalty of the middle ages to those persons and usages amid which he was born, and in fidelity to which he thought consisted his honour. He sacrificed wealth, home, safety—everything but character—to principles outgrown by the world, but endeared to faith. Some one has said that independence is the essential test of a gentleman; Chateaubriand, thus judged, was not only a gentleman in the absolute sense of the term, but a knight according to the original standard. Loyalty was in him an immutable instinct, and one that redeems all the apparent perversities of opinion traceable in his career as a man of the State. He has been said to be the legitimate inheritor of that eclectic political feeling, attached at once to both past and future, to the people and the throne, of which Lafayette was the exemplar. From 1814 to 1825 he contended for the past; from then until 1830 he was the advocate of progress, and thenceforward strove to reconcile the interests of both:—such is the enlightened view taken by the liberal critic. During the Hundred Days he was one of the king's counsellors at Ghent. The anti-regicide doctrine of his first speech to the Institute forever disunited him from Napoleon, and he retired from public life on the accession of Louis Philippe. Deprived of a lucrative editorship, exiled, his property forfeited, he again and again evidenced his superiority to corruption, and sought refuge in nature and letters from the vicissitudes of public life. Ambassador at Berlin, Rome, and London—minister, soldier, and journalist—in the congress of nations, the cabinet, and the popular assembly—however visionary, impulsive, and pertinacious, Chateaubriand nobly vindicated his title to the name of patriot. A citizen of the world by virtue of enlarged sympathies and intelligence, he was always a Frenchman at heart, and one of that school, now almost wholly traditional, about which lingers the venerable charm of a loyal, brave, courteous, and gallant race—touched, however, in him, to fairer issues by an innate love of the grand, a natural ideality and depth of feeling partly inherited and somewhat owing to his Breton origin and remarkable experience. In a word, he was both a poet and a true scion of the old French aristocracy, which seems to have expired when the hearse containing his remains, followed by a single carriage, in which were his executor and valet, reached the shores of Brittany one summer day in 1849, and a veiled woman in deep mourning drew near and laid a bunch of flowers on the coffin, saying tearfully: "This is all I have to offer."

Digitized by Google

The authorship, like the existence of Chateaubriand, was chivalric, adventurous, and effective—usually originating in some want or impulse of the time, derived from his own experience or aimed at a positive and practical result: the man of action and of the age, the improvisator of the occasion, marks his labours in the field of letters. Thus, his first essay as a writer on a large scale was the Treatise on Revolutions, written in exile and for bread, and serving as a kind of initiative discipline to works of more instant and universal effect; yet even this, the most abstract and least spontaneous of his works, chiefly historical in its plan, being written at the epoch of the French Revolution, in which the author and his family so deeply suffered, had a vital and immediate significance. The subject thus chosen indicates his dominant taste for philosophy, history, and politics; in its execution, also, is evident his love of bringing ancient parallels to bear on contemporary events; the broad survey of governments it includes, shows his comprehensive scope of mind, the instinctive grandeur of his conception; while some of the portraits and scenes betray that felicity of description which characterized his subsequent writings. However respectable as a literary undertaking, the *Essais sur les Revolutions* was rather a prophetic than realized test of his mission as a writer. The *Génie du Christianisme* is one of those works that, by meeting the conscious needs of an age and people, lift the author at once to the rank of public benefactor. When Europe recoiled from the barren and bitter fruits of anarchy and atheism, and humanity became conscious of her desolation, "without God in the world," this reassertion of the religious sentiment, of the incalculable benefits Christianity had bestowed upon the world, of its infinite superiority to all previous systems, of its accordance with nature and the heart of man, of its sacred relation to domestic life and to the human passions, seemed an echo of the latent hopes and recollections of every bereaved and aspiring soul amid the wrecks of social and civil life. With singular eloquence, Chateaubriand resummoned the saints, the angels, the myths, the ceremonial, and the sanctions of the Christian religion from the eclipse they had undergone. He compared, as only a scholar, a philosopher, a poet can do, Hell with Tartarus, Heaven with Elysium; Homer, Virgil, and Theocritus, with Dante, Milton, and Tasso; the Sibyls and the Evangelists, the Bible and the Iliad. He recounted the triumphs of Christian art, and described how the New Testament changed the genius of the painter: *sans lui, rien ôter de sa sublimité, il lui donne plus de tendresse.* He revealed its architectural signs—the dome and spire: "*les yeux du voyageur viennent d'abord s'attacher sur cette flèche religieuse dont l'aspect réveilee*

Digitized by Google

une foule de sentiments et de souvenirs; c'est la pyramide funèbre autour de la quelle dorment les aieux; c'est la monument de joie ou l'airain sacré annonce le vie du fidele; c'est là que l'epoux s'unisant; c'est là que les chrétiens se prosterent au pied des autels, le foible pour prier le Dieu deforce, le coupable pour implorer le Dieu de misèricorde, l'innocent pour chanter le Dieu de bonté." He pictures to the imagination the tangible evidences of his holy faith—Raphael's Madonnas and the Hotel Dieu, the Festival, the Cemetery, the Sisters of Charity, the Knight, the Missionary, the eloquence of Massillon, Bossuet, Pascal, and Fénélon. Thus, gathering up the trophies and opening the vistas of Christianity once more before the despairing eyes of multitudes, Chateaubriand was hailed by tearful praises. "Imagine," says one of his critics, "a vase of myrrh overturned on the steps of a bloodstained altar." To us and to-day, the significance of his work is greatly modified and abated. In the light of a more advanced civilization and a race of no less eloquent and deeper expositors, we look upon it, with Lamartine, rather as a reliquary than as a creative work: it is a panoramic view of the history of Christianity—a poem celebrating its dogmas and monuments, and "superstition's rod" seems to hang over the inspired defender of the Church. None the less beautiful, however, are many of its appeals to the past and to the human heart—none the less remarkable its success. He tells us it was undertaken not only from devout, but filial sentiment; his conversion having been induced by his mother's death and grief for his scepticism. Over the book, therefore, hangs an atmosphere of poetical and adventurous interest which lends it permanent attraction.

The *Etudes Historiques* were commenced and finished, as the author says, with a restoration; and he adds: "*Le plus long et le dernier travail de ma vie, celui qui m'a coûté le plus de recherches, de soins et d'années, celui où j'ai peut-être remué le plus d'idées et de faits, paroît lorsqu'il ne peut trouver de lecteurs.*" This want of comparative success is easily accounted for by the absence of personal motive and interest in this elaborate, instructive, sometimes eloquent and characteristic work. The *Itinéraire, Voyage en Amérique*, and, in fact, all his books of travel, while they contain charming passages, are now more interesting as links in his career than for their facts and descriptions—there having been no department of recent literature more affluent in graces of style and attraction of details than that of voyages and travels. In the East and our own country, he is, therefore, in a great measure, superseded by later and standard writers. His literary and political mis-

Digitized by Google

ecllanies are often rich in thought and imagery; the opinions they embrace are, however, frequently inconsistent; but there is a harmony of tone, a vigour of argument, a keen critical appreciation, and a gift of expression which indicate genius amid much that is desultory, extravagant and incomplete. The prejudices of the Roman Catholic, and the ignorance of the foreigner, sometimes rudely clash with the beautiful style of the rhetorician and the lofty sentiment of the bard. Amid the voluminous disquisition, the journals of travel, and the polemics of Chateaubriand, gems of narrative—episodes and illustrations in a truly poetic vein, of his arguments and descriptions, have served to wing his name abroad and cause it to nestle in many hearts: these are *Atala*, *Reve*, and *Les Aventures du Dernier Abencerrage*, romantic in conception and most gracefully executed—prose poems, in short, and the flowers of his mind, terse, beautiful, and embalmed in sentiment. In contrast with these is the most vigorous and the least charitable of his political essays, "Bonaparte and the Bourbons," which Lamartine well describes as "the bitter speech of the public executioner of humanity and liberty, written by the hand of the Furies against the great culprit of the age."

The passionate invective of this famous pamphlet would strike the reader differently could he imagine it addressed to the French people before the star of the conqueror began to wane; but it is associated with the image of Napoleon, not in the hour of his triumph, but as he sits at Fontainebleau, brooding in dishevelled garments and with despair on his brow over the defection of his household and the pitiless demands of the allies.

Wide, indeed, is the range of Chateaubriand's literary talent and achievement, and versatile as his fortunes: in politics singularly bold, almost ferocious; in history suggestive and ingenious; and in personal revelations often pathetic, picturesque, and sometimes vain, yet ever graphic. He knew the fever of mind incident to poetical conception—the long, patient vigil of the scholar, and the serene, contemplative mood of the philosopher. He experienced climaxes both of emotion and opinion, and vented both on paper. And with all the assiduity, the invention and the glow of these compositions, he had also the melo-dramatic, the exaggerated, and the artificial taste of a Frenchman; he loved effect—he was carried away by the desire of glory, tenacious of individuality, and happy in a kind of wayward yet noble self-assertion. Such a writer is naturally open to critical assault and fitted to excite admiration in equal degrees. Accordingly, his incongruities as a champion of religion have been often designated by writers of more chastened taste; the hardihood

Digitized by Google

and inconsistencies of his partisan articles justly condemned, and the effects of a too sensitive mind easily detected. As an instance of his want of spontaneous expression, and the habitude of well-considered language, Lamartine relates, in his History of the Restoration, that when sent as a deputy to the Emperor Alexander to plead the Bourbon cause, Chateaubriand was silent because he could not on the spur of the moment, as he afterwards declared, find language appropriate to the majesty of the occasion. He required time to utter himself in writing; and therefore, on this memorable occasion, allowed a younger and far less gifted member of the deputation to speak for him.

His style, too, has been censured for its *grandiose* tendency, and his authorship made the object of extreme laudation and scorn. What almost invariably claims our admiration, however, is the gallant and the comprehensive, the poetical and the sympathetic spirit in which he has written. Somewhat of the extravagance of his nation is indeed conspicuous; but we are impelled to view it leniently on account of the grace and bravery with which it is usually combined. He opened glorious vistas, and let fall seeds of eternal truth. The sound of the sea, the setting of the sun, the roaring of the wind amid the pines, the fall of the leaf, the associations of home and country, the solemnity of ruins, the griefs of humanity, the vicissitudes of life, the sanctions of religion, tenderness, heroism, reverence, faith, —all, in short, that hallows and sublimates this brief existence and sheds a mystic glory over the path of empires, the scene of nature, and the lot of man, found eloquent recognition from his pen; and for such ministrations we give him love and honour, without losing sight of the vagueness, the prejudice, the artificiality and the exaggeration which occasionally mar such exuberant development. In him the conscious and personal sometimes dwarfs the essentially noble; but a kind of grandeur of feeling and thought often lifts him above the temporary. He cherished faith in his race: "*Si l'homme*," he says, "*est ingrat, l'humanité est reconnaissante.*" "The masters of thought," he declares, "open horizons, invent words, have heirs and lineages." For a Gallic nature, his appreciation of Milton, Dante, Tasso—of the serious phase of greatness—was remarkable, although some of his criticisms of English literature excite a smile. In his influence as a man of letters, for half a century he was the successful antagonist of Voltaire and his school. Often he gave impetus and embodiment to public opinion; and if his portraits are sometimes fanciful and his judgments poetic, his literary achievements, on the whole, had a rare character of adventure and beauty; and the alternations from severe reasoning to imaginative glow, are such as

Digitized by Google

indicate a marvellous combination of intellectual power. For the complete revised edition of his works, he received five hundred and fifty thousand francs; and perhaps no modern author boasts more remarkable trophies—such a blending of tinsel and truth—of the incongruous but efficient politician with the ardent, sensitive, heroic poet—incomplete and desultory in certain respects, fresh, courageous, true, eloquent and original in others; imprudent, but royal; "worth an army to the Bourbons," yet enamoured of American solitudes; as a journalist, said to unite "*la hauteur de Bossuet et la profondeur de Montesquieu;* advising literary aspirants of his race and tongue not to try verse, and if they have the poetical instinct to eschew politics; carrying the war into Napoleon's retreating dominion, and, at the same time, hailed as the dove of the Deluge, whose mission it was to renew the faith of the heart, and infuse the impoverished veins of the social body with generous sentiment." Enough of fame and of weakness we may, indeed, find in all this to crown a writer with admiration and pity. If his genius was somewhat too studied, it lent dignity to his times and country; if his youth was shackled by the pedantic coterie that have ruled French letters, his maturity redeemed, by the independent advocacy of truth and nature, the casual vassalage; if he once over-estimated Ossian, he never lost sight of the need of clear expression, and repudiated, when engaged on practical subjects, the vague conceptions he admired.

Chateaubriand's genius thus responded to national subjects, and was modified by national imperfections—in his poetical sentiment reminding us of St. Pierre, Rousseau, and Lamartine; while many passages in the Martyrs, Natchez, the magazines, letters, romances, in the answers to his critics and historical essays, challenge recognition for the philosopher; and yet, ever and anon, the manner in which he dwells upon his achievements, and the consideration he demands both from the reader and governments for his persecutions and his fame, cause us somewhat painfully to realize the weakness of the man. In this anti-Saxon and thoroughly Gallic egotism, sensitiveness, vanity, or by whatever name we designate a quality so obvious and characteristic, Chateaubriand was a genuine Frenchman. He describes this trait of his nation justly when accounting for the fruitfulness of its literature in memoirs and the comparative dearth of history:—"*Le Francois a été tous les temps, même lorsqu'il étoit barbare, vain, léger et sociable. Il réfléchit peu sur l'ensemble des objets; mais il observe curieusement les détails, et son coup d'œil est prompt, sûr et délié; il faut toujours qu'il soit en scène. Il aime à dire; j'etois là, le roi me dit; J'appu du prince,*" etc.

Digitized by Google

From the casual frailties, however, and from the intrigues of the *salon*, the warfare of party and the reverses of fortune—from all that is unworthy and mutable in this remarkable life, what is pure and effective in genius seems to rise and separate itself to the imagination, and we behold the true spirit of the man embodied and embalmed in the disinterested results of his thought and the spontaneous utterance of his sentiment; and therefore it is as a poet of the old *régime* that we finally regard Chateaubriand.

It has been acutely said that external life is an appendix to the heart, and these *Memoirs d'outre Tombe* signally evidence the truth. Dated, as they are, at long intervals of time and in many different places, the immediate circumstances under which they are written are often brought into view simultaneously with a vivid retrospect, to which they form a singular contrast; and this gives an air of reality to the whole such as is afforded by oral communication—we frequently seem to listen instead of reading. Chateaubriand first thought of composing the work where Gibbon conceived the idea of his great enterprise: in that haunt of eternal memories—Rome. It was commenced in his rural seclusion at La Vallée aux Loups, near Aulnay, in the autumn of 1811, and finally revised at Paris in 1841. The intermediate period is strictly chronicled, and interspersed with details of the antecedent and the passing moment, together with countless portraits, criticisms and scenes, both analytical and descriptive; but the deep vein of sentiment which prompts the author's movements and arrays his experience and thoughts, continually remind us that the life depicted is but the appendix to the heart that inspires. Thus his intimacy with Malesherbes, whose granddaughter his elder brother married, fostered that passion for exploration which made him a traveller; his repugnance to priestly shackles induced him to enrol his name in the regiment of Navarre; his adherence to his party made him a translator and master of languages in England; his fraternal love redeemed his boyhood from misanthropic despair, and his religious and poetic sentiment impelled him to the East. This oriental tendency—if we may so call it—is evident, as he suggests, in the whole race of modern genius, and seems to spring both from delicate organization, giving a peculiar charm to the atmosphere and life of that region, and from historical associations that win the imagination and the sympathies—romantically evident in Byron, and religiously in Chateaubriand and Lamartine. The former, despite the battles, conclaves and literary affairs that make up the substance of his memoirs, never loses his identity with sentiment, whether luxuriating in the scenery of the Grand Charteuse, invoking the departed at Holyrood or Venice, setting out

Digitized by Google

the trees of every land he has visited on his domain; breaking away from his English home with the exclamation, "*Je suis mari!*" or recording his last interview with his sister Lucille and her obscure burial; claiming his chair at Corinne's fireside, or discovering auguries in the fierce tempest that broke over St. Malo the night he was born. The most utilitarian reader must confess, as he connects the practical efficiency and noble traits of Chateaubriand with his generous emotions, that sentiment is a grand conservative and productive element in human life, and to its inciting and elevated influence justly ascribe the usefulness, the renown, and the singular interest that attaches to the man he may have seen a few years since threading the Boulevards of Paris with "irreproachable cravat and ebony cane;" recognising in his gentle yet vigorous expression, in his broad forehead and projecting temples, the thick white hair around his bald crown, the inclination of the head, the long face and observant yet noble air, the outward indications of his varied experience, rare gifts, and unique character.

Art. VIII.—ON THE RELATION OF INTELLIGENCE TO THE PIETY AND EFFICIENCY OF THE CHURCH.

Jesus gave, not to the twelve alone, as they went forth on their first commission, but to the Church in every age, that expressive warning: "Be ye therefore wise as serpents and harmless as doves." It foretold that, to the perfection of her character and the full success of her mission, the Church would require not only the purity of the one, but the wisdom of the other; that neither piety nor intelligence is separately sufficient, and only when combined in their highest excellence are they equal to the task. By intelligence we mean, not a proficiency in any one branch of science, but that general cultivation of intellect which results in wide knowledge and comprehensive views. We know that "the world by wisdom knew not God;" but it was a world without God, a reason without revelation, a demonstration without axioms spiritually discerned. When God imparts the element required, and the world becomes his Church, *her* wisdom is not foolishness. Sometimes, indeed, it has seemed as though piety alone was power, and wisdom was utter weakness; but we consider that intellectual excellence is often seen apart from moral purity, and piety is never alone, for the common experience of life gives every man a measure of mental training and practical wisdom. There is an analogy in the arrangement of the compound

Digitized by Google

blow-pipe. The pure hydrogen of piety may draw, from an ordinary atmosphere, support for a flame of high intensity; but only when fully penetrated by the oxygen of a sound intelligence, is its power perfected and irresistible.

The relation of intelligence to the spirituality of the Church, is a subject entirely distinct from its relation to her efficiency in aggressive movements. It is of itself a question which should not be undetermined in any mind, whether mental culture can affect religious experience, either for good or for evil. *A priori*, indeed, it would seem strange if, in the crowning work of creation, there was no observance of that law by which the perfection of each part requires the perfection of the whole, and if the cultivation of the mental and of the moral faculties should prove incompatible in the image of Him in whom the same attributes coëxist and coöperate in infinite perfection. If beyond the grave we hope for the completeness of wisdom as of love, how natural that, even now, these faculties should strengthen in each other's strength. Every voice of prophecy, and all signs of the times, foretoken that, in the millennial age, "knowledge shall be increased," and those favoured generations be at once the most spiritual and the most intellectual the world has ever seen. And especially, the well-known quickening of the mental powers attendant on spiritual renovation seems like an electric summons from the awakened soul to the faculties whose activity is essential to its life. Yet against all this presumptive evidence, we meet the wide impression that intelligence is either negative, or injurious in its influence on personal piety.

This impression may have arisen in part from the fact that formerly, even more than at present, the costliness of education confined the privileges of mental culture to the very class whose position and wealth involved all those seductions which make it hard to enter into the kingdom of heaven. That a larger proportion of the poor of this world than of its affluent have become rich in faith, we all may see; but that this has resulted not from intelligence, but from the position, appears in the more gross and absorbing worldliness of the uncultivated family of wealth, compared with those in which intelligence exerts its elevating and moralising power. In any given rank of society, a larger proportion of the intelligent will be found to have embraced the gospel than of the uneducated, and their piety will prove, on the average, more uniform. It is this false alliance of wealth with intelligence which has brought upon the latter the suspicion which the Saviour attached to the former alone; yet in the modified social life of our own country, and in proportion as the ancient folly and expense cease to be exclusive forms into

Digitized by Google

which a life of affluence is compelled to flow, instances of deep piety in connexion with wealth, as well as intelligence, are becoming more common.

It is important also to observe that the mass of the Church-membership, being of the poorer classes, have always been prone to judge the wealthy by a false standard. The danger of all outward indulgences is, that they foster a pride of possession, and absorb and materialize the soul. Yet, it is difficult to form a general rule of judgment upon others which shall be secure. The toiling poor, in whom a very slight attempt towards the elegancies of life may betray a departure from sober frugality or a false ambition, and whose uncultivated minds feel no congeniality in the refinements which stand out barely as the insignia of wealth and rank, cannot appreciate the feelings of those to whom the beauties of art have been as familiar from childhood as the wild-flower to the cottager, and with whom the elegancies of life are the unlaboured expression of a natural refinement. The ruder classes deem all an evidence of sin which would betray it in themselves, and equipage and forms and accomplishments are but the etiquette of pride. They either bluntly deny the existence of piety in such connexions, or receive in confusion the occasional evidences of true spirituality which beam out irresistibly. Moreover, there is another ground of misconstruction in the difference of expression in the two extremes of society. The character of the masses is peculiarly emotional, and the expression strong and rough. The whole influence of culture and of polite life, is to bring the sensibilities into check by the intellect, to condense emotion into principle, and either to repress its utterance, or to find in accuracy and copiousness of language a full conveyance for that gush of soul which, in the uncultivated, seeks expression in energy of tone, and manner, and illustration. The collected thought, the guarded sentence, the delicate reserve, seem tame and heartless to a Christian struggling with unutterable emotion.

If, then, from precisely this class of society, a Church should take its rise, and if the majority of all evangelical Churches have thus arisen, how natural is it that this individual feeling should have become the collective sentiment of the Church at large, that a false criticism on the manifestations of piety should still seek to bring everything down to its own standard, and that, even while the Church is becoming a personal refutation of the error, she should still confound form with substance, and wealth with intelligence.

If any argument were to be drawn from the numerical proportion of the Church to the world in the ranks of the learned, we should not fear the comparison. We should observe first, however, that the

Digitized by Google

Church has of necessity withdrawn the largest proportion of her genius and erudition from direct secular learning, into the offices and studies of the ministry, and consequently the comparison must not be made from the list of the laity alone. For centuries, indeed, almost the entire learning of Christendom was concentrated in the regular or the secular clergy, and to them is due our gratitude for its preservation and transmission to modern times. If the force of this fact is to be neutralized by the superstition and formality of the middle ages, we may yet maintain that the Protestant Reformation, as being anything more than a political and formal revolution, was due to the labours of "doctors incomparable" and innumerable on the continent and in Britain, while the excuses and perversions which most disgraced it were the result of a fanatical ignorance. What beautiful examples of the power of allied learning and piety are the works of the long line of English bishops and non-conformist divines, the body of whose writings is, it is true, a vast and solid structure of theology, but from fact and illustration, and metaphor and allusion, as from battlement and pinnacle and spire of some massive cathedral, is reflected the light of every orb of science in antiquity or in their own times. Yet time would fail us to speak of all the illustrious sons of science who gloried most of all that they might "know Him and the power of His resurrection." He whose transcendent mind laid the deep foundations of international law, was no arrogant defier of the King of kings.* He who was the pioneer of modern mental philosophy,† was also the strong asserter of the reasonableness of Christianity against the oppositions of science, falsely so called. The soul of him who disclosed to all admiring ages the laws which bind all globes and systems,‡ was no wandering orb, reckless of a Sun of righteousness and the gravitation of holy love. And he§ whose seraphic muse, seeking inspiration from the Eternal Spirit alone, could soar

> "Above the Olympian hill,
> Above the flight of Pegasean wing—"

stands he not now on high, "*un*blinded by the excess of light?" If, in the rapid progress of physical science and archæology, scholars have questioned the truth of revelation, scholars have not been wanting to defend them. On the broad heavens, and upon tablets buried, strata upon strata, deep in the chambers of the earth, God has graven the history of the past and the destinies of the future. God's hand has traced the sacred record in his own hieroglyphics. The "royal priesthood" alone, with the key of an inspired volume, can

* Grotius. † Locke. ‡ Newton. § Milton.

Digitized by Google

lay bare the lines so long concealed, and decipher its annals for the Church—patient, if perchance a broken line or isolated sentence perplex, to wait, and read on, until all is clear. The profane interpret and perish! Through every field of science and literature, the student may now follow those who are no blind leaders of the blind. Even fiction, abused to mere amusement and sensual excitement, has been made to illustrate and enforce the truths of Him who "spake many things unto them in parables." The secret of the whole is simple. Knowledge is power; and God, who, when but little knowledge survived the wreck of antiquity, took care to concentrate that little in the hands of his Church, has not now, when the spirit of intellectual inquiry is poured out upon all flesh, left her without a thorough and efficient literature for her defence and ally—a literature which, from its abode upon what has been deemed the cold and barren summit of learning, amid all the mysteries which gather there, threatening lightning and earthquake to human interests, comes down, like Moses, with glory beaming from its countenance, and the law of God graven on its heart.

To the conversion of a soul, we acknowledge with joy how little of mental power or theoretical knowledge is requisite; but that self-surrender and reliance on the atonement will suffice for daily pardon and continuous regeneration. We admit too that in some rare instances an unreasoning devotion, like an instinct, fixes its eye on the main truths of the gospel, and goes rapidly forward, unterrified and unseduced from its path. We refer not to these conditions of justification, nor to these few instances, nor to that divine dispensation, which one must have remarked, giving, in accordance with no law apparent to us, a larger measure of grace, or a more powerful impulse heavenward, to some converts than to others equally justified. But we speak of the process and laws by which the spiritual character is matured in classes, and memberships, and communities. Would it be hazardous to say of a young convert, taken at random, that, with his given amount of piety, his progress will probably be *as his views?* How easily can we refer to some treasured author, whose calm pages gave definiteness and enlargement to our ideas of the Christian scheme, or to a conversation with a friend who saw the error of our thoughts, and whose quiet reasoning removed it, and a new spiritual life burst in upon us. Who would not judge that, with a given amount of piety, a preacher's power to build up the Church into holiness, would be in proportion to his comprehension of the gospel plan in all its relations, and his discrimination of every shade of duty or of sin which so perplexes? There is a power gained in the closet, and a power communicated to the fellow-wor-

Digitized by Google

shipper as we wrestle in social prayer; but distinct from this increase of sensibility to heavenly things, is that enlargement of the spiritual horizon which gives more sky to shine in upon the soul. The fact is, that with a Christian of sincere heart, the battle is not so much with sin as with error—not so much with the affections, as with the ignorance which clouds the mind. He is perpetually suffering from mistakes and devices of Satan, against which he might have been forewarned. To him spiritual wisdom is spiritual strength.

> "The prayer of Ajax was for *light*.
> Through all that long and dangerous fight,
> The darkness of that noonday night,
> He asked but the return of sight,
> To see his foeman's face."

The experience of the individual Christian is like that of the collective Church in the past. He begins by Judaizing or Platonising. He leans to works without faith, or faith without works. His exclusive thoughts banish from the Trinity the Father, or the Son, or the Holy Ghost, by concentration upon one alone. He becomes a Pelagian in his own strength, or too passive an Augustinian in dependence upon grace. He tends to rationalism, in his views of Scripture ordinances and precepts, or to traditionalism in superstitious reverence for human dictates and forms. The impeded progress, the successive reactions, the one-sided development, so clearly marked in each stage of advancement by the Church, are reproduced in the individual member. But if the Church has thus marked out the true channel of faith and practice, albeit by continued rebounding from the rocks on either side, is it not for our learning? Our whole system of instruction assumes that these theoretical and practical errors may be avoided, and a Christian press forward in the right way, without bruising himself into it by contact with successive errors. Think of a sincere soul serving God amid the mummeries of Romanism, and imagine the light and power which a few words of exposition would pour in upon it. Think how, even among the evangelical denominations of our own land, you can mark the theory giving a peculiar tone to the equal piety of each section, and in proportion as their views are more or less comprehensive in regard to one class of truths or another, they are successful in gathering in true converts, or building them up into a living faith. Consider how far a few generations, mentally capable of apprehending clear instruction and favoured with superior teachers, might prepare the way for that day, when, trained to a clear vision of heavenly truths, and with little in example to mislead, the child in

Digitized by Google

Christ shall die a hundred years old in spiritual life. With such lessons from the past and the present, is it wrong to aver, that while the conditions of justification are simple, and while some anomalies in spiritual growth do occur, yet, as a prevailing rule, the maturity of a Christian Church under a pious ministry will be in proportion to the clear exhibition and comprehension of intellectual views? Is it too much to say that we require that breadth and grasp of thought which proceeds only from mental culture?

Moreover, in personal experience everything depends upon a true conception of our position at the moment of danger, and the prompt recurrence of the corresponding truths. It is easy for a bystander to remember such ideas and repeat such truths as are pertinent; but it is difficult to give caution, or administer rebuke, or bring solace to ourselves, just when we need them most. Now the characteristic of the uncultivated is a natural want of this collectedness and self-inspection, and too often the thoughts which should have shielded against temptation come only in time for condemnation. A friend at such an hour is invaluable. But it is peculiarly the privilege of the cultivated mind to be such a counsellor unto itself, to anticipate the shock, to lay hold upon the lever which "backs" the moral machinery of the soul, and stems the too hurried current by an internal force. So do we believe it will appear that, other things being equal, a sound intelligence is not only most capable of receiving comprehensive views, but is more competent to apply them opportunely in the exigencies of life.

II. The relation of intelligence to the efficiency of the Church in her coöperation with the world.

The papal dogma that the Church is supreme over all temporal states and legislation, however false and rejected, in reference to any organic Church, is both true and admitted of the spiritual body of Christ. The form has fallen off, but the principle survives in new and recognised authority. Secular councils appeal to the conscience of the Church with a care and deference never yielded to Rome, and it is nothing that the appeal is often unwilling or hypocritical. The leaven is penetrating the institutions and sentiments of the world, preparatory to that last process of spiritual chemistry in which the whole is to be leavened. Every recognition of a true principle in legislation, and every real amelioration in social life, is removing obstacles from the path of the gospel. There is evidently a certain mould of life and sentiment, which the spiritual activity of a renewed world would create, and into which it would grow up and develop, as the tree within its bark. If a false form is applied from without, like an iron bark, it will feel the compression, and

Digitized by Google

yield an imperfect and unsymmetrical development. But in proportion as this outward form is perfect, corresponding to the natural form, or yielding to the swelling growth, will the advance be natural and easy. Just in proportion as the political and social organization of the world, its practical views and moral sentiments take the same form which they would have if religion was the sole power moulding thought and action, or in proportion as they yield unresistingly to her plastic power, she will find a rapid and beautiful expansion. No man can have a perfect Christian character, not only while he neglects known duty, but so long as false education, or confused ideas, permit the presence of spiritual or temporal evil, without his consciousness of its incongruity, his expression of his sensibility, or his energetic action. The Church will never have a perfect character so long as hereditary wrongs against God and man, traditional errors in morals and sentiments, benumb her sensibilities, or form a check to her speaking out and acting out the fulness of the gospel. How gradually have the true principles of civil liberty and the evil of slavery, the spirit of the temperance cause, and of all social ameliorations, been eliminated in the action and reaction of the Church and the State! How much more healthy do we deem the spiritual tone of the American Church, that corrupting and repressing influences of other national laws and habits are removed! Those who control the legislation and social reforms of the day should let the moral result, as well as the moral principle, of legislation be not only an unconscious attainment, but the far-seen and calculated issue of prayerful wisdom. Yet what a wide range of information, what power and habit of comprehensive thought, is thus made requisite. Surely the Church needs the wisdom of the serpent.

Inspired by the example of the Church in the person of some of her noblest sons and daughters, irreligious men are devoting themselves with enthusiasm to the work of moral and social reform. But the awakened spirit, confining itself to mere temporal ameliorations, shows rather an aversion to be identified with the Church, either in principles or enterprise. It may be philanthropy, but it will not be godliness. It goes forth through the Church as through the world, like an Iconoclast of old, and is not over-anxious if it break an arch in smiting an idol. The Church may meet it either by blank denunciations, or, by showing a more excellent way, may retard the too-hurried movement by simple inertia, as a mere "brake" upon the car of progress; or she may lay down a new track, which leads more securely to the goal. The world is listening, though the Church be deaf and dumb. There is no form of infidelity so seductive as this philanthropic materialism. Its bene-

Digitized by Google

fits are tangible and inspiring to men who have no conception of a spiritual need, and there is a grandeur in its comprehensive plans and perfect promises which fills the soul with chivalrous enthusiasm. Forgetful that the whole lifetime of Jesus was a preparation for the promise of the Father, and a parable of spiritual things, it exults in entire assimilation to him who made the dumb to speak and the lame to walk, and healed all of whatsoever plagues they had. Even if the Church were uninvaded, yet she must lose her controlling influence, and amid such masses of practical scepticism lie like a sunny isle chilled by surrounding icebergs, which blight though they cannot penetrate. But within the Church there are hundreds smitten with a deep sense of evils long endured, yet shrinking from the leaders most conspicuous in reform, and waiting for better guidance. They must have it, or they will turn from the reiteration of pure principles unapplied to those who show their faith by works. They must not only see what is wrong, but what is right. They must be able to meet sceptical philanthropists on their own ground. They must not only be told that without the pervading, vitalizing influences of religion, this "new-creation" would be a world without an atmosphere; but they must see how their labours may avail beneath the hand of the Creator, and so in patience seem to hear it said: "The evening and the morning are [but] the fifth day," and wait until, in his own time, God shall pronounce it very good. Again, we conclude, how wide the knowledge, how clear the intelligence the Church demands!

III. The relation of intelligence to the efficiency of the Church in aggressive operations.

Both in coöperation with the world and in distinct enterprises, the Protestant Church of this country finds weakness as well as security in her democratic organization—democratic so far as regards practical interests. However the system may guard against small evils, yet it seriously impairs for the time being the power of energetic and far-seeing action. Like the republic, the Church has thrown off the supremacy of both despotism and aristocracy, and resolved all power and responsibility into the hands of the individual; but, unlike the State, has retained no checks against the results of popular ignorance or indifference. The mass of citizens may know very little about political economy and national expediences; but they must choose delegates, and may choose wise men, to deliberate for them, and their counsels are laws and their estimates are taxes. But the counsels of the Church on practical operations are purely advisory, and her estimates are referred to each member for ratification. The power of the keys may extort gold from the Romish

Digitized by Google

communion, and the religious establishments of Europe may enforce exactions by civil law, and disburse their funds by government authority; but our Churches have neither the power of superstition nor of law. We have no hierarchy to marshal us to the polls when religious interests are involved in legislation, or to assess with authority, and plan and execute with secrecy and energy. We do not even yield to the law of majorities, or admit the argument of general consent. How obvious that the wisdom and knowledge formerly requisite in a leader of the Church militant is now essential to insure the coöperation of every soldier of the host. Only as each man sees, and feels, and wills aright, can Church operations be sustained and far-seeing and systematic.

A similar difficulty attends the efforts of the Church against the heresies and infidelity of the age. The assertion of the right of private judgment three centuries ago, involved a revolution which has scarcely passed its crisis. For a while, the spirit which spurned the papal anathema yet rested on the decisions of universities and the balance of great names. The Church militant set her champions against champions, as Israel against the Philistines. The result was for the time decisive. The host fled or pursued accordingly. And though the change has been rapid, not yet have men lost their reverence for authority and traditional opinions. It has been a blessed arrangement of God's wisdom that it is thus; for while no danger can attend the exercise of private judgment on all points, provided that, in the same proportion, each man is qualified to sift evidence and balance argument, yet, should they awake to full assertion of the right before thus trained, men would plunge into inextricable confusion and error. But awe of antiquity and official assertions is rapidly departing, and we fear especially that those who rely most upon the power of the pulpit do not realize the change in the position of the clergy. Personal esteem for their characters, and an intelligent respect for their office, are perhaps increasing; but the authority of their teaching rests only on their clearness and force of argument. It were less perplexing if the controversy thus confided to popular hands were only about Scripture doctrines, to be determined by proof-texts and popular metaphysics; but, in addition to these, we are involved in a contest with the arrogance of headlong physical science and a plausible mental philosophy. There is an exhilaration in the idea of detection and renunciation of old superstitions, and a perverseness of depraved nature, which render these assaults against the foundations of the Christian religion most congenial. If, among the thousands now harping upon some fragment of an infidel theory, some disjointed

Digitized by Google

fact or asserted contradiction, there were a moiety who could understand the whole theory or relations of things when briefly explained, they might soon be met. The accomplished engineer strikes his flag as soon as you take his outposts and command his citadel; but these controversial militiamen will crouch into some corner of a dilapidated fortress, and fancy themselves secure. Clearly as we see the truth that, when evidences are conflicting, men are bound to balance probabilities and search out the truth, yet they persuade themselves that they are excused from any action by their momentary confusion, and therefore perpetuate it. The Church membership must have information and true views upon these topics, or their confidence will tremble, and their moral force be lost. The world must feel that the Church knows its strength of position, and can prove it, not only on stated days and occasions, but in the familiar discussions of the field and the workshop. Those only who have been thrown into personal collision with the arguments of every class of society, can estimate the fatal influence of the cloud of half-truths and "little learning" which hangs over our land, and hovers round the Church.

It is an axiom in mental philosophy, that the sensibilities are invariably aroused by the presence of appropriate objects; and in proportion to their healthful susceptibility, will be the promptitude and energy of the response. It might seem, therefore, that the Church needs only an increase of religious sensibility to the claims upon her benevolence; but it is also true, that our sensibilities are excited only in proportion to the distinctness and vividness with which the object is presented. There is need, therefore, of a clear conception of the moral and spiritual destitution of the world in all its appealing reality. God has not designed that our labours in his cause should be merely in obedience to his command, but that they should be the spontaneous expression of feeling hearts; and men are never moved to action by vague generalizations and ghosts of ideas, but by facts, and statistics, and portrayals of the misery which awaits their sympathies. One day on board a slaver, or in a drunkard's home, would be worth months of general reflection on the sufferings of a wife forsaken, or the horrors of the middle-passage. The returned missionary and traveller thrill with emotion at the mention of distant misery, which are beside unimpassioned. Next to the power of witnessed destitution, or the remembrance in after years, is the force of minute portrayals of locality and circumstances, and the whole scene of wretchedness. Without this abiding conception, the appeals of the press or of the platform may awake a momentary sensibility, but can leave no permanent impression. We

Digitized by Google

require, therefore, that the accurate and full information which sustains the zeal and animates the hopes of the leaders in these enterprises, social or spiritual, shall be imparted to the entire membership of the Church.

Yet even a realizing sense of temporal or spiritual destitution, is not all the Church requires. To inevitable calamity we bow in silence, and have no heart to attempt benevolent impossibilities. Evils which the race is indignant to have borne so long, were, nevertheless, felt and uttered ages since, but sternly endured, as resulting from the very constitution of things and the will of the Creator. Even when prophecy foretells that the triumph shall be, not by human skill alone, but by the Spirit of God, the Church, seeing no divine march of things, into which it may throw its forces, waits in anguish and groans, "How long, O Lord, how long!" The thought of the seven hundred millions who have been swept into the grave, while the last thirty years of missionary labour were hardly securing a few thousands, and yet another generation hurrying from us, paralyzes the rising energy. We leave action for prayer. But let the Church once feel that she is labouring in the order of that Providence which delights to prepare, in secrecy and slowness, the sudden wonders of his power; which, when the set time is come, can concentrate all political interests and all commercial enterprises, all of earthly as well as of spiritual influence, to the downfall of all empire and all superstition that would oppose his gospel, and her heart will grow strong in expectation of Him that will come and will not tarry. Let her study that wisdom in which the Jewish Church, scattered, and peeled, and half-heathenized among the nations for weary years, was suddenly made the medium of transition to the heart of heathenism itself. Mark how gradually over the Church, in those dark ages, the cloud of falsehood and superstition gathered, until, in the stifled air, all life seemed sinking, when at once the thunder burst over Germany, and, pealing over Switzerland and France, broke against the Pyrenees and Apennines; rolling northward, it swept over Denmark and Sweden; and reverberating through England, lingered longest among the Grampian hills, and gave sunshine and the pure breath of life. Show how, as along the borders of a western prairie, one may kindle fires at early dawn which in the dampness seem to smoulder, and with slow progress spread but a gradual warmth through the wide-spread verdure; so God is kindling, along the shores of continents and around the isles, a line of fires which may smoulder and spread slowly, until there comes "the wind that bloweth where it listeth," and the quickened flame sweep like a tide of glory over the heathen world. If the faith

Digitized by Google

of the Church be weak, let her sight be clear. She will not withhold her treasures nor her noblest blood, when she feels that "redemption draweth nigh." With all the piety of the Church, we must have comprehensive views, to reason upon all events of the past, and all changes of the present, and all prospects of the future. How can such breadth of view, such extent of information, be gained but by careful and diligent study?

ART. IX.—SHORT REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

(1.) *Bohn's Classical Library*, if pursued as energetically as it has been heretofore, will soon furnish English readers with good versions of all that is valuable in the remains of classical antiquity. Among the recent issues we find the second volume of "*The Comedies of Plautus, literally translated by* H. J. Riley," completing the work. Of the character of Mr. Riley's translation we spoke in our notice of the first volume. The fifth volume of "*The Works of Plato*" has also appeared; it contains "The Laws," translated chiefly from Stallbaum's text, by G. Burges, M. A.—the first English version of the Laws made directly from the Greek. This volume completes the *genuine* works of Plato; the next will give the writings generally attributed to him, but not proved to be his. Mr. Bohn has given an inestimable boon to English readers in this cheap and accurate version of the poet-philosopher. Mr. Turner's translation of "*The Odes of Pindar*" has the merit of fidelity, though he has not the facility of some of the other translators employed upon the series. The volume has, besides the prose version, Bergk's Prefaces, Dissen's Introductions, and a metrical version by Abraham Moore. One of the best executed books of the series is Mr. Evans's translation of "*The Satires of Juvenal, Persius, Sulpicia, and Lucilius*," (12mo., pp. 512,) which is an entirely new and accurate version. The remains of Sulpicia and Lucilius appear in this volume for the first time in English. We have also received "*Cicero's Orations*," translated by C. D. Yonge, vols. ii and iii; and "*Ovid*," translated by Mr. Riley, (vol. iii,) containing the Heroides, and the minor works. In the *Scientific Library* we have OERSTED'S "*Soul in Nature*," (12mo., pp. 465.) Prefixed to the work is a very interesting sketch (by the translators) of the great discoverer of Electro-magnetism. We are glad to see a reprint of the Bridgewater Treatises announced in this Library; of which the first volume is before us in Dr. Kidd's essay on "*The Adaptation of External Nature to the Physical Condition of Man*," (12mo., pp. 332.) A new series has just been commenced by Mr. Bohn, under the title of "The Philological (Philosophical?) Library," of which the first volume is a reprint of Johnson's translation of Tennemann's "*Manual of the History of Philosophy*," (12mo., pp. 532.) This edition has been thoroughly revised by Mr. J. R. Morell, who has added to it a brief sketch of the current *philosophies* of the age.

Digitized by Google

(2.) "*The Illustrated London Geography*, by JOSEPH GUY, jun., (London, 1852, 8vo., pp. 132. New-York: Bangs, Brother & Co.,) is a brief compendium of Geography, well expressed, and profusely illustrated with maps and wood-cuts.

(3.) "*The Israel of the Alps, translated from the French* of Dr. ALEXIS MUSTON," (London, 1852, 12mo., pp. 312. New-York: Bangs, Brother & Co., 13 Park Row,) is another history of the Waldenses and of their persecutions, made up from Dr. Muston's work, with additions from Dr. Gilly's narrative. It is not so copious a record as that of Monastier, (*History of the Vaudois*, published by Carlton and Phillips, New-York;) but *every* account of these Alpine martyrs and confessors must be full of interest. The book is profusely illustrated with well-executed wood-cuts.

(4.) "*Meyer's Universum*," (New-York: H. J. Meyer, 164 William-street,) continues to appear with punctuality. Part V. contains views of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame, Paris; of Plato's School; of the Hudson near Newburgh; and of Calcutta. The engravings in Part VI. are a Roman Aqueduct at Segovia (Spain); the Valley of Chamouni (Switzerland); Civita Castellana (Italy); Castle and Monastery of Illock (Hungary). Part VII. contains views of the bustling, semi-American city of Bremen; of the Obelisk of Luxor, at Paris; of Saratoga Lake; and of the Cottage of Rousseau, at Montmorency. Part VIII. contains views of Washington's house at Mount Vernon; of Erlangen, in Bavaria; of a storm at Cape Horn; and of the Opera House in Paris. Part IX. gives beautiful sketches of "The Bosporus from the Euxinus;" The Desert-Rock Light-House; Teheran; and the Giralda in Seville. The later parts of this remarkably cheap journal of art and travel are even better than the earlier.

(5.) We have received, at a very late period, the Report of "*The Methodist Church Property Case, heard before Hon. H. H. Leavitt, in the Circuit Court of the United States, for the district of Ohio, June 24–July 2, 1852*," (Cincinnati: Swormstedt & Poe, 1852, 8vo., pp. 155.) It was intended that this publication should embrace all the arguments submitted to the Court on both sides, and that it should be issued with the sanction of both the parties to the suit; but, unfortunately, two of the counsel for the plaintiffs, Messrs. Stanberry and Brien, failed to furnish their arguments. The work includes, then, only the arguments for the defence, made by Messrs. Riddle, Lane, and Ewing, with the decision of Judge Leavitt.

The pleadings of Messrs. Riddle and Lane are brief, but clear, pointed, and going to the heart of the question. Mr. Ewing's argument is more elaborate, and is, we hesitate not to say, one of the most logical arguments ever addressed to a Court in this country. The plaintiffs are conclusively, and, we think, forever, refuted, on the main point made in their bill and

Digitized by Google

arguments. The importance of the case is well stated by Mr. Ewing in his introduction:—

If it were probable that the opinion, in the case of Bascom *vs.* Lane, would be suffered, except by ultimate compulsion, to stand as the law which governs, and is to govern, the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, it might be well for the sake of peace, and the ending of an unhappy legal controversy, to give to that opinion, though but interlocutory in the case, the full weight of authority due to a final decision. This, however, cannot be for a moment admitted or supposed: for that opinion pronounces the destruction of the Methodist Episcopal Church as an organized body; and declares, that what is called the plan of compromise, dissolved it into its original elements. It takes from it at once, at and from the moment that plan went into effect, all consideration and recognition in a Court of Equity, and declares it to be incapable not merely of receiving a charitable bequest or gift, but of administering a charity. So utterly is it destroyed, that a charity which grew up within itself, and which had been from its first foundation administered by it, falls for want of an administrator, and the Court feels itself called upon to construct a scheme for its administration. The beneficiaries of the charity, who were a description of persons in the bosom of the Methodist Episcopal Church, are no longer to be found there, under this opinion, and the Court of Equity feels itself constrained to seek for them elsewhere, and administer the charity *Cy. pres.* This decision affects also the present condition of the Methodist Episcopal Church; for if it were destroyed, it knew it not, and has never reörganized. It affects its future; for if secession of a part of its conferences, great or small, without controversy, and in kindness, have dissolved, and must hereafter dissolve it, it is doomed, in the natural course of events, to repeated scenes of destruction and reörganization, or hostile strife—which is against its nature—with its seceding sections. This is so contrary to what was believed to be the law regarding organized ecclesiastical bodies—so contrary to what was believed to be the law governing this Church, so far as the municipal law reaches and touches her in her organization—and it is so ruinous in its consequences, that it cannot be submitted to and recognised, till it is pronounced by the highest judicial tribunal of the country. The question of property is trifling and insignificant when viewed in connexion with the principle which is now involved. A decision, therefore, by this Court, in accordance with that in Bascom *vs.* Lane, would not aid, but rather tend to retard or prevent an early adjustment of this unhappy controversy.—Pp. 53, 54.

Our limits will not allow us to state Mr. Ewing's argument or Judge Leavitt's opinion in detail: we can only give the summing up of the latter, as follows:—

As the result of the views I have attempted to present, it follows:—

1. That the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church is a delegated or representative body, with limited constitutional powers; and possesses no authority, directly or indirectly, to divide the Church.

2. That in the adoption of the "Plan of Separation" in 1844, there was no claim to, or exercise of, such a power.

3. That as the General Conference is prohibited from any application of the produce of the Book Concern, except for a specified purpose, and in a specified manner; and as the annual conferences have refused to remove this prohibition, by changing or modifying the sixth restrictive rule, the General Conference has no power to apportion or divide the Concern or its produce, except as provided for by said rule.

4. That said Book Concern is a charity, devoted expressly to the use and benefit of the travelling, supernumerary, and superannuated preachers of *the* Methodist Episcopal Church, their wives, widows, and children, continuing in it as an organized Church; and any individual, or any number of individuals, withdrawing from, and ceasing to be members of the Church, as an organized body, cease to be beneficiaries of the charity.

5. That it is the undoubted right of any individual preacher or member of said Church, or any number of preachers or members, or any sectional portions

Digitized by Google

or divisions thereof, to withdraw from it at pleasure; but in withdrawing, they take with them none of the rights of property pertaining to them while in the Church; and that the withdrawal of the southern and south-western conferences in 1845, being voluntary, and not induced by any positive necessity, is within the principle here stated.

6. That the defendants, as trustees or agents of the Book Concern at Cincinnati, being corporators under a law of Ohio, and required, by such law, "to conduct the business of the Book Concern in conformity with the rules and regulations of the General Conference," in withholding from the Church, South, any part of the property or proceeds of said Book Concern, have been guilty of no breach of trust, or any improper use or application of the property or funds in their keeping.

7. That this is not a case of a lapsed charity, justifying a Court of Equity in construcing a new scheme for its application and administration; and that the complainants, and those they represent, have no such personal claim to, or interest in, the property and funds in controversy as will authorize a decree in their favour, on the basis of individual right.

There are some points made by counsel, which, not being regarded as material in the decision of the case, have not been specially noticed.

It now only remains for me to say, that it was with some reluctance and self-distrust that I entered upon the investigation of this controversy; and although the conclusions to which I have arrived have been satisfactory to myself, I experience the highest gratification from the reflection, that if I have misconceived the points arising in the case, and have been led to wrong results, my errors will be corrected by that high tribunal, to which the rights of these parties will, without doubt, be submitted for final adjudication.—Pp. 154, 155.

At a fitting time, hereafter, we purpose to give as thorough a survey of this whole unfortunate case as may be within our power.

(6.) "*The Personal Adventures of our own Correspondent in Italy*, by MICHAEL BURKE HONAN," (New-York: Harper & Brothers, 12mo., pp. 428,) is a book full of incident, such as inevitably befalls a rollicking Irishman of the more cultivated class, when he wanders into foreign lands. Mr. Honan was for many years a correspondent of the London Times, and, as such, followed the army of Charles Albert in the unfortunate year 1848, the events of which—or rather the personal history of the writer in following and recording them—form the staple of the narrative. Mr. Honan's private morality hangs quite as loosely about him as public virtue does about his great employer—"the Thunderer"—of Printing House square.

(7.) THE last volume of ALBERT BARNES's Commentary on the New Testament is before us in his "*Notes, Explanatory and Practical, on the Book of Revelation.*" (New-York: Harper & Brothers, 12mo., pp. 506.) Like all Mr. Barnes's volumes, it is valuable rather for the reverent spirit and practical aim which characterize it, than for scientific basis or remarkable skill in interpretation. The Preface gives an interesting personal statement of the way in which Mr. Barnes was led to his Biblical labours, and of the gradual manner in which his work grew under his hands:—

"Having, at the time when these Notes were commenced, as I have ever had since, the charge of a large congregation, I had no leisure that I could properly devote to these studies, except the early hours of the morning, and I adopted the resolution—a resolution which has since been invariably adhered to—to cease

Digitized by Google

writing precisely at nine o'clock in the morning. The habit of writing in this manner, once formed, was easily continued; and having been thus continued, I find myself at the end of the New Testament. Perhaps this personal allusion would not be proper, except to show that I have not intended, in these literary labours, to infringe on the proper duties of the pastoral office, or to take time for these pursuits on which there was a claim for other purposes. This allusion may perhaps also be of use to my younger brethren in the ministry, by showing them that much may be accomplished by the habit of early rising, and by a diligent use of the early morning hours. In my own case, these Notes on the New Testament, and also the Notes on the books of Isaiah, Job, and Daniel, extending in all to sixteen volumes, have all been written before nine o'clock in the morning, and are the fruit of the habit of rising between four and five o'clock. I do not know that by this practice I have neglected any duty which I should otherwise have performed; and on the score of health, and, I may add, of profit, in the contemplation of a portion of divine truth at the beginning of each day, the habit has been of inestimable advantage to me."—Pp. iii, iv.

Our own experience does not coincide with Mr. Barnes's as to the advantage of working at such very early hours. No general rule can be laid down in such matters; every man should find out what is the best plan for himself. In general, we are inclined to think it hurtful to the eyes to write by candle-light immediately after rising. The eye does not bear artificial light so well after the night's rest and darkness, as after the day's use of sunlight.

(8.) Dr. Kitto's capacity for work seems to be boundless: nor is his work slighted from undue haste. He has now commenced an Evening Series of the "*Daily Bible Illustrations, being original readings for a year*," (New-York: R. Carter & Brothers, 1852, 12mo., pp. 419,) of the former series of which we have heretofore spoken in terms of commendation. The volume before us treats of "Job and the Poetical Books," and manages, in short and compact readings, one for every evening, to convey a large amount of information on sacred history, biography, geography and antiquities, interfused throughout with practical reflections and exhortations. As this volume gives readings for thirteen weeks, we suppose that this series, like the former, will run to four volumes.

(9.) We should be glad to have such a memorial of every Methodist Church in the land as we find in "*A Historical Sketch of the First Presbyterian Church in New-Brunswick*, by Robert Davidson, D. D., *Pastor of said Church*." (New-Brunswick, pp. 52.) This sketch was read as a paper before the Historical Society of New-Brunswick, Sept. 8, 1852. It begins with the earliest mention of the Presbyterian Church in 1726, when Rev. Gilbert Tennent was called to the pastoral charge, and continues the record through all vicissitudes down to the present day. We have in this sketch an illustration of the manner in which such a record, in judicious hands, may be made a thread on which many pearls of local history, secular as well as religious, may be strung and preserved. Dr. Davidson has evidently gone to the "sources" for information, and has used his materials with great skill in preparing this neat and well-proportioned outline.

Digitized by Google

(10.) "*Remarks on the History, Structure, and Theories of the Apostles' Creed,*" (8vo., pp. 81,) is a reprint of an article (ascribed to Dr. Proudfit, of Rutger's College) from the Princeton Repertory for October, 1852. It gives the history of the Creed from the sources, showing that, in its present complete form, it can be traced no farther back than the fifth century. The Tridentine theory of the Creed, which ascribed it, historically, to the Apostles, and gave it an authority coördinate, in fact, with Scripture, is then briefly examined. But the body of the article is taken up with the modern mystico-philosophical theory which came to a head in Möhler, was taken up by the pervert Newman, and has been addling Dr. Nevin's brain for a few years past. The discussion is an excellent specimen of historical criticism.

(11.) "*The Microscopist*" (Philadelphia: Lindsay and Blakiston, 12mo., pp. 191) is a complete manual on the use of the Microscope, with abundant illustrations, prepared by Rev. JOSEPH H. WYTHES, M. D., of the Philadelphia Conference. After a condensed account of the history and value of microscopic investigation, it explains the structure of the instrument and its adjuncts, and the modes of using them, in a manner so clear as almost to supersede the necessity of further instruction. The scientific applications of the instrument are then illustrated largely from Physiology and Pathology. Another beautiful little work by the same author is, "*Curiosities of the Microscope, or Illustrations of the Minute Parts of the Creation,*" (18mo., pp. 132.) This work is adapted to the capacities of the young, and is written in the form of dialogue. From the intrinsic attraction of the subject, supplying abundantly the pabulum of marvels which the minds of children so generally crave, as well as from the easy and elegant style in which Dr. Wythes sets it forth, and the beautiful coloured plates with which the book is at once illustrated and adorned, we know of no prettier and more useful book of natural science to put into the hands of children.

(12.) IN our last number we spoke of the Life of Bishop M'Kendree, by Mr. Fry, in very favourable terms. We have now to thank him for two additional volumes,—"*The Life of Bishop Whatcoat,*" (18mo., pp. 128;) and "*The Life of Bishop George,*" (18mo., pp. 124,)—both published by Messrs. Carlton and Phillips, 200 Mulberry-street, New-York. The materials at Mr. Fry's command were very scanty; but he has used them very skilfully, and has given us biographies, brief indeed, but full of incident and interest. The three lives may be had bound in one volume; and we cordially recommend it as worthy of a place in every Methodist family.

(13.) "*Oracles for Youth,* by CAROLINE GILMAN," (New-York: G. P. Putnam, 12mo., pp. 81,) is a very pretty book of pastimes for children in the shape of questions on personal character and preferences, answered by lot from the book. It will furnish innocent and attractive amusement for boys and girls.

Digitized by Google

(14.) "*Picturesque Sketches of London, past and present*, by THOMAS MILLER, (London, 1852, 12mo., pp. 306,) belongs to a class of topographical books whose interest is unfailing. The greater part of the work originally appeared in the Illustrated London News, and it is now reprinted as part of the National Illustrated Library. The rich historical and legendary lore that clusters about the edifices and localities of Old London is largely drawn upon; while the London of the present day is sketched from personal observation. The work, adorned as it is with multitudinous wood-cuts, could not be afforded for twice the price at which it is now sold but for the fact that the cuts were prepared originally for the Illustrated News. All the books of the National Library are kept on hand by Bangs, Brother & Co.

(15.) "*The Daughters of Zion*, by Rev. J. D. BURCHARD, D. D.," (New-York: John S. Taylor, 1852, 12mo., pp. 355,) is a series of narratives, drawn from the Old and New Testaments, exhibiting female character from the examples afforded in the sacred record. It is illustrated by a number of mezzotint engravings from Staal's pictures.

(16.) THE final volume of "*Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Chalmers*, by Rev. WILLIAM HANNA," (New-York: Harper & Brothers, 12mo., pp. 593,) is, in our judgment, the best and most instructive of the four. It gives an ample account of Dr. Chalmers's share in the "Ten years' conflict" and in the formation of the Free Church of Scotland—which amounts, in fact, almost to a history of the disruption itself, as Dr. Chalmers was the life and soul of the movement. His relations to the "Evangelical Alliance" and to the general subject of Christian Union, form another interesting branch of the narrative in this volume. In the twenty-second chapter we find his views of University and Theological Education, and his share in the organization and management of the North British Review set forth at length. Everywhere we find abundant illustration of his earnest and practical way of thinking—putting life before theory, the Bible before creeds, and virtue before sentiment. Take him for all in all, he was, perhaps, the highest style of Christian minister that this century has produced.

(17.) "GOD ALMIGHTY," says Lord Bacon, "first planted a garden; and, indeed, it is the purest of human pleasures; it is the greatest refreshment to the spirits of man, without which buildings and palaces are but gross handiworks." Passages of this spirit can be gathered from the choicest writers, in prose and verse, in all ages. We are glad to welcome a collection from the latter,—"*Garden Walks with the Poets*, by Mrs. C. M. KIRKLAND." (New-York: G. P. Putnam & Co., 12mo., pp. 340.) The gathering of this nosegay has been a labour of love, and the taste with which it is done naturally springs from a sympathy with the subject. It will make a very appropriate gift-book for the holidays.

Digitized by Google

(18.) Mr. Banvard's "Series of American Histories" for Youth is to extend to twelve or more volumes, and will deserve to stand in the children's bookcase side by side with Mr. Abbott's histories. The third volume is entitled, "*Romance of American History*," (Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 18mo., pp. 300,) and gives graphic sketches of the early events connected with the French settlement at Fort Carolina, the Spanish colony at St. Augustine, and the English plantation at Jamestown—a fertile field for narratives of stirring incident.

(19.) "*Cornelius Nepos, with Notes, Historical and Explanatory*, by Charles Anthon, LL. D." (New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1852, 12mo., pp. 396.) We are glad to see this book. Nepos is one of the best authors to put into the hands of beginners in Latin, and this edition is prepared admirably for their use.

(20.) The twenty-first number of Putnam's "Semi-monthly Library" is "*Table-Talk about Books, Men, and Manners*,"—a very pleasant volume of excerpts from Sydney Smith, (not much from him, however,) Swift, and other of the best English classics.

(21.) On the "*Eclipse of Faith, or a Visit to a Religious Sceptic*," (Boston: Crosby & Nichols, 12mo.,) an extended review is preparing by one of our best contributors, and will, we hope, be ready for our April number.

(22.) Dr. Kidder's labours in the preparation of Sunday-school books have been as great as usual during the last quarter. We find on our table "*Ralph, Simon, Clara, and Theobald*,"—a pretty 18mo. volume, containing four of Cæsar Malan's excellent stories for the young, translated from the French.—"*Scripture Facts*," is a collection of narratives of New Testament incidents, prepared by the skilful author of the "Peep of Day." It is a very pretty volume for a gift-book.—"*Remarkable Delusions*," (18mo., pp. 213,) gives a sketch of prominent impostures, of witchcraft, &c.—"*The Adult Scholar and the Lady Teacher*," (18mo., pp. 144,) gives good lessons for both teachers and scholars.—"*Be Courteous*," (18mo., pp. 183,) illustrates the refining influence of true religion.—"*Frank Netherton*," (18mo., pp. 234,) is a very attractive story of a boy who maintained his integrity under trying circumstances.—"*The Youth's Monitor*," (18mo., pp. 288,) is a bound volume of the Juvenile Magazine which has taken the place of "The Sunday Scholar's Mirror."—"*Aunt Effie*," (18mo., pp. 174,) is the history of a pious widow, who, besides struggling with poverty and misfortune, had an infidel brother who caused her much suffering.

(23.) "*Parisian Sights and French Principles, seen through American Spectacles*." (New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1852, 12mo., pp. 264.) In point of graphic

Digitized by Google

description and acute observation, we have had nothing about Parisian life, like this book, for a long while. The ordinary "Guide-book" sort of travels are to it as the catalogue of a gallery is to the pictures themselves. There is one drawback; there are many scenes in this gallery that never should have been depicted at all. The writer himself, speaking of the masqued balls at the opera, says that "to virtuous females these Saturnalia had better remain among the things unseen;" and so we may say to him that, if his book is meant to be read by "virtuous females," "these Saturnalia" and the like had better have remained undescribed. The slanders of the writer upon the Republicans of 1848 are in execrable taste for an American.

(24.) "*The Higher Law in its Relations to Civil Government, with particular reference to Slavery and the Fugitive Slave Law*, by WILLIAM HOSMER." (Auburn: Derby & Miller, 1852, 12mo., pp. 204.) Social science is the last and most difficult branch of human knowledge; the furthest removed, by the complexity and multitude of its elements, from the simple and facile mathematical ideas and relations which are the first mastered by the human mind and by mankind in general. And as, for the race, this science is the last to be unfolded, so, for the individual, its treatment should be the work of ripe years, enlarged intellect, and varied cultivation. But the human mind had, we thought, succeeded in reaching at least *one* secure and impregnable position; viz., that all laws for man in society must rest, for their validity, upon the law of God. Different schools would express this differently: some stating the necessary ground-work of law to lie in the revealed will of God; others in the fitness of things; others in the immutable character of moral distinctions; others in the relations of man to man and to cosmical nature; others in the organic growth of the race; but however various the formula might be, and whether clad in the reverential language of Christian theology, or in the simply scientific language of the schools, or in the bolder and balder terminology of atheism or pantheism, its substance still has been, that human legislation must rest upon and accord with some higher law, or else be inept and shortlived. This position, we say, we had thought to be established; but if one were to judge from the outpourings of editorial wisdom in many of the political newspapers for a few years past, its very foundations are yet to be laid. But we must not forget that *all* newspaper editors can hardly be expected to be philosophers. No moralist, no theologian of character and position, has yet, to our knowledge, denied that there *is* a law higher than human laws or constitutions, and that *these* are only valid and permanent so far forth as they are utterances of *that*.

For these reasons, and others that might be named, we have not deemed it necessary to reöpen the discussion of a settled question; believing that the false views which have been so current in certain newspapers were hastily taken up and uttered to serve a purpose, and would—nay, could—find no permanent footing in the public mind. Mr. Hosmer has judged differently, and has treated the subject with his wonted force of thought and vigour of expression in the volume before us. He finds, without difficulty, a higher than human law indicated in—1, the natural constitution of things; 2, in the course of

Digitized by Google

Providence; and 3, in the will of God, as manifested in revelation. This law is holy, wise, benevolent, and supreme. Its design is to instruct, to protect, and to elevate humanity. One of its chief agencies is Civil Government, the aim of which, of course, must be conservative and beneficent. In these principles Mr. Hosmer will find all, or nearly all, thinking men to concur with him: it is only when he proceeds to apply and to limit them that he comes on debateable ground. He states the limitations of civil government to be four: 1, It cannot bind the conscience; 2, it cannot impair any other natural rights or powers of mankind; 3, it cannot release man from his responsibility to God; and 4, it cannot change the nature of vice and virtue. The first proposition is ambiguous: human law, when it is right, does, most certainly, bind the conscience. Mr. Hosmer contends that it does not, because, although human laws, when just, have the same force as divine, yet "divine law does not bind the conscience any more than the air we breathe binds the lungs, or than light binds the eye." This is true only when the relations between man and God are the *natural* relations of perfect harmony, or the *restored* relations of perfect sanctification. Of course, human legislation has to do with men in every stage of moral purity short of perfection; and its mandates, like those of God, *do* bind the consciences of multitudes. The mass of mankind, "under law," whether the law of God or man, are under bonds. Our author argues that "conscience is an element of our nature, and cannot be subjected to any human authority; man's conscience is as his eyes, or his hands, or his feet... We may legislate against [their] abuse but not against [their] use." And precisely the abuses of *conscience* (so called) are those which most need the restraints of laws both divine and human. Calvin conscientiously burned Servetus.

The *powers* of civil government Mr. Hosmer states as follows: 1, It can maintain the rights of conscience; 2, it can maintain the other natural rights and powers of mankind; 3, it can enforce obedience to the law of God; 4, it can maintain the immutable distinction between vice and virtue. The third of these statements, of course, is subject to restriction, as "it is not pretended that all the duties enjoined by the law of God come within the cognizance of the civil law." From these principles the inference necessarily follows, that men are bound to obey the law of the land—that is, according to our author, "when the law is what it should be." The duty of obedience "depends entirely on the character of the law." The Legislature has no authority to make "bad laws," and such laws, therefore, are "not obligatory." Mr. Hosmer thinks that most governments demand obedience "to the requirements of human law whether right or wrong," and that this is the very basis of tyranny. His language, in some parts of this chapter, appears to us to be insufficiently guarded. Laws may be "bad" laws in one sense and yet obedience to them may be obligatory. If they require us to violate a known law of God, we are not bound to obey them: if they do not, no matter how "bad" they may be, we *must* obey them, unless the circumstances justify a revolution. Of such cases the collective sense of the people—not the whims of the individual—must judge. But Mr. Hosmer doubtless means to use the word "bad" in the sense of "immoral," though he does not expressly say so.

Digitized by Google

In this sense a bad law is not binding. But the law must be *clearly* such as we have stated—contrary to the law of God—before disobedience can be justifiable. Of this the individual must judge, taking care, however, at his peril, that his conscience is as thoroughly enlightened as his circumstances will admit of. As this is a question often involving the widest reach of human judgment and experience, the individual, especially if his means of culture have been scanty, should not be in haste to make up his mind, unless a pressing emergency should come upon him from which he cannot escape without, in his best judgment, committing sin.

In applying his principles to slavery, Mr. Hosmer finds no difficulty in proving that the system violates natural and political justice, and is opposed to the law of Christianity. His denunciations of the system are full of fiery indignation, and yet he does not pronounce all slaveholders to be *eo nomine* sinners.

"Though slavery is a crime, and must involve all concerned in it in guilt, we do not affirm that the form of slavery must always be accompanied by the spirit. The shadow may be where the substance is not. A bad law among a good people becomes a dead letter. Thus Washington and Jefferson—the most distinguished of patriots—were slaveholders only in name. Born amid slavery, and connected with it, not voluntarily but involuntarily, they contracted no fellowship or respect for the system, and did what they could for its subversion. There are, undoubtedly, thousands now connected with slavery who abhor the institution, and would gladly break away from its chains. Such are not to be classed with ordinary slaveholders; for with them slaveholding is merely a nominal thing, and if all were like them it would soon be abolished."

He proceeds to argue, in conclusion, that the obligation to maintain civil government and Christianity constitutes, in fact, an obligation to extirpate slavery. In this, as in other portions of the book, his reasoning is generally straightforward and vigorous; but his results are often stated in broad, sweeping, and, if we may use the term, unpractical language. Take the following as an example: "Religion must either extirpate sin, or itself be extirpated by sin. All Christians are, therefore, necessarily opposed to slavery, and, so far as they have any evangelical goodness, actively engaged in the work of emancipation." This is simply an exaggeration: there are many Christians, who, from sheer ignorance, are not opposed to slavery; and there are multitudes whose position and opportunities allow them to take no *active* part whatever in the work of emancipation. *Non omnes possumus omnia.*

(25.) "*The National Magazine; devoted to Literature, Art, and Religion.* ABEL STEVENS, Editor. Vol. I, July to December, 1852. 8vo., pp. 572. (New-York: Carlton & Phillips.) The appearance on our table of this large and handsome octavo volume, affords us at once an opportunity and a right to give a more direct and critical notice of the "NATIONAL" than the usages of the craft have allowed us to bestow upon it in its periodical appearances. We have watched it, from the beginning, with a degree of anxiety that we should hardly have been willing publicly to acknowledge. Not that we had any fear of the final issue; we had pledged ourselves for *that* in a way entirely too positive

Digitized by Google

and peremptory to consist with latent doubts or uncertainties; but the very fact that we had cherished a confidence, almost unbounded, in the success of a journal of the right stamp, just adapted to the exigencies of the times, naturally made us anxious that *this* should be precisely such a journal, and that the public should not be years, or even months, in finding it out. The appointment of ABEL STEVENS to the editorship was enough to take off the edge of our anxiety even on this point; but we knew that he was entering upon a new field, and that his apparatus could not be at once get together and put in working order; and we know a great many things besides that made us watch the experiment, month by month, with eager and careful eyes.

The result is before us in this fair volume, and in the publishers' statement accompanying it, that the circulation of the Magazine is about *twenty thousand copies monthly*. In the ancient days of periodical literature—that is to say, before Harper's Giant showed the world what *could* be done—such a result as this would have been called astounding. *We* call it satisfactory. But the more important question is, Has this success been deserved? And does the Magazine possess qualities and capacities that fit it to supply any great *want* of the American people, and so entitle it to—not twenty or thirty—but a hundred or a hundred and fifty thousand subscribers? Let us see! The six months' volume before us contains 572 pages, mostly printed in small and close, though clear and legible type. It has *eighty* illustrations (if we have counted rightly) —nearly all of them of the very best class of wood-cuts. In point of mechanical execution—paper and printing—the Magazine equals, if it does not surpass, any other published in America. In the working of the wood-cuts, especially, the printers have gone beyond our expectations: better work has never been turned out of an American office.

Supposing now only that the *matter* with which these pages are filled is simply harmless reading, the book is a wonder of cheapness; for the subscriber has paid for this large and beautiful volume but *one dollar*. But how *are* the pages filled? A glance at the table of contents will show that hardly any field of popular literature, art, or science, has been left ungleaned. And the gleaner has gone upon the principle of selecting from all these fields those fruits and flowers which have a general *human* interest—rather than a special, technical, or class interest—and thus offers, not food for this sort of people, or that, but a repast at which all tastes may be gratified. This is the very ideal of a popular magazine, as distinguished from a special or professional journal. And this ideal is realized in the NATIONAL. There are very few pages in it, from beginning to end, that would not interest *all* classes of readers alike.

What is more to the point, however, is, that not one of these pages is unsuitable for any reader, of any age, in a moral point of view. No allusion, even, of a sort likely to offend the purest mind, or to hurt the weakest, has found place here. And so, while the Magazine does not treat exclusively, or even chiefly, on religious topics, strictly so called, it treats of all topics in just the way in which a well-balanced religious mind would treat them. But, besides this, Christianity, in a specific form, is distinctly recognised and expressed in every number; so that the influence of the whole work,—with all

Digitized by Google

its rich literary products, its narratives, its pencil sketches, its graphic pictures of men and manners, its flowers of taste and poetry, its rapid surveys of history and art,—is a Christian influence. How mighty such an agency may be, no imagination can conceive. We bid the NATIONAL God-speed! When next we are called upon to notice its semi-annual volume, we trust it may be part of our duty to announce that its monthly sales have passed the hundred thousand.

(26.) WE are glad to see a new edition of the "*Physical Theory of Another Life*, by ISAAC TAYLOR," (New-York: William Gowans, 1852, 12mo., pp. 267,) one of the most popular works of this ambitious writer. "Superfine" as the style of the work is, and wearisome as its rhythmical cadence becomes before one has read a chapter, there is still a charm in the subject and in the great gift of imagination which the author brings to its illustration, that will always carry the reader through the book. Logic it has little or none—but logic is not Mr. Taylor's forte. Mr. Gowans has got up the book in admirable style: indeed, all his recent publications are most creditable specimens of the art of book-making.

(27.) "*Analysis of the Principles of Church Government; particularly that of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, by Rev. M. M. HENKLE, D. D." (Nashville: Office of the Christian Advocate, 1852, 18mo., pp. 172.) This is a clear and sensible treatise, and one of the most fair and candid, in its examination of the vexed questions involved, that we have seen. Assuming, as established, that the work of supplying details of ecclesiastical government is committed to the Church by its great Head, the author takes up, as the main subject of his book, the question, "To whom does the right of administering the affairs of the Church properly appertain?" His first procedure is to ascertain the rights (more properly the *duties*) of the ministry: and he finds, without difficulty, 1st, That the laity have no right to share in the *distinctive* powers of the ministry; 2d, that the ministry is the fountain, in a certain sense, [under divine authority, and within the limits prescribed by the New Testament,] of all ecclesiastical power, as it is their work to gather converts and organize them into Churches.

"For the foundation and general elements of ministerial authority, we must look chiefly to the commission of Christ, by which the gospel ministry was itself instituted. The Lord Jesus, after stating his right to confer such authority, based on the possession of "all power in heaven and on earth," proceeds to ordain the following things in relation to the ministry:—1. That it shall be universal in its range of action—"go into *all* nations." 2. That it is to be perpetual—"I am with you to the *end of the world*." 3. That its first great business is to preach and teach, and so make disciples—"preach the gospel to every creature"—"teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you." 4. That another and sequent duty of the ministry is, to administer to those they shall have discipled, the initiatory sacrament of baptism, thereby receiving them into the Christian Church—"baptizing them in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost." 5. The ministry is required to enforce faith in Christ as the great condition of salvation—"He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; and he that believeth not

Digitized by Google

shall be damned." Here the sacred trust is committed to the ministry, of making disciples to Christ by preaching the gospel, and also the duty—if baptism be the door-way of the Church, as nearly all admit—of receiving their converts into the Christian Church.

"But here arises a question,—How were the apostles to receive members into the Church, when as yet the Christian Church was not formally instituted? The question must, as it appears to me, remain unanswered, unless we allow that a commission and command to impart all gospel teaching, and to apply to the taught the initiatory sacrament, carried along with it, by necessary implication, all the incidental powers required for the perfecting of the organization clearly contemplated by the commission. Will the premises warrant the inference? Suppose a king should send his officers into another country, with a commission to teach the people the principles of his government, and to convince them of its superiority to all others,—suppose the commission should run, that they who should submit and take the oath of allegiance, should be saved and made citizens, and that they who refused submission should be destroyed,—and suppose the commission further empowered those officers to receive persons as citizens of the king's government, by administering the oath of allegiance, and that this course of things was to go on under the provisions of that commission perpetually, without any further instruction from the sovereign,—would it be understood by any one that those officers were restricted to the naked letter of their commission? Or would it not rather be concluded, that whatever other power was necessary to the carrying into effect the measures evidently contemplated in the commission, and particularly the power of forming those new-made subjects into a province, or subordinate government, under the constitution, laws, and general sovereignty of the king who gave the commission—this power, I say, was necessarily implied, both in the terms and the objects of the commission? Yet, an affirmative answer here does not entirely conclude the question under notice; for it might be argued, and not without force, that the power to form such an organization carries with it a power of admitting others to a participation in the affairs of the organization. This might be true in some measure, as regards those incidental powers supposed to be implied in the terms and intentions of the commission; but it could never be true in any sense, as it respects the power vested in the officer as an ambassador or a viceroy of the king, for these powers could only be conferred by the king. So is the case of the ministry; God at first commissioned them to preach the gospel, to administer the sacraments, and to do whatever subordinately or incidentally is necessary to the doing of these agreeably to the divine intention. With these primary duties they cannot dispense; in these they are the ambassadors of Christ, and to ambassadors of Christ only can they be committed. Nor, indeed, can they create such an ambassador: they may judge of his qualifications, and, believing his commission to be valid, they may acknowledge his claims, and endorse them to others; but the authority, to be really valid, must come from the King of Zion himself.

"I think, then, we have fairly reached this conclusion;—in whatever belongs distinctively to the powers and duties of the ministry, the laity have no right to a share or participation; nor have the ministry any right to yield to such a claim, if it were set up—the trust not being a negotiable one, no power of discretion is left them; and, that at least the duty of preaching the gospel, and the administration of the sacraments, are found in this category; but, that with regard to those acts that are subordinate and incidental to the great ends of the Christian ministry, no interdict is found in the constitution, and herein a discretionary power may be claimed."—Pp. 16–20.

At the same time he sets forth clearly the doctrine that Christians, in virtue of their relation to Christ, are entitled to all those rights in the Church which Christ has not vested elsewhere. The particular and distinctive rights of both ministry and laity are then sought for in the necessary *functions* of each as parts of the great living organism of the Church; and with regard to all these points, (such as receiving and excluding ministers and members, &c.,)

Digitized by Google

the usages of the principal branches of the modern Church are compared with those of the Methodist Episcopal Church very fairly and perspicuously. The question of lay representation is discussed at length, and with great moderation. Dr. Henkle concludes against such representation in the chief synod of the Church, on the grounds both of the reason and of the thing, and of general expediency; but yet urges that the laity should use the *rights* and *powers* that attach to their sphere in the Church to a greater extent than they now do.

"It may be worth while to inquire whether the talent and zeal of the laity may not be brought in to the aid of the ministry in those matters wherein their coöperation would be most valuable, without any revolutionizing measures, or any change of a disturbing character. In several of the Southern annual conferences an arrangement has been in operation for some years, which proves very acceptable and highly advantageous. The board of district stewards annually appoint one of their body to represent them in the next annual conference, and the lay representative so appointed is recognised as a member of the conference, so far as the transaction of fiscal business is concerned. This plan is rapidly gaining in popularity, and is productive of the most desirable results. Indeed, I have no idea that those lay delegates could be half so useful in the General Conference as they are in the annual. *There* it is matter of rule-making, appeal-trying, officer-electing, and the like; *here*, it is matter of action, and planning and preparing for action,—straightforward business action, with which many of our laymen are most thoroughly acquainted. That the laity ought to be brought more directly into coöperation with the ministry than has been the case among us, I do not doubt; and for the present, I see no better plan than that of which we are now speaking. This involves no infraction of the divine constitution, no sacrifice of vested rights, no revolutionary movements, and yet carries with it great efficiency and practical usefulness.

And so far as the Church's reputation with the world is concerned, I doubt not but the seeing of our prominent laymen actively employed every year in managing the great financial interests of the Church, in twenty different conferences,—or, taking North and South, in say sixty conferences,—would make a much better impression on the public mind than their voting for a minister to represent them in the General Conference could possibly do,—aye, or even their holding seats in that body once in four years themselves, where they would be much less relatively prominent in the public eye, than in the annual conferences.

Furthermore, qualified laymen may be readily enough found who are willing to travel to their own respective annual conferences, a distance of twenty-five, fifty, or one hundred miles, and devote a few days to the business of the Church; but it might be a little more difficult to find laymen of the first order of talent willing to travel to a General Conference a distance of two, four, or six hundred miles, and devote five or six weeks of their valuable time to affairs of the Church without compensation, and to the large prejudice of their private interests at home. If a minister spends forty or fifty days in attending a General Conference, it is but a part of his regular business, and his time and salary go on as if he were at home; but if a lawyer, a merchant, a physician, or an artisan, whose time is worth two hundred dollars a month, attend the same conference, he sustains a heavy loss, such as few men would feel it their duty to incur."—Pp. 165–167.

It is a pity that this valuable little book should be disfigured as it is by typographical blunders.

(28.) "*The Men of the Time*," (New-York: J. S. Redfield, 1852, 12mo., pp. 564,) is a biographical cyclopædia of eminent living notabilities. It is founded upon a London book, having the same title, but with large additions in foreign as

Digitized by Google

well as in American biography. The value of such a work depends, of course, upon its completeness and its accuracy—qualities which may be predicated of this volume to a limited extent. The only way to make it complete is to note every deficiency as it appears, and to remedy it in successive editions. We trust this course will be pursued by Mr. Redfield, who will find himself, when his work *is* complete, amply remunerated for any labour and money that may be spent upon it.

(29.) "*Footprints of our Forefathers; what they suffered, and what they sought.* By JAMES G. MIALL." (Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 1852, 12mo., pp. 352.) This book contains a series of graphic descriptions of localities, personages, and events, conspicuous in the struggles for religious liberty in England. The *animus* of the work is a bitter hatred of the union of Church and State: and its aim is to show how "*any* religious system, whether Episcopal, Presbyterian, or Congregational, may become vitiated and perverted by its alliance with the powers of the State, and by the assumption, exclusiveness, and worldly pride, which such a connexion invariably engenders." Its fearful pictures of religious cruelty are mainly illustrative of *Protestant* intolerance—that is to say, of State-Church intolerance, under Protestant name and pretence.

(30.) "*New-York: a Historical Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Metropolitan City of America,*" (New-York: Carlton & Phillips, 1853,) belongs to the class of topographical works of which we have spoken above, as possessing unfailing interest. It commences with the discovery of the Hudson; and gives, in as much detail as the limits of the book would allow, the history of the city from its foundations to the present time. After this historical sketch, we have a description of "New-York as it is," giving an account of its government, its institutions, public edifices, streets, trade, environs, and people. A glowing anticipation of the *future* of the great city closes the volume. The illustrations are abundant; and the book, we should think, will not only be acceptable to Knickerbockers, but also to the dwellers in the "provinces," who can only know the "metropolis" from books and maps.

(31.) "*Select British Eloquence*, by CHAUNCEY A. GOODRICH, D.D. (New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1852, 8vo., pp. 948.) This massive volume is not, as the title—or rather the public experience of books with similar titles—might lead one to suppose, a mere collection of "specimens" of eloquence, or detached passages from fine orations. It contains *entire* speeches of the great masters of British eloquence for a period of two hundred years, beginning with Sir John Eliot, and ending with Lord Brougham. All of Chatham's speeches are given, and nearly all of Burke's: in fact, with this book at hand, an ordinary reader would want no other edition of Chatham, or even Burke, at all. But besides this mass of matter, the book contains, in the form of introductions, memoirs, notes, &c., the substance of Professor Goodrich's course of Lectures to his classes in Yale College for a series of years: furnishing every sort of biographical, explanatory, and critical observation

Digitized by Google

necessary for the illustration of the subject-matter. A more valuable repertory for the student of theology, or indeed for any man who has occasion to use his tongue in public speech, could not be devised. We regret that the work has been condensed into so small a compass: cheapness is ill secured at the expense of eyesight.

(32.) "*Reminiscences of Thought and Feeling*," (Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co., 1853, 12mo., pp. 323,) contains a series of essays, or rather reveries, by a quiet woman of mature years and large experience. Beginning life as the ill-governed daughter of a warm-hearted and unrestrained Irish gentleman, she took to literature in early womanhood; wrote novels that gained her thousands, and then fell in with Simeon and the Evangelicals at Cambridge, and yielded to their influence for some years. After this "experience," she went a short way into Irvingism; and finally, from sheer exhaustion, both of mind and body, fell back upon what seems to be a true and genuine faith, though quite of a mystic and Quakerish sort:—

"I have arrived at a point of experience which occasions me to accept all human sentiments and opinions with much hesitation and distrust. I see that there is a natural tendency in human beings to go to extremes, and to denounce those who, on the subject of religion, choose to think for themselves. I perceive also that the evil of corrupt nature works nowhere so powerfully nor so unsuspectedly as in religious matters; and that many sincere persons think they are doing God service by condemning their fellow-creatures, when in all probability they are, unconsciously indeed, but very certainly, indulging the latent malice and love of tormenting which make so prominent a part of human corruption. I can discern that the views of such persons are so one-sided and so narrow, that it is scarcely possible to make them accord with reason; and that, when once we abandon the use of reason, there is nothing too preposterous or too absurd, or even too cruel, for the human being to engage in.

"The great desideratum seems to me to be the possession of a well-grounded confidence in the dictates of an interior and infallible guide. The most excellent of truths that have to pass through faulty and infirm agents in their transmission can never come to us without alloy. This is to be remembered and allowed for; or else there will be (as at one period of my life there was for me) no peace, no rest, no belief of having done one's duty, till the greater part of our friends and acquaintances are renounced as infidels, and the general conduct is that of a person who had, upon principle, abjured the use of common sense.

"The very essence of fanaticism consists in taking our stand upon some particular doctrine, and—forgetting how limited and low our knowledge (as imperfect creatures) is likely to be of the full bearing of that doctrine—the legislating from it for all the world; and, though purblind with prejudice, and cramped with bigotry, still supposing that we are seeing and judging in the freedom and impartiality of the Spirit of Truth."—Pp. 321, 322.

This extract is enough to give our readers a taste of the exquisite simplicity and beauty of style which marks the volume throughout.

(33.) "*Journal of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, held in Boston, Mass.*, 1852." (New-York: Carlton & Phillips, 8vo., pp. 206.) The Journals are here presented, as ordered by the General Conference, in the usual form. An Index is added to this issue, which greatly increases its value for purposes of reference, which indeed are almost the only uses of such a record.

Digitized by Google

(34.) "*The Methodist Preacher*" (Auburn: Derby & Miller, 1852, 8vo., pp. 391) contains twenty-eight sermons, by twenty-three different ministers, among whose names we find those of Fisk, Bangs, Hedding, Durbin, Coles, and others. The sermons were not written for this collection, but have been gathered from various sources.

(35.) "*The Christian's Closet Companion*, by Rev. J. PUGH," (Louisville, Kentucky: E. Stevenson, 1852, 12mo., pp. 528,) contains a brief exposition of a text of Scripture for every day in the year, somewhat after the plan of Jay's Morning and Evening Exercises. The authors cited belong to every branch of the Evangelical Church in Europe and America; but the greater part of them are among the cherished names of Methodism,—Wesley, Benson, Clarke, Edmondson, Summerfield, &c. Of the utility of manuals of this sort for daily use, there can be no question; and we know of none so likely to be acceptable and useful to Methodists as the one before us.

(36.) WE could hardly bring better news to our youthful readers, (if, indeed, we have any such readers,) than that Mr. JACOB ABBOTT has got to work again upon his series of Historical Narratives. The subject this time is "*The History of Romulus.*" (Harper & Brothers: New-York, 1852, 18mo., pp. 310.) Mr. Abbott gives the legends just as he finds them, without any reference to Niebuhr's destructive labours. He certainly gives a most interesting story; but it is to be feared that his young readers, unwarned that this volume differs from those that have preceded it in being unhistorical, will take it all for true.

(37.) MRS. CONANT finishes her grateful and genial labours in the translation of Neander's Practical Commentaries with "*The First Epistle of John, practically explained*, by AUGUSTUS NEANDER." (New-York: Lewis Colby, 1852, 12mo., pp. 319.) No modern theologian (except, perhaps, Melancthon) has evinced so many of the characteristics of the Apostle John, as Neander: and so he is specially qualified, by a quicker sympathy than common, to catch the spirit of the beloved Apostle's writings. Mrs. Conant remarks truly, in her preface, that in explaining this Epistle, "Neander found a peculiarly congenial field. There is a noble freedom and assurance in his tread, a glow of feeling, an eloquence of utterance, such as even Neander exhibits nowhere else."

(38.) "*Dickens's Household Words*" is now reprinted by Mr. T. M'Elrath, (New-York, 17 Spruce-street,) who adds to it a weekly synopsis of news, under the title of "The United States Weekly Register."

(39.) "*Kathay*, by W. HASTINGS MACAULAY," (New-York: G. P. Putnam & Co., 1852, 12mo., pp. 230,) is a narrative of a cruise in the China Seas, evidently by an unpractised writer, but yet written with a good deal of spirit.

Digitized by Google

(40.) *Japan: an Account, Geographical and Historical, from the earliest period down to the present time*, by CHARLES MAC FARLANE, Esq." (New-York: G. P. Putnam & Co., 1852, 12mo., pp. 365.) Just at this time, any reliable information with regard to Japan is acceptable; and therefore we welcome this book, though an imperfect compilation, by an unskilled hand. Mr. Mac Farlane has had access to very valuable sources of information; and gives us many useful statements from Kämpfer and Thunberg, with large extracts from Golownin, and other more recent writers. Such as it is, the book is the best repertory of information on Japan now extant, in a convenient and portable form.

(41.) "*A Latin-English and English-Latin Dictionary for the use of Schools, chiefly from the Lexicons of Freund, Georges, and Kaltschmidt*, by CHARLES ANTHON, LL. D." (New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1852, 12mo., pp. 1200.) This work, as is stated in the preface, is mainly an abridgment of Mr. Riddle's translation of Freund's "Gesammtwörterbuch der Lateinischen Sprache;" but additions have been made from many other sources. The English-Latin part is chiefly reprinted from Kaltschmidt. The work will supply all the wants of beginners in Latin, up to the time when they will need Andrews' Freund; and, of course, *for* beginners, it is vastly preferable to the latter great work.

(42.) OF the following sermons, pamphlets, serials, &c., we can give nothing but the titles:—

The Alleged Failure of Protestantism: a Sermon preached in the Unitarian Church at Washington, February 22, 1852. By Rev. H. W. BELLOWS.

London Labour and the London Poor. By HENRY W. MAYHEW. Part XX. (New-York: Harper & Brothers.)

Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution: or, Illustrations by Pen and Pencil of the History, Scenery, Biography, Relics, and Traditions of the War for Independence. By B. J. LOSSING. (No. 26.) (New-York: Harper & Brothers.)

Science and the Scriptures: a Discourse before the New-York Alpha of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, delivered at Union College, Schenectady, July 27, 1852. By Rev. BENJAMIN N. MARTIN, A. M.

An Address delivered before the Boston Young Men's Christian Association, on the occasion of their First Anniversary, in Park-street Church, Boston, Tuesday evening, May 25, 1852. By CHAS. THEO. RUSSELL.

Evil-speaking; or, a Bridle for the Unbridled Tongue: a Sermon. By Rev. ISRAEL CHAMBERLAYNE. Delivered before the Preachers' Association of Niagara District, (Genesee Annual Conference of the M. E. Church,) Niagara Falls, August 1, 1848.

The New-London Young Men's Christian Association. Organized July 13, 1852.

Digitized by Google

A Discourse on Christ's Mediation, by Rev. JOHN DEMPSTER, D. D., before the members of the Methodist General Biblical Institute, Concord, N. H., 1852.

The Home Missionary, October, 1852.

The Southern Lady's Companion.

Catalogue of Newbury Seminary, and the Female Collegiate Institute, Newbury, Vermont, 1851–52.

Catalogue of the Officers and Students of the Rappahannock Academy and Military Institute, for the Academic Year 1851 and 1852.

Catalogue of the Methodist General Biblical Institute, Concord, N. H., 1852.

An Address delivered before the Alumni Association of Rutger's College, July 27, 1852. By Rev. ABRAHAM POLHEMUS, of Hopewell, N. Y.

Guide to Holiness.

The Foreign Missionary: published for the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church.

Catalogue of the Wesleyan University, 1852.

Address of the Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, held in the City of New-York, in the Sixth Month, 1852, to the Professors of Christianity in the United States, on the Subject of Slavery.

An Address on the Importance of the Sabbath-School Enterprise, delivered near Manilla, Indiana, June 16, 1852. By Prof. J. WHEELER, of the Indiana Asbury University.

The Bible a Perfect Book: an Address delivered before the Bible Society of Pennsylvania College and of the Theological Seminary, April 13, 1852. By Rev. CHARLES PORTERFIELD KRAUTH, Pastor of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, Winchester, Va.

The Baptist Almanac for the Year of our Lord 1853.

ART. X.—LITERARY AND RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

Theological.

EUROPEAN.

SELDOM has good matter been so spoiled in the handling as in "*Memoirs of the Lives of Robert Haldane and of his brother James Alexander Haldane*, by ALEXANDER HALDANE, Esq." (Lond., 1852, 8vo., pp. 676.) The early history of these two brothers is full of incident: their conversion and their subsequent devotion to the propagation of true religion form one of the most remarkable Christian histories of recent times; but their biographer has contrived, by sheer dint of incapacity, so to overlay the rich material in his hands with platitudes and inanities, as to make the book as wearisome and unreadable as a biography of "the Haldanes" could possibly be. We heartily wish that some intelligent Presbyterian writer would abridge and rewrite it for American readers. It is a pity that such shining examples of Christian holiness and activity as the lives of these two brothers afford, should be lost to a generation so signally in need of them as the present.

IN a former number of this Journal (Oct. 1851, Art. viii) we gave an account of the important MS. brought from Greece in 1842 by M. Mynas, and published at the Clarendon Press under the superintendence of M. Miller. In that article it was, we think, clearly shown that the MS. was the work of *Hippolytus*, Bishop of Portus. The same

Digitized by Google

view is more amply maintained in "*Hippolytus and his Age: or, the Doctrine and Practice of the Church of Rome under Commodus and Alexander Severus*, by the Chevalier BUNSEN." (London, Longmans, 4 vols., 8vo.) The first volume is chiefly taken up with ascertaining the authorship of the work, and with the text itself. The Preface vindicates the theology of Germany from the undiscriminating abuse lavished upon it by so many English writers, and assigns it (among other causes) to "that unfortunate isolation from the religious life of the rest of the world, and of Germany in particular, in which English Protestants, with the single exception of JOHN WESLEY, have lived these last two hundred years."

"*De Clemente Presbytero Alexandrino Homine, Scriptore, Philosopho, Theologo, liber, quem scripsit* H. J. REINKENS, D. D." (Vratislav., 1851, 8vo., pp. 358.) This is an elaborate treatise, by a Roman Catholic divine, of Breslau, on the life and writings of Clemens Romanus. After a brief sketch of the life of Clement, (pp. 1–22,) the author treats (chap. ii, pp. 23–34) of his writings in general, and then (ch. iii, pp. 38–270) of his several treatises in particular. Then follows (ch. iv, pp. 271–309) an estimate of Clement as a philosopher, and (ch. v, pp. 310–357) his characteristics as a theologian.

IT was long known and lamented by the learned that a series of letters by Athanasius on the Christian Festivals had been lost in the course of ages. Montfaucon thus expresses himself with regard to them in the preface to his edition of the works of Athanasius: "Nulla, opinamur, jactura major, quam Epistolarum ἑορταστικῶν aut Festalium . . . Hei, hei, quam pungit dolor amissi thesauri! quantum ad historiam, ad consuetudines ecclesiarum, ad morum præcepta hinc lucis accederet . . . Et fortassis adhuc alicubi latent in Oriente, ubi bene multa exstant." His anticipation has been fully met. Those of our readers who have perused that most entertaining book, *Curzon's Monasteries of the Levant*, know that in the Nitrian valley, about forty miles from Alexandria, are four ancient monasteries, long known to contain valuable manuscripts. In 1837 Curzon visited them, and brought away a specimen of their treasures. In 1839 Archdeacon Tattam, who had been long engaged in Coptic studies with a view to an edition of the Coptic version of the Bible, went to Egypt for the furtherance of these studies, and obtained from the monks in one of these monasteries—that of St. Mary Deipara—forty-nine manuscripts, some of them of great value, which were soon deposited in the British Museum. Mr. Cureton, the learned editor of the Ignatian Epistles, carefully examined these MSS., and gathered from them and from the accounts of Dr. Tattam and Mr. Curzon, that there were still "lying in obscurity, in the Valley of the Ascetics, at least two hundred volumes, of an antiquity anterior to the close of the ninth century." In 1842 Dr. Tattam again visited the monasteries, at the expense of the British Government, and his efforts were rewarded by more than three hundred additional manuscripts, which arrived in the British Museum in the following year. This, the monks said, constituted their entire collection; but they only, by a pious fraud, kept back about *half*, to tempt English gold on some future occasion. In 1847 Mr. Auguste Pacho visited the repository, and obtained about two hundred volumes more. Among the treasures of these several importations were the Ignatian Epistles before referred to, and also a number of MSS., which were edited by Mr. Cureton, and published in London, in 1848, under the title of "The Festal Letters of Athanasius, discovered in an ancient Syriac Version." In the preface to this edition of the Syriac text, Mr. Cureton expressed the wish that some scholar might be found "in some other country where this branch of literature is more encouraged," who would undertake to present the book in a modern dress. From only one land could this appeal be answered, as it has been in "*Die Fest-Briefe des Heiligen Athanasius, aus dem Syrischen übersetzt und durch Anmerkungen erläutert von* F. LARSOW." (Leipzig, 1852, pp. 156.) It may be hoped that we shall now soon have the work done into English.

WE have received Part I. of Dr. Julius Fürst's "*Hebräisches u. Chaldäisches Handwörterbuch über d. Alte Testament.*" (Leipzig, Tauchnitz.) The whole work is to be completed in six parts of about the size of the present (176 pp.), and is sold at the very low price of 75 cents each part, so that the whole, when completed, will not cost in this country more than $4 50. The paper and print are the best we have yet seen in a work of this class.

THE "*Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie Chrétienne*" (Paris) for July, 1853, contains an article on the Epistle to the

Digitized by Google

Hebrews, maintaining the hypothesis that the Epistle was written by Apollos, and designed for the use of Jewish Christians in general, and for those of Corinth in particular. The remaining articles are on Method, and on Sin and Expiation—the last arguing that Regeneration includes Justification.

"*August Neander: ein Beitrag zu seiner Characteristik, von* Dr. Otto Krabbe, Professor zu Rostock." (Hamburg, 1852, 8vo., pp. 174.) This work is reprinted from the Zeitblatt für die Lutherische Kirche Mecklenburgs, in which it appeared in a series of articles last year. After a pretty full account (all the notices are meagre) of his childhood, youth, and education, Dr. Krabbe gives a discriminating view of Neander as a teacher and author, going into a careful analysis of his mode of thought and of his various writings. The account of Neander's relations to his pupils and of the many ways in which his love flowed out to them, is very touching. The book is a valuable addition to the material extant for a biography of the great Church historian.

The second part of *Baumgarten's Apostelgeschichte* (Halle, 1852, 8vo., pp. 338) treats of "the Church among the Gentiles," and carries down the commentary upon the Acts to the 18th chapter.

We have received the first number of Darling's "*Cyclopædia Bibliographica*," or Library Manual of Theological and General Literature. The work will be of great service to "authors, preachers, students, &c.," to whom it is specially addressed. Could it come up to the promise of the publisher, and "comprise nearly all authors of note, ancient and modern, in Theology, Ecclesiastical History, Moral Philosophy, &c.," it would, indeed, supply a vast want. But the promise is absurd—and the first number is enough to show that it cannot be fulfilled with any such material as Mr. Darling seems to have at command. The attempt to combine "General Literature" with Theology, in a bibliography in two volumes, giving the contents of each volume, is enough to make the whole enterprise break down. What *will* be accomplished is, we think, about this: the work will furnish a good index to the writings of the chief English Theological writers, and also of the Greek and Latin Fathers. By doing even this, Mr. Darling will lay all theologians and students under very great obligations to him: and he should have promised no more.—The work will be published in monthly numbers.

What the Pirots and Daniels of the seventeenth century failed to do—to answer Pascal's Provincial Letters—has been attempted by a Jesuit of the nineteenth, incited, no doubt, by the recent revival of attention to Pascal's writings. The title of the adventurous book is "*Les Provinciales, et leur Réfutation, par M. l'Abbe* Maynard." (Paris, 2 vols., 8vo.) M. Maynard gives a new edition of the Provincials, and accompanies it with a comment intended as a refutation. Its procedure is curious—first, in each particular case, to deny Pascal's charges against the Jesuits; then to admit them, and show that the *Church* is responsible for the conduct of the Jesuits, as the Jesuits are the very closest and most obedient followers of the Church! The book shows that Jesuitism is now just what it was in Pascal's time—only a little worse.

One of the most remarkable and significant books lately published is entitled "*Sympathies of the Continent, or Proposals for a new Reformation*, by J. B. Von Hirscher, D. D.," translated and edited by Rev. A. C. Coxe. (London, J. W. Parker, 12mo.) The writer is Professor of Theology in the Roman Catholic University of Freiburg, and Dean of the Metropolitan Church in that city. That the Roman Catholic Church sadly needs reforming is what all the world knows; but the significance of the present announcement lies in the fact that it comes from a man of high position, character, and authority in the very bosom of that Church. Dr. Hirscher demands that the prayers shall be translated into the vernacular; that the forms and ceremonies shall be simplified; that the forced celibacy of the clergy shall be abandoned, &c., &c.;—in short, that most of the peculiarities of Romish ecclesiastical discipline shall be done away. We hope the book will be speedily republished in this country.

"*Ueber den Christlichen Bilderkreis, von* Dr. F. Piper," (Berlin, 1852, 8vo., pp. 66,) is a survey of the various forms of Christian art from its earliest period down to the sixteenth century.

Tauchnitz, of Leipzig, has printed a very beautiful edition of "*the Psalms, Hebrew and English*," (18mo., pp. 100)—the texts printed facing each other on opposite pages.

Digitized by Google

ILLUSTRATIONS of the scandalous and atrocious way in which the ecclesiastical wealth of Great Britain is monopolized by certain clerical families have abounded of late. One of the most remarkable is the case of the *Reverends Richard and George Pretyman*, sons of the late Bishop of Lincoln. The pretty record is, briefly, as follows:—

"The Mere Hospital in Lincolnshire is chartered with eight hundred and seventy-four acres of land, for the perpetual support and complete maintenance of thirteen poor persons, and of the chaplain *therein* ministering. In 1817, the then bishop appointed his son Richard as chaplain, who, two years after, granted a lease of the hospital land, reserving the old rent of £32, but taking a fine of more than £9000. In 1826 and 1835, he again renewed the lease for fines of £2200 and £1742 10*s*., all of which, like his predecessors, he kept himself, besides £750 for timber. The report adds, that out of the £32 he kept £8 himself, and applied the rest to the use of *six* poor persons, that the buildings of the hospital had ceased to exist, that no duties were performed by him, and that the annual value of the Mere lands was more than £1200. In the same year (1817) this gentleman was appointed by his father, though bound to minister in the Hospital of Mere, to a canonry residentiary in Lincoln Cathedral, officially valued at £1665, and also to the precentorship, returned at £184, but having attached to it the rectory of Kilsby over the Tunnel, with tithes upon 2,100 acres commuted for land, and therefore not worth less than £335. In the same year his father also bestowed upon him the rectory of Walgrave-cum-Harrington, endowed with 660 acres of land, and money payments, a house besides, and therefore worth not less than £1000. The produce, then, of these three offices in the thirty-three years must have been £105,000; but in 1819, the year of his £9000 fine, his father again presented him with the rectory of Stoney Middleton, commuted at £436 10*s*.; and in 1825, he obtained from the Bishop of Winchester the sinecure rectory of Wroughton, commuted at £570. The annual value, then, of his church preferment is not less than £4000, and the proceeds during the tenure of it amounted to no less than £134,794, besides the £13,700 obtained by anticipating the revenues of the Mere Hospital, raising the total to more than £148,500. As for his duties, till 1841 he had not performed any service at the Hospital. Wroughton rectory is a sinecure, and, when asked officially what he did as precentor, he replied: "My duties are to superintend the choir, and—preach once a year."

Then as to his brother, *the Reverend George Pretyman*. "In 1814, his kind father gave him also a canonry residentiary at Lincoln, valued at £1665, and the chancellorship, too, returned at £284 a year, but probably worth £535, as it has attached to it the prebend of Stoke, and the perpetual curacy of Nettleham, a parish of 3284 acres, with tithes commuted for land and money payment. In the same year he became rector of Wheathampstead-cum-Harpenden, with tithes commuted for £1591, and therefore worth at least £1600, making with the canonry and precentorship £3900 a year, and producing in thirty-eight years, at least £144,000. In 1817, when Richard became chaplain, canon, precentor, &c., George was presented by his father with the rectory of Chalfont St. Giles, commuted for £804; and in 1825, when Richard got the sinecure rectory in Wilts, George stepped into a stall at Winchester, not quite a sinecure, of £642 a year. These two additions raise the annual income of his preferment to £5246, and the proceeds during his term of it to about £190,000, which, with his brother's £148,500, makes £338,500 for the pair. Nor is this all: for as precentor and chancellor they are patrons of six or seven small benefices which may be useful as compensations for curates, "invidiously called working;" and besides, as canons of Lincoln and Winchester, they have a share in corporate patronage of greater value. Thus, the Chapter of Lincoln are patrons of Great Carlton, value £571, to which, in 1844, a son of George was appointed, upon whose death it fell to another son, in 1850."

WE are glad to see announced as nearly ready, (in one volume, small 4to.,) "John de Wiclif, D. D.: A Monograph, with some Account of the Wiclif MSS. in Oxford, Cambridge, the British Museum, Lambeth Palace, and Trinity College, Dublin. By Robert Vaughan, D. D." This work will include all the original material in a work published by the author more than twenty years since; but in the present volume the subject has been wholly recast, and in every part rewritten, under the lights supplied by much subsequent study and research. This volume is also illustrated with a Series of Engravings, from Drawings taken at Wiclif and Lutterworth; and with a highly-finished Portrait of the Reformer, from the Original Painting by Sir Antonio More, now an heir-loom in the Rectory of Wiclif.

LETTER FROM PROFESSOR JACOBI.

BERLIN, *October*, 1852.

The Church of Prussia.

NEW difficulties have arisen in the Established Church of Prussia, from certain decrees of the authorities, recently passed, which are supposed to bear hardly upon more than one of the parties into which the

Digitized by Google

Church is divided. As I cannot suppose that my American readers are familiar with the present organization of the Prussian Church, and with all the steps that have led to it, a brief account of these may perhaps not be out of place in this letter.

Of the seventeen millions of inhabitants of the kingdom of Prussia, about ten millions are Protestants, nearly one-fifth of whom are Reformed, and the remainder Lutherans. The reigning house has belonged to the Reformed confession; and its princes long ago formed the desire to bring about a union between the Reformed and Lutheran branches—at least a union in doctrine and usage—to such an extent as that the two confessions might agree to form one Church. Various measures designed to accomplish this object were taken in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but they were ill adapted to the end, sometimes even implying the use of force, and no substantial result was achieved. But the developments of the last century of theology removed many of the difficulties out of the way, and seemed to make what was before impracticable now comparatively an easy task. Rationalism, which had nothing in common, at least in its basis, with the Reformed or the Lutheran Confessions, was either indifferent to both, or opposed both. The scientific and *believing* theology which subsequently took the place of Rationalism, and which now takes the lead in the theological culture of Germany, harmonizes in substance with the Confessions that grew out of the Reformation; but distinguishes between the essential points in which those confessions are at one and the comparatively unessential matters about which they differ. A standpoint has been gained by theologians and by many men of general scientific culture, from which the Evangelical doctrines in the Confessions are well defined and preserved; allowing, at the same time, freedom of opinion as to the less important dogmas. The tendency to conciliation and union was also increased by the newly awakened religious feeling which sprung up in Germany more than thirty years ago, under the influence of various movements of Divine Providence, especially the deliverance of Germany from the yoke of Napoleon—which received a new impulse from the Reformation-Jubilee of 1817, and has been greatly fostered by the labours of the University professors. Men inspired by a new love and fresh enthusiasm for the gospel of Christ, were disposed rather to bury all minor points of difference than to make them prominent. It was in presence of such a state of things, and under the confidence which it generated, that the pious monarch Frederick William III. determined, in 1817, upon a new ecclesiastical order, to bring about the long-desired Union, or, at least, to lay a foundation for it. The idea of the plan was, that Lutherans and Reformed should be *gradually* incorporated into one Church communion, in which the dogmas and institutions about which they differed, and which kept them apart, should find no place. There was to be a common Church government, and also a community in the Lord's Supper, in such a way that an adherent of the Reformed Confession might partake of the communion in a Lutheran Church, or *vice versa*, without giving up, either in form or substance, his own peculiar fellowship. Uniformity of Divine worship was to be secured by a common Liturgy, called the *Agende* of the Evangelical Established Church of Prussia, by which name the united communion was designated. This Liturgy adhered rather to the words of the Bible than to dogmatical language in its forms for the administration of the Lord's Supper. In all the Churches which adopted the Union, the *Agende* was introduced of course; and, on the other hand, most of the Churches which adopted the *Agende* sanctioned, or at least favoured, the Union likewise. Another step was, to demand of all new candidates for the ministry a written adhesion to the principles of the Union.

The result of these measures has been the establishment of the Union in by far the greater part of the Prussian monarchy. But it met with decided opposition from individual Lutheran ministers and Churches, especially in Silesia. These parties have not been always treated with the leniency and toleration that evangelical wisdom would dictate, and which were contemplated in the origin of the plan of Union. In favour, however, of those Lutherans who were unwilling to abate anything from the sharply-defined precision of dogmatical language in the Liturgical forms, a royal decree of 1834 declared that it was not the design of the Union to abrogate the existing Confessions; but that, under a common Church government, the adherents of neither should refuse participation in the Lord's Supper to those of the

Digitized by Google

other. But this modification of the idea of the Union did not affect the practical part of the difficulty; for the *Agende* was still maintained, and to be maintained. The result of the whole was, that part of the strict Lutherans emigrated; and a portion of those who remained, separated from the United Church, and formed a distinct communion—the so-called *Old Lutherans*. Fixing their ecclesiastical centre at Breslau, they formed a new Chief-Consistory, adopted a Liturgy of their own, and framed a strict and severe Church-Discipline. They have many congregations in Pomerania, and one also in the city of Berlin.

But, besides this external defection, two parties also have been developed within the bosom of the Union itself: one of which parties arrays itself under the decree of 1817, which places the Union in the *consensus* of the two confessions; while the other adopts more strictly the view of the decree of 1834, which admits these confessions, and especially that of Augsburg, in all points. It is clear that the more logically this latter theory is carried out, the more difficult it will be to maintain the life of the Union; and, accordingly, the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*, which maintains this theory to the utmost, displays constantly an increasing alienation from the United Church. In Pomerania, a party was formed on the platform of the *Lutheran* constitution and liturgy exclusively. At its head stands the Jurist *Göschel*, well known for his piety and erudition, and equally well known for his *confusion* of mind. Göschel deems it necessary that the Lutheran party should separate completely and absolutely from the Reformed, and, at the same time, believes it possible to give form and consistency to his Lutheranism by means of Hegel's Pantheistic philosophy. His philosophico-theological writings—models of confused thought and clumsy expression—are hardly intelligible to Germans, much less to foreigners. This party, partly from personal preferences, and partly from a notion that the destructive spirit of the times can but be met by strengthening the authority of the Lutheran Confession and of the pastoral office, has gained over many men of influence and character, both among clergy and laity.

A recent royal order, issued, perhaps, to meet the wishes and demands of this party, may be considered as the first step taken by the ecclesiastical authorities towards the dissolution of the Union. By this decree, the so-called *Oberkirchenrath*, (Supreme Consistory,) which originated in 1847, is organized anew, with the purpose of withdrawing the management (in substantial affairs) of the Established Church from the royal ministry, and placing it in the hands of purely ecclesiastical authorities. Its members in future may be either Lutheran or Reformed, with the sole condition that they will not refuse obedience to a Church government placed above *both* denominations. And so the common participation in the Lord's Supper is at an end: Lutheran clergymen are again permitted to reject Reformed Christians from the altar, and the Union subsists only in the common Supreme government. The very large party of those who are not strictly attached to either the Lutheran or the Reformed Confession, but take their position on the *consensus* of the two, is not legally represented in the Consistory, though it is not without friends in that body. To this party belong most of the prominent scientific theologians of the present time, and nearly all the theological professors in the kingdom. The Theological Faculties of Halle and Königsberg, with many of the Professors at Bonn and Greifswalde, as also many clergymen and educated laymen, have declared their nonconcurrence with the royal edict, and demand, at least, an official representation of the United party in the Supreme Consistory. On the other hand, the strict Lutherans are satisfied, because a step in their favour has been taken, the fruits of which they expect to reap by-and-by. Like the Roman Catholics, they take what they can get *on account*, waiting until the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are brought back again. In their zeal for an unadulterated Lutheran Church, they put minor and trifling matters before the existence of the United Church. What they *will* accomplish, will be, not a Church, but a sectarian party. As for culture and learning, they have so little of it that in that respect we can only look for a paralytic life among them.

Thus the recent decrees are bringing about a crisis. The decision may not be very remote; but it will, without doubt, be preceded by very violent commotions.

The Jesuits in Prussia.

The greater freedom in religious movements which resulted from the convulsions

Digitized by Google

of 1648, was promptly made use of by the Jews and the Romanists to advance their respective interests. The Church of Rome has exerted herself in the last four years in Germany, and especially in Prussia, with far more than her wonted energy. The soil of Brandenburg is considered by Cardinal Wiseman and his confederates as "the last bulwark of Protestant heresy." And justly: for where on the continent of Europe could a strong stand be made for a Protestant Church, with extent enough to command respect, if PRUSSIA should be yielded up to the Pope? Hence the new-born activity of the Jesuits in Prussia—the new and restless zeal for proselyting—the building of schools and churches—the re-establishment of orders and monasteries. The "Sisters of Charity," whose self-sacrificing labours in so many places have commended them to the good-will of Protestants, but who so generally only form an entering wedge for other and very different Romanist orders, are especially active in Berlin. A new church, and a new hospital of ample dimensions, are soon to be erected. But the hopes of Rome in this age rest mainly on the JESUITS. They are the special champions of the faith against Infidelity; and to them is intrusted the task of gaining, if possible, the education of the rising generation of Germans. They have, within the last few years, conducted numerous "Missions," not only in Southern and Western Germany, but also in many provinces of Prussia. The government, however, in allowing these public Missions, has restricted them to such places and districts as have already a preponderating Roman Catholic population. In order not to *alarm* the Protestants, the first steps of the Jesuits were very careful and humble; their only objects were to "confirm their Churches"—to "stir up their own people;" by no means "to carry on a polemic warfare against Protestantism." So, even Father HASLACHER, who, in Catholic *Baden*, had commanded his people to throw the Bibles given them by Protestants into the fire, was very prudent and careful when he came to *Dantzic*. Here and there, however, the fanaticism which is native to the Jesuit system has broken out; and the confessional has been made great use of, especially with regard to mixed marriages, for the disparagement and injury of Protestantism. It would be supposed that none but men eminent for pulpit ability among the Jesuits would be sent upon these "Missions," which consist in protracted religious services, embracing, sometimes, several sermons a day, for several days together; but it is generally thought that none of them, in point of pulpit force and eloquence, approach to our best preachers—such, for instance, as KRUMMACHER. Their sermons are aimed generally at special sins and faults, and are so thoroughly *external* in their character that no evangelical Protestant could find any food in them. Perhaps the chief result of these "Missions" is that which the Jesuits least intended: their history and fruits are so well remembered by the German people, that their recent irruption has united all classes of Protestants in one compact body against them. The Supreme Consistory embraced the occasion to order a general collection to be taken up in the different Churches, for the double purpose of aiding scattered and extended parishes to support assistant pastors, and to send forth travelling preachers to revive the Christian life in the various congregations. The collections have gone beyond all expectation, and still larger returns are expected for the next year. The men chosen for travelling preachers will be chiefly those who have the gift of earnest speech, and who are endowed with that spiritual *unction* which awakens religious feeling even in slumbering Christians—men, in short, of the Methodistic type. They are to labour in connexion with the regular pastors in their several congregations.

These Jesuit Missions have already given rise to an extended controversy. On the appearance of the missionaries in Silesia, the General Superintendent (Protestant) of that district, Dr. HAHN, felt himself bound to issue a letter of warning, in which he did not speak in the most favourable terms of the history and purposes of the order of Jesuits. The venerable DIEFENBROCK, Prince Bishop and Cardinal in Breslau, felt himself aggrieved by this letter, and wrote a reply, defending the Jesuits and the Church of Rome against Dr. Hahn. The Supreme Consistory, deeming silence on its part no longer prudent, issued a refutation of the Cardinal's letter. Although this controversy was necessary, it is to be regretted that it should have arisen with the most venerable and worthy of the Roman Catholic Bishops in Prussia. Diefenbrock is a German Fenelon, and has the

Digitized by Google

love of many Protestants, who believe him to be inspired with the common Christian life. Were the Jesuits such as he supposes them to be, there would be no call to oppose them; but he judges them, not by what *they* are, but by what *he* is.

Literature.

It is a happy result of the combination of Christian feeling with scientific culture, that *laymen* can come forth with theological works laying claim to learned research. An instance of this is *Geschichte der Reformation in Schottland, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der in ihr sich offenbarenden Kraft Christlichen Glaubens*, von K. G. von Rudloff. (Berlin, 2 vols.) Herr von Rudloff is a Major General in the Prussian service, and yet has not only the capacity, but the inclination to write the history of the Scottish Reformation after an independent study of the sources of information on the subject. As the title-page indicates, he treats not so much of the theological controversies involved as of the Christian life and faith of the Reformation, and his work is, therefore, adapted to a wide circle of readers. Theology is a professional study; but the deeds and sufferings of the defenders of the faith are a precious record for the edification of all Christians. A good illustration of the descriptive power of the author is afforded by the following brief extract from his account of the "Signing of the Covenant" in 1638:—

"The question now arose, who should first sign the deed. There was a solemn pause: each seemed to consider the other more worthy to put his name *first* in the list of signers of the sacred bond. Finally, with slow and majestic step a venerable man came forth: it was the aged and noble Earl of Sutherland, who subscribed, with trembling hand, the bond of Scotland's covenant with God. All hesitation was now at an end. Name followed name in quick succession, till every man in the assembly had subscribed. Then the solemn writing was taken out and laid upon a gravestone, that all in the churchyard might affix their signatures. Here the scene was, if possible, more affecting than within the church. Some wept; others broke forth with jubilant shouts. Some added to their names the words, '*until death*;' others opened their veins and signed the bond with their life-blood. The sheet, large as it was, was soon so far covered with names that many had to resort to abbreviations, and at length to initials, until not even the smallest spot was left for another mark... When all had signed, they raised their right hands towards heaven, and with tearful eyes, called God the Lord to witness that they would not forget this their covenant."

In the field of *Education*, a valuable work for those who would wish to see how the English School system appears from the German point of view, is "*Deutsche Briefe über englische Erziehung*, von Dr. L. Wiese." (Berlin, 1852, pp. 211.)

Yours, J. L. Jacobi.

We continue our summaries of the contents and tendencies of the principal Theological Journals, abroad and at home.

The *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* (Hamburg, July, 1852) is characterized by the British Quarterly as follows:—

The best and most interesting paper is a leading article by one of the editors (Dr. Ullmann) on "The Essence of Christianity and Mysticism." Dr. Ullmann's book on the "Essence of Christianity" has been translated into French, and appears to have been somewhat roughly handled by Gasparin, and others, in several of the religious periodicals of France. The author complains that he has been misunderstood, or misrepresented, on many points, and the article in question is his rejoinder to his assailants. The employment of the word essence, at all, has been deemed blameworthy by some of his critics, who think they perceive therein the cloven foot of that audacious neology which receives or rejects in Christianity whatever its caprice may determine. Dr. Ullmann appears to us to intend by the word essence, (*Wesen*,) only what we should probably express by some such phrase as "essential characteristics."

But the charge most strongly urged is that of mysticism. That there is not a little in our modern spiritualism open to this accusation is unquestionable. We are disposed to think it probable, from what we know of his other writings, that Dr. Ullmann may not have expressed himself on some doctrinal points with that definiteness and fulness which are to be desired. The German tendency to give even more than due prominence to the subjective element in religion, and the national habit of indulging in a mode of expression rather vague, abstract, and periphrastic, than truly philosophical, is sufficiently manifest in his writings. But in his remarks on mysticism in general, and in his condemnation of Ullmann as a mystic in particular, Von Gasparin appears to us somewhat deficient, both in knowledge of the subject, and in fairness of spirit.

Some confusion will arise at times in the minds of English readers, from the fact that the Germans have two words for mysticism while we have only one. In Germany *Mystik* is mysticism in a good sense. It answers to what we should term

Digitized by Google

spirituality, experimental religion, or, according to our old divines, heart-work. It is the enemy of Ritualism, Formalism—of mere Scholasticism. *Mysticismus*, on the contrary, denotes the corruption or exaggeration of *Mystik*. This is our word Mysticism. The two are distinguished much as we distinguish, in common usage, spirituality and spiritualism, religion and religionism, piety and pietism. But, as the adjectives cannot be distinguished as the nouns are, the advantage lies, we think, with our language, and the German phraseology on the subject is open to a confusion from which we are free. In giving so negative a definition of mysticism as he does,—pronouncing it simply the repudiation of dogma, the substitution of feeling for truth, of rational Ego, or the emotional Ego, for the authority of God,—M. Von Gasparin has shown himself too partial or too hasty. The generalization is by no means so easy. No one who has studied the phenomena of mysticism,—that strange tendency which has produced the most various and most contrary results—energy intense and absolute inaction; Titans and lotus-eaters—Egotheists, Pantheists, Nihilists,—the Umbilicani of Mr. Athos and George Fox,—the Brethren of the Free Spirit and Madame Guyon,—at once the contemners and the devotees of vision and of miracle, the opposite of self-annihilation and of self-deification,—no one who has questioned these motley shapes, and listened to the Babel of their dialects, can imagine that the question concerning the nature of mysticism can be settled in so off-hand and curt a fashion. Dr. Ullmann knows what mysticism has been far better than his reviewer. The latter should be introduced to Hugo and Richard of St. Victor, and to Chancellor Gerson, countrymen of his in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fifteenth centuries, and he would learn that mysticism allied itself in them with that antagonist scholasticism, against which Bernard enlisted it—that it animated and interpenetrated, instead of repudiating, dogma—gained from the schoolman a tongue, and offered in return a heart. Spirituality, or religious feeling, becomes mysticism when it asserts an independent standing for itself, apart from intelligence, or moral order; when, not content with being a part, it arrogates to itself the whole of religion. It does so also when in its zeal against a false external authority it repudiates the true; when feeling and impulse are made an inspiration, and the zealot reads only in the internal Bible of self-will and the apocryphal book of fancy. Mysticism has clustered its luxuriance especially about the great doctrine of the union of the believer with Christ. It has lost sight, more or less, of the necessity of a Christ *for* us, in the emphasis it has laid on a Christ *in* us. Its error in this respect has lain in making the medium of such union, not faith, but intellectual intuition, or the reverie and the practice of the contemplative ascetic. It has represented this union, not simply as moral or spiritual—as consisting in a life which is lived by perpetual communication from the life which is in Christ—but as an essential oneness which confounds the divine and human personality, and which tends to obliterate the distinction between the sonship of Christ and the sonship of Christians, as though all devout or thoughtful men were incarnations of the Infinite. Hence its close affinity with pantheism. This whole question concerning the nature of mysticism, is one of great and growing importance. It reaches far beyond any personal dispute between a German and a French divine, and in this broader view Dr. Ullmann has treated it on the whole dispassionately and wisely.

The next paper—"A Word on the Contemplation of Nature from the Christological point of View"—is foolish and fanciful. We thought it had been left to Jacob Behmen to find Christology in psychology, theology in metaphysics, and divine mysteries in natural phenomena. But here a Swiss doctor unintelligibly teaches how somnambulism and clairvoyance are ever recurring types, which find their highest realization in the life and death and prophetic office of the Son of God. Mankind would seem never to be cured of its old mistakes. Our modern theosophists may have a little more science, but assuredly no more wisdom than the old.

The "Life of Luther," illustrated by the able designs of König, with accompanying letter-press by Gelzen, is favourably reviewed; as is also a very different work,—"The Thoughts, Essays, and Maxims of Joubert." Lechler's "Prize Essay" on the apostolic and post-apostolic age, is noticed with deserved approval. Dr. Lechler has already made himself favourably known in Germany by his "History of English Deism." His book is, in fact, a refutation of Baur and the Tübingen school of criticism.

The *October* number of the same journal, contains the following articles:—I. The Method of History of Doctrines, with special reference to the recent expositions of that science, by Dürtenbach, of Würtemberg: II. The Creation: an essay on the first and second chapter of Genesis, by J. G. Stalb: III. The Reformatory and Speculative Elements in the tract entitled, "Deutsche Theologie," by Ullmann: IV. The Relation of Inspiration to the free intellectual activity of the Sacred Writers, by A. Köster, of Nassau: V. Delitzsch on Solomon's Song, reviewed by Umbreit: VI. Ritschl on the Origin of the Ancient Catholic Church, reviewed by Redepenning: VII. Jacobi's *Naturleben und Geisteleben*, reviewed by Wichtler:

Digitized by Google

VIII. Elucidation of the newly revived claim of private confession upon the Lord's Supper, by Süskind, of Ludwigsburg. Köster's Article on Inspiration is thus noticed in the British Quarterly:—

"He has a theory for escaping from the difficulty in reconciling the freedom of the sacred writers with the divine influence imparted in inspiration, that resembles those medicines which remove the disorder, but kill the patient. He supposes that revelation was made to Abraham, Moses, and others, not of doctrines, &c., but of *facts*. For example, Abraham's consciousness of God was miraculously elevated, so that he concluded God entertained for him an especial love, and would bless his soul; and thus the promise and covenant, made by God, are to be understood as the mere reflection of the patriarch's new views of the divine goodness. The "thus saith the Lord," throughout the Old Testament, is only a Hebrew mode of expressing the individual conclusions of those favoured persons as to what God would wish done, or would do. Moses is supposed to have derived the greater portion of the ceremonial economy from Egypt; and yet, without any culpable fraud, to have represented every particular as according to a pattern divinely given. The circumstances attending the prescription of the Decalogue, because unfavourable to this notion, are supposed to be the relation of a later pen. The fact, that a man had attained views of the divine nature superior to those about him, is supposed by this writer to give him a warrant for issuing commands, announcing doctrines, and predicting the future, as he sees best; claiming meanwhile for every separate saying, the especial sanction of a divine injunction. This notion is the legitimate issue of the theory of inspiration propounded by Mr. Morell, in his "Philosophy of Religion." Such an hypothesis says little for their sense of the demands of truth who can maintain it. Their ethics are in even greater disorder than their theology."

Prospective Review, for October:—I. Money and Morals: II. The Eddas: III. Uncle Tom's Cabin: the Present Condition and Prospects of American Slavery: IV. Hartley Coleridge's Lives of the Northern Worthies: V. Lectures on Moral Philosophy.

Irish Quarterly Review, for September:—I. Poets of To-day and Yesterday: II. The Streets of Dublin: III. Italy in 1848; Hungary in 1851: IV. Dr. Maginn: V. Artistic and Industrial Exhibitions: VI. The Brehon Law Commission.

Christian Remembrancer, for October:—I. Ida Pfeiffer's Voyage to Iceland: II. Recent Poetry—Moir and Reade: III. Election of Proctors to Convocation: IV. Church Festivals and their Household Words: V. Achilli *v.* Newman: VI. Study of Words: VII. Japan, &c.: VIII. Notices of New Books and Pamphlets.

British Quarterly Review, for October:—I. University Reform: II. French Memoirs of the Age of Louis XIV: III. China—its Civilization and Religion: IV. Mure's History of Greek Literature: V. The Theology of the Old Testament: VI. Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy: VII. Shakspeare and Goethe: VIII. The Meeting of Convocation: IX. Our Epilogue on Affairs and Books.

English Review, for October:—I. Parochial Visitation: II. Tyler's Sermons: III. Practical Working of the Church of Spain: IV. Uncle Tom's Cabin: Negro Slavery in the United States: V. The Church, the Government, and the Elections: VI. Murray's Horatian Criticism: VII. Convocation: VIII. Short Notices of Recent Publications: IX. Foreign and Colonial Intelligence.

The Quarterly Review, for October:—I. British Bards and Stonehenge: II. Ionian Islands: III. Salmon: IV. Dr. Chalmers: V. Sindh: VI. Lord Langdale: VII. Gold Discoveries: VIII. Parliamentary Prospects.

North British Review, for November:—I. Oxford and the Royal Commission: II. The First French Revolution in Chemistry; Lavoisier: III. Tuscany and its Grand Dukes: IV. Guizot on Shakspeare and Corneille; French Criticism: V. The Infallibility of the Bible and Recent Theories of Inspiration: VI. The Diamond; its History and Properties: VII. American Slavery, Uncle Tom's Cabin: VIII. The Modern Exodus in its Effects on the British Islands.

Westminster Review, for October:—I. The Oxford Commission: II. Whewell's Moral Philosophy: III. Plants and Botanists: IV. Our Colonial Empire: V. The Philosophy of Style: VI. The Poetry of the Anti-Jacobin: VII. Goethe as a Man of Science: VIII. The Profession of Literature: IX. The Duke of Wellington: X. Contemporary Literature of England: XI. Contemporary Literature of America: XII. Contemporary Literature of Germany: XIII. Contemporary Literature of France.

AMONG the books in Theology and kindred subjects recently announced in Great Britain are the following:—

The History of the Christian Church. Vol. I. The Church in the Apostolic Age. By Henry W. J. Thiersch, Dr. of Philosophy

Digitized by Google

and Theology. Translated from the German by Thomas Carlyle. 12mo. London, Thos. Bosworth, 215 Regent-street:—Dr. Cumming's Expository Readings in the Book of Revelation. Expositions of the Chapters read on Sabbath Evenings in the Scottish National Church, Crown Court, Covent Garden, forming a continuous and complete Commentary on the Apocalypse:—The Church before the Flood: a Series of Lectures on the Book of Genesis. By Rev. John Cumming, D. D. Uniform with "Apocalyptic Sketches:"—Memorials of Early Christianity: presenting, in a graphic, compact, and popular form, some of the Memorable Events of Early Ecclesiastical History. By the Rev. J. G. Miall, Author of "Footsteps of our Forefathers." In post 8vo., with Illustrations:—The Free Church of Ancient Christendom, and its Subjugation under Constantine. By Basil H. Cooper, B. A. 12mo.:—The New Reformation in Ireland: Interesting Facts and Anecdotes, illustrating the Extent and Character of the Movement. With a Map. By the Rev. Llewelyn W. Jones, M. A., Curate of Oswestry. In fcp. 8vo.:—The Mission and Martyrdom of St. Peter; with Prefatory Notices by the Rev. Dr. Cumming and Rev. Dr. M'Caul. (This work gives the original Text of all the ancient passages supposed to imply St. Peter's Visit to Rome, with comments showing that there never was even a tradition to that effect.) 8vo.:—The Lands of the Messiah, Mohammed, and the Pope, as visited in 1851. By J. Aiton, D. D., Minister of Dolphinton. 1 vol., 12mo.:—Sermons, Doctrinal and Practical. By the Rev. William Archer Butler, M. A., late Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Dublin. Edited, with a Memoir of the Author's Life, by the Rev. T. Woodward, M. A., Vicar of Mullingar. 1 vol., 8vo.:—The Eternal Duration of Future Punishments not inconsistent with the Divine Attributes of Justice and Mercy. By Geo. M. Gorham, B.A., Scholar of Trinity College.

Among the books in theological and general literature recently announced on the continent of Europe are the following:—

Disquisitio de loco Paulino, qui est de δικαίωσει, quam scripsit *Lud. Guil. Ern. Rauwenhoff.* Lugd. Bat., 1852. 136 pp., 8vo.

Zur Charakteristik des heil. Justinus, Philosophen und Märtyrers. Von *Karl Otto.* Wien, 1852. Broch.

De compositione evangelii Joannei. Scripsit *Chr. Ern. Luthardt*, Lic. theolog. Repetentis nomine ordini theol. adscriptus in Academia Erlangensi. Norimbergi, 1852. 92 pp., 8vo.

Disputatio de antiquissimo librorum sacrorum N. T. Catalogo, qui vulgo fragmentum Muratorii appellatur. Scripsit *Jan. van Gilse.* Amstelodami, 1852. 4to., pp. 30.

Die Epochen der kirchlichen Geschichtschreibung. Von Dr. *Fd. Chr. Baur*, Prof. an der Universität zu Tübingen. Tübingen, 1852. 269 pp., 8vo.

Prophetæ majores in dialecto linguæ ægyptiacæ memphitica seu coptica. Edidit cum versione latina *H. Tattam.* Tom. I., II. Oxonii, 1852. 976 pp., 8vo.

Hiob. Erklärt von Prof. Dr. *Ludw. Hirzel.* 2. Auflage durchgesehen von Dr. *Just. Olshausen.* Leipzig, 1852. 265 pp., 8vo.

Codex Claromontanus, sive epistolæ Pauli omnes græce et latine. Ex cod. Parisiensi celeberrimo nomine Claromontani plerumque dicto sexti ut videtur post Christum sæc. nunc primum ed. Dr. *Const. Tischendorf*, theol. P. O. Hon. Lips. Lipsiæ, 1852. 8vo., 599 pp.

Einleitung in die canonischen Bücher des neuen Bundes. Von Dr. *Fr. X. Reithmayr*, geistlichem Rath und Prof. Regensburg, 1852. 786 pp., 8vo.

Einleitung in die Schriften des Neuen Testaments. Von Dr. *Adalb. Maier*, geistl. Rath u. Prof. Freiburg, 1852. 604 pp., 8vo.

De christologia Paulina contra Baurium commentatio. Scrips. *Jul. Fd. Räbiger*, theol. Dr. et Prof. Vratisl. Vratislaviæ, 1852. 94 pp., 8vo.

Commentar über den Brief Pauli an die Römer. Von Dr. *Fr. Ad. Philippi*, ord. Prof. d. Theol. zu Dorpat. 3. Abth. Kap. 12–16 enthaltend. Frankfurt a. M., 1852. 154 pp. 8vo.

Lehrbuch der christlichen Kirchengeschichte mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der dogmatischen Entwicklung. Von Dr. *W. Br. Lindner*, Prof. zu Leipzig. 3. Abth. 1. Hälfte: Geschichte d. Kirche der neueren Zeit. Leipzig, 1852. 326 pp., 8vo.

Christliche Dogmatik. Von Dr. *J. Pet. Lange.* 3. Thl. Auch unter dem Titel: Angewandte Dogmatik oder Polemik und Irenik. Heidelberg, 1852. 344 pp., 8vo.

Digitized by Google

AMERICAN.

Messrs. Carlton & Phillips (200 Mulberry-street, New-York) have just ready for publication, "*Manly Character, a series of Lectures to Young Men*, by Geo. Peck, D. D. (12mo.)

The same publishers have in press, and will speedily issue, "*The Brand of Dominic, or the Inquisition at Rome, supreme and universal*, by Rev. W. H. Rule." This work describes "the history, policy, principles and practices" of the Inquisition in a way at once truthful, accurate, and impartial. It is a sober, earnest, *telling* book; and the more so as Mr. Rule makes no statement without *giving the original authority for it*. We predict a wide circulation for this little volume. The spirit of the Inquisition prevails among Roman Catholics more extensively now than for two centuries past, and the public mind of America should be disabused of the false notion that there is no danger to be apprehended from it. The Pope is something more than a bugbear, now that he is allying himself with all the despotic powers of Europe to put down freedom of thought.

We continue our summaries of the contents of American Theological Journals:—

Bibliotheca Sacra, (Andover,) October:—I. Autobiography of Dr. Bretschneider: II. Elements of Culture in the Early Ages: III. Protestant Christianity adapted to be the Religion of the World: IV. Islamism: V. Character of Infants: VI. Alleged Discrepancy between Paul and James: VII. Life and Services of Prof. Edwards: VIII. Sketch of Justin Martyr.

Biblical Repertory, (Princeton,) October:—I. Eloquence of the French Pulpit: II. The Gymnasium in Prussia: III. Laws of Latin Grammar: IV. The Apostles' Creed: V. Memoirs of Robert and James A. Haldane: VI. Exploration and Survey of the Valley of the Great Salt Lake of Utah.

Christian Review, (New-York,) October:—I. Baptists of the Mississippi Valley: II. The Personality of the Holy Spirit: III. Life and Letters of Niebuhr: IV. William Penn and his Achievements: V. The Ark of the Covenant: VI. Spectral Illusions; their Causes and Laws.

Theological and Literary Journal, (New-York,) for October:—I. Sources from which the Material of the Present Crust of the Earth were derived: II. Designation and Exposition of the Figures of Isaiah xxii: III. Excellence and Importance of Truth: IV. Tendencies of the Times: V. Critics and Correspondents.

Church Review, (New-Haven,) October:—I. Science and Religion: II. New-England Theology: III. John Sterling: IV. Life and Character of Henry Clay: V. Life and Character of Bishop Henshaw: VI. Wesleyan Methodism: VII. Humphrey's History of the Propagation Society.

Southern Quarterly Review, (Charleston,) for October:—I. Battle of El Molino del Ray: II. Proprietary History of South Carolina: III. Value of Words: IV. Marcus Aurelius: V. English Universities: VI. Stephens's Lectures on the History of France: VII. Instruction in Schools and Colleges: VIII. Laws of Life: IX. Building and Loan Associations: X. Natural Characteristics of the Book of Jonah.

North American Review, (Boston,) for October:—I. Geology of California: II. Jeffrey's Life and Letters: III. Winthrop's Addresses and Speeches: IV. The Great Exhibition: V. Decline in the Value of Money: VI. Stiles's Austria in 1848-49: VII. Felton's Memorial of Dr. Popkin: VIII. Life and Writings of Dr. Chalmers.

Classical and Miscellaneous.

EUROPEAN.

Times have changed in England since Sydney Smith asked, "Who reads an American book?" If one might judge from the advertisements in the London newspapers, and from the book notices in Magazines and Reviews, the question might almost be, "Who in England reads any but American books?" Warehouses are opening to receive American "consignments;" firms are formed to do American "trade;" and every bookseller, almost, advertises for American "orders." Apropos to this is the opening sentence of the "New Quarterly Review" (London) for October:—"Our backward glance over the productions of the quarter shall this time be brief. There is little to please the eye, much to mark a decadence in British Literature. We have importations wholesale from America .... but this is not British Literature. When those who have the care of the current literature of America, Germany, and France, have taken

Digitized by Google

away their volumes from the mass before us, how little remains to the merely English critic!"

The analysis of language given by K. F. Becker in his German Grammar has been incorporated into almost every elementary book, whether relating to German, Latin, or Greek, since written in Germany. It has spread slowly in England and America through the translations of Kühner and Becker, which have found more or less currency in both countries. A partial exposition of the theory is given in Arnold's "English Grammar for Classical Schools;" but no full outline even exists in English, except that afforded in "*The Analysis of Sentences explained and systematized, after the plan of Becker's German Grammar*, by J. D. Morell, A. M." (London, 1852, 8vo., pp. 75.) Deviating but slightly from Becker, Mr. Morell presents the system with admirable brevity and perspicuity in this little volume, which we hope will be reprinted and widely circulated in this country.

"*Ueber die Bauliche Einrichtung des Römischen Wohnhauses, von* C. G. Zumpt," (Berlin, 1852, 8vo., pp. 29,) is an account of the dwelling-houses of the Romans, their plans and arrangements, drawn partly from Vitruvius, and partly from the remains at Pompeii.

A third edition of "*Niebuhr's Life and Letters*" has appeared in London, with an additional volume consisting entirely of new matter, and comprising a Letter on Niebuhr's political conduct by Chevalier Bunsen, and selections from Niebuhr's Letters from Holland and minor writings.

The first volume of Sir Archibald Alison's new "*History of Europe, from the fall of Napoleon to the accession of Louis Napoleon*," has been recently announced in Edinburgh. "It is the object of the author in the present work, which will not, it is expected, exceed five volumes, or, at the utmost, six, to trace the great *Social* changes which have occurred since the termination of the wars of the French Revolution. The era which it will embrace, though less dramatic and moving than the animated one which terminated with the fall of Napoleon, is, perhaps, still more important: though it presents less of individual agency, it includes more of general progress." It is to be hoped that increase of years and experience has abated something of Mr. Alison's fierce Anti-Gallican and Anti-American prejudices.

"*Ueber den Ursprung der Sprache*" is the title of a paper read by Jacob Grimm before the Royal Academy of Sciences at Berlin. It opposes the theory of a *revealed* language, and asserts that man invents language in consequence of his organization and its wants. Grimm passes a high (perhaps too high) encomium upon the English language, as follows:—

"Indeed, the English language, which produced and sustained the greatest and most powerful poet of modern times in contrast to classic antiquity—that language which produced and sustained Shakspeare—may justly be called a *world's language*, and, like unto the English nation, it appears to be its destiny at some future period to exercise a still more powerful sway over all the countries of the earth, for in wealth, reason, and conciseness, there is none of the living tongues which can be compared to this English language; not even our own German, torn and divided as it is, like ourselves, and which must rid itself of many failings ere it can compete with this English language."

"*Die Methode der Wissenschaft, von* C. W. Opzoomer, Professor der Philosophie an d. Universität zu Utrecht," (Utrecht, 1852, 8vo., pp. 167,) is a summary of the doctrine of Logical Method, professing to follow Herschel, Whewell, Mill, and Comte, with deviations enough to give originality and self-sufficiency to the work.

The fourth volume of "*Scholica Hypomnemata, scripsit* Joh. Bakius," (Lugd. Bat., 1852, pp. 336,) contains the following essays: I. De Instituto legum emendandarum apud Athenienses, (pp. 1–68); II. Emendatur Cicero in Tusculanis Disputationibus, (pp. 68–115); III. De Atheniensium *εἰσφορᾷ*, (pp. 115–177); IV. Emendantur Cic. Oratt. Varr. Act. secundæ, (pp. 184–245); V. Attica, (pp. 245–285); VI. Emendantur Ciceronis Miloniana et Pisoniana, (pp. 285–351); VII. Corriguntur nonnulla in Æschinis Ctesiphontea, (pp. 315–336).

We have received the first part of the great "*Deutsches Wörterbuch von* Jacob Grimm *und* Wilhelm Grimm." (Leipzig, 1852, A–Allverein, pp. 240.) It is beautifully printed, and can be furnished here (Westermann, Brothers, 290 Broadway) at about 62½ cents a number.

The numbers of students in the principal German Universities for the last Semester were as follows:—*Erlangen* 400, of whom 151 studied theology; *Freiburg* 338, of whom 152 were theological students; *Heidelberg* 703 students, 62 theological;

Digitized by Google

Leipsig 812 students, of whom 165 studied theology; *Würzburg* 772, of whom 89 studied theology. The aggregate numbers in the remaining universities were: *Berlin* 2171, *Munich* 1961, *Prague* 1346, *Bonn* 1,012, *Breslau* 864, *Tübingen* 774, *Göttingen* 677, *Halle* 670, *Jena* 433, *Giessen* 411, *Gratz* 399, *Königsberg* 339, *Marburg* 315, *Münster* 302, *Innspruck* 257, *Greifswalde* 204, *Kiel* 141, *Rostock* 106.

A German translation of the Latin Mythographers is proposed by Dr. Bunte of Vegesack, near Bremen. We have received the first number, containing "*Lactantius Placidus, nebst Beiträgen zur Emendation des Hyginus*," (Bremen, 1852, 12mo., pp. 112.)

We have barely room to record the receipt of "*Oracula Sibyllina, ad fidem codd. quotquot exstant recensuit, prolegomenis illustravit, versione Germanica instruxit, annotationes criticas et indices rerum et verborum locupletissimos adjecit* J. H. Friedlieb, D. D." (Lipsiæ, 1852, 8vo., pp. 538); of "*C. Cornelii Taciti de vita et moribus C. J. Agricolæ Liber: ad fidem codd. denuo collat. recensuit et commentariis enarravit* J. Carolus Wex." (Brunsv., 1852, 8vo., pp. 337); of "*Beiträge zur Sprach- und Alterthumsforschung aus Jüdischen Quellen*, von Dr. Michael Sachs, erstes Heft." (Berlin, 1852, 8vo., pp. 188); and of "*Æschyli Tragœdiæ, recensuit* G. Hermann." (Berlin, 1852, 2 vols., 8vo.) The latter is one of the most beautiful specimens of typography we have ever seen, and is adorned with a spirited and admirably executed portrait of the veteran philologist.

The fourth volume of Mure's *Critical History of the Language and Literature of Ancient Greece* comprises historical literature from the rise of prose composition to the death of Herodotus.

Dr. Lepsius has recently published a volume intended more for general readers than the two previous ones. It is entitled, "*Letters from Egypt, Ethiopia, and the Peninsula of Sinai.*" The object of these letters, according to the *Athenæum*, was, in the first place, to report the proceedings of the Expedition to those at home who had a right to information respecting it;—and for this reason, perhaps, although partaking of the manner of familiar communications, they say less of the personal fortunes of the traveller than is usual in notes from the Nile. Yet there are few accounts of that region which will give the European reader a better view of its essential features, or that will more clearly inform him of what is remarkable in the present state, and bearing on the past, of its chief monuments. In a correspondence like this, much, of course, is omitted that the wholly unlearned might wish to know; while frequent reference is made to topics with which the studious alone are familiar. But it is pleasing to observe how clearly from these unaffected business-like reports, chiefly occupied as they are with scientific results, there is evolved a picture of the actual face of the land, and something more than an outline of the primeval story which its ruins have been forced to reveal,—sufficient to awaken interest in those even who have never approached the ground before. To all who are already in some degree acquainted with it, the letters will be in a high degree instructive and delightful."

Among the new works announced as in press and in preparation in Great Britain are the following:—

Memoir, Journal, and Correspondence of Thomas Moore. Edited by the Right Hon. Lord John Russell. With Portraits and Vignette Illustrations:—Essays on Political and Social Science. Contributed to the Edinburgh and other Reviews. By W. R. Greg, Esq. 2 vols., 8vo.:—The Battle of Leipsic. By the Rev. G. R. Gleig, M. A., Chaplain-General of the Forces. 16mo.:—The Australian Colonies; Their Origin and Present Condition. By William Hughes, F. R. G. S., Professor of Geography in the College for Civil Engineers. 16mo.:—The Fourth Volume of Colonel Mure's Critical History of the Language and Literature of Ancient Greece: comprising Historical Literature from the Rise of Prose Composition to the Death of Herodotus. 8vo.:—Mrs. Jameson's Legends of the Madonna, as represented in the Fine Arts: forming the Third and concluding Series of Sacred and Legendary Art:—Isis: an Egyptian Pilgrimage. By J. A. St. John, Esq., Author of Manners and Customs of Ancient Greece. 2 vols., post 8vo.:—The Civil Wars of Rome: A School History. By the Rev. Charles Merivale, B. D. Fcp. 8vo.:—The Light of the Forge. By the Rev. William Harrison, M. A., Rector of Birch, Essex:—Goethe's Faust: With English Notes, Critical, Grammatical, and Philological. By Falck Lebahn, Ph. D., Author of Practice in German, &c. 8vo.:—The Principles of Mechanical Philosophy applied to Industrial Mechanics.

Digitized by Google

By Thomas Tate, F. R. A. S. 8vo.:—Sicily, its Scenery and its Antiquities, Greek, Saracenic, and Norman. By W. H. Bartlett, Author of "Walks about Jerusalem," &c. With 31 Steel Engravings and numerous Wood-cuts, in super-royal 8vo.:—An Historical and Statistical Account of New South Wales; including a Visit to the Gold Regions, and a Description of the Mines, &c. By J. D. Lang, M. A., D. D. 3d edition, (three-fourths of the work being entirely new,) bringing down the History of the Colony to the year 1852. 2 vols., post 8vo.;—also, by the same Author, Freedom and Independence for the Golden Lands of Australia; the Right of the Colonies, and the Interest of Britain and of the World. Post 8vo.:—Narrative of a Visit to the Indian Archipelago in H. M. S. "Mæander;" with Portions of the Journals of Sir James Brooke, K. C. B. By Capt. the Hon. Henry Keppel, R. N., 8vo.:—History of the American Revolution. By George Bancroft, Author of "History of the United States," vol. ii., 8vo.:—The Second Part of the Primeval Language. Being the Monuments of Egypt, and their Vestiges of Patriarchal Tradition. By the Rev. Charles Foster, Rector of Stisted, Essex. 8vo.:—Illustrated Journal of a Landscape Painter in Calabria. By Ed. Lear, Author of "Illustrated Journal of a Landscape Painter in Albania," &c. 8vo.

Among the books in general literature recently announced on the continent of Europe are the following:—

Briefwechsel zwischen Goethe u. Knebel. (1774–1832.) 2 Bände. Leipzig, 1851. 8vo., 378 und 412 pp.

Der Römische Civilprocess und die Actionen in summarischer Darstellung. Zum Gebrauche bei Verlesungen. Von Dr. *Fr. Ludw. Keller*, Prof. der Rechte in Berlin. 1. Abth. Leipzig, 1852. 8vo., pp. 208.

Zur Runenlehre: zwei Abhandlungen von R. v. Liliencron und K. Müllenhoff, Professoren in Kiel. 8vo., pp. 64. Halle, 1852.

System der Staatswissenschaft. Von *L. Stein*. 1. Band. Stuttgart, 1852. 8vo., pp. 564.

Dante's Leben und Werke. Kulturgeschichtlich dargestellt von Dr. *Frz. X. Wegele*, ausserord. Prof. an der Universität zu Jena. Jena, 1852. 8vo., pp. 463.

Das deutsche Volk, dargestellt in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart zur Begründung der Zukunft. Leipzig, 1851. 6 Bände, 8vo.

J. Jak. Wagner's nachgelassene Schriften über Philosophie, herausgegeben von Dr. *Ph. L. Adam*. 1. Thl.—Auch unter d. Titel: Metaphysik oder das Weltgesetz nebst Einleitung in die Philosophie, und Abriss der Geschichte der Philosophie. Nach dessen Vorträgen über das "Organ der menschlichen Erkenntniss" und handschriftlichen Nachlass herausgegeben. Ulm, 1852. 8vo., pp. 144.

Essai sur les fondements de nos connaissances et sur les caractères de la critique philosophique, par *A. A. Cournot*, inspecteur général de l'instruction public. 2 vols. Paris, 1852. 8vo., pp. 848.

Die Religion und die Philosophie in ihrer weltgeschichtlichen Entwicklung und Stellung zu einander, nach den Urkunden dargelegt von *A. Gladisch*, Director und Prof. Breslau, 1852. 8vo., pp. 235.

Æschyli Tragœdiæ. Recensuit *Godofredus Hermannus*. Vol. I, II. Lipsiæ, 1852. 8vo., pp. 454 und 674.

AMERICAN.

New Magazine.—Messrs. George P. Putnam & Co. have issued a prospectus for a new Monthly, to partake of the character of the Magazine and Review. All articles admitted into the work are to be liberally paid for. It will be devoted to the interests of literature, science, and art, in their best and pleasantest aspects. It will be open to competent writers for free discussion of such topics as are deemed important and of public interest. The critical department will be wholly independent of the publishers, and, as far as possible, of all personal influence or bias. Wholesome castigation of public abuses will be allowed a fair field, without fear or favour. When a subject needs illustration or pictorial example, such illustrations will be occasionally given; but it is not expected that the success of the work is to depend on what are termed embellishments. Each number will contain one hundred and twenty-eight ample pages. Price $3 per annum, or 25 cents per number. Among the writers who will lend their coöperation in this work, the following are mentioned: Irving, Hawthorne, Longfellow, Whipple, Dewey, Bancroft, Bryant, Emerson, and several female writers of repute.—*Christian Inquirer.*

Digitized by Google

THE

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

APRIL, 1853.

ART. I.—THE ECLIPSE OF FAITH.

The Eclipse of Faith; or, a Visit to a Religious Sceptic. Boston, 1852.

THIS volume is published anonymously; but it is well known to be from the pen of Henry Rogers, author of several papers in the Edinburgh Review. It is one of the few books recently published that are destined to live,—full of thought, direct in its aim, conclusive in its reasoning. Its *substratum* is fictitious, the *dramatis personæ* being creatures of the imagination; but the superstructure is truth—truth momentous and all-important. In a series of conversations and discussions between the supposed writer of the volume, his nephew Harrington, and Fellowes, a friend of the latter, the various theories of modern infidelity are examined with candour, and their objections to revealed religion shown to be futile and frivolous. The author has done for the disciples of Strauss, Newman, Parker, and the rationalists and spiritualists of the present age, what Butler did, and Paley, and Watson, for the sceptics of former times: he has swept away their subtle cavils, unveiled their sophistries, and shown the pillar of revelation unharmed by their malignity.

Harrington is a young man of wealth and education. He has travelled in Germany, and after having been driven about by the conflicting winds of opposing doctrines, is introduced to us as a sceptic of the straitest kind. He believes, religiously, nothing. He doubts, not only whether the Bible be true, but whether it be false. Fellowes, on the other hand, is a spiritualist of the modern school,—a disciple of Parker and Francis Newman. He has rejected all religious creeds, has abandoned the Bible as an authoritative revelation of God's will, and claims that spiritual truth is indigenous to the human heart. A few extracts from the first conversation

Digitized by Google

between these totally dissimilar friends will give the reader an insight into their characters, which are sustained with singular fidelity throughout the volume:—

"'I tell you,' said Harrington, 'that I believe absolutely no one religious dogma whatever; while yet I would give worlds, if I had them, to set my foot upon a rock. I should even be grateful to any one, who, if he did not give me truth, gave me a phantom of it which I could mistake for reality.'

"'If you merely meant,' replied Fellowes, 'that you did not retain any vestige of your early historical and dogmatical Christianity, why I retain just as little of it. I have rejected all creeds, and I have now found what the Scripture calls that peace which passeth all understanding. Though no Christian in the ordinary sense, I am, I hope, something better; and a truer Christian in the spirit than thousands of those in the letter.'

"'Letter and spirit!' said Harrington,—'you puzzle me exceedingly: you tell me one moment that you do not believe in historical Christianity at all, either its miracles or dogmas,—these are fables; but in the next, why, no old Puritan could garnish such discourse with a more edifying use of the language of Scripture. I suppose you will next tell me that you understand the spirit of Christianity better even than Paul.'

"'So I do,' was the reply. '*Paulo majora canamus:* for, after all, he was but half delivered from his Jewish prejudices; and when he quitted the nonsense of the Old Testament—though in fact he never *did* thoroughly—he evidently believed the fables of the New just as much as the pure truths which lie at the basis of spiritual Christianity. *We* separate the dross of Christianity from its fine gold.'"

In the further progress of this conversation Mr. Fellowes develops himself in the language of the modern spiritualists, and has, pat for his purpose at every turn, a quotation from the writings of his teachers. Indeed, he is the embodiment of Messrs. Newman and Parker; while, with logical acuteness, his antagonist, the avowed sceptic, after satirizing their perpetual usage of Bible phraseology, shows that their fundamental principles are identical with those of Lord Herbert, and the elder and more decent deists of that class. The latter, indeed, in one respect, have the advantage of the neophytes of the present day. "Spiritualism" doubts the immortality of the soul; Herbert and his followers took *that* for granted; while both agree in rejecting what they style the supernatural narratives of the Old and New Testaments, and treat as gross absurdities the doctrine of the Trinity, the Atonement, the General Resurrection, the Day of Judgment, and the Punishment of the Wicked in a future world. The name of "Deist," however, as well as that of "Rationalist," is unpleasant to the ears of the gentlemen of the new school. They prefer to be styled "Spiritualists," and while rejecting the Bible as a revelation from God, they claim to be Christians *par excellence*—Christians, freed from the bondage of "the letter;" and, as such, entitled to feel pity, bordering upon contempt, for those who cannot bask in the sunshine of their "divine

Digitized by Google

philosophy," and are so old-fashioned as to bow submissively to the teachings of the inspired volume.

The inspired volume! Alas! has not Mr. Newman denied that there is any such thing? Even so. He claims to have proved that a book-revelation of moral and spiritual truth is an impossibility. The cardinal doctrine of the new school is that God reveals himself to us *within*, and not from without. In accordance with this sentiment, Fellowes, in the volume before us, directs his friend to "look inwards, that he may see by the direct gaze of the spiritual faculty, bright and clear, those great intuitions of spiritual truth which no book can teach." Admitting for a moment the impossibility of a book-revelation, the sceptic rather poses his illuminated friend by adverting to the fact that, notwithstanding this inward light, the great mass of mankind have a remarkable facility for receiving the erroneous supposition.

"'It seems strange,' says he, 'that men in general should believe things to be possible when they are impossible.'

"'It is,' replies Fellowes, 'because they have confounded what is historical or intellectual with moral and spiritual truth.'

"'I am afraid that will not excuse their absurdity, because, as you admit, *all* book-revelation is impossible. But further, supposing men to have made this strange blunder, it only shows that the "moral and spiritual" could not be very clearly revealed *within;* and no wonder men began to think that perhaps it might come to them from without! When men begin to mistake blue for red, and square for round, and chaff for wheat, I think it is high time that they repair to a doctor *outside* them to tell them what is the matter with their poor brains. Meantime an external revelation is impossible?'

"'Certainly.'

"'But men, however, have somehow perversely believed it very possible, and that in some shape or other it has been given?'

"'They have, I must admit.'

"'Unhappy race! thus led on by some fatality, though not by the constitution of their nature, (rather by some inevitable perversion of it,) to believe as possible that which is so plainly impossible. O that it did not involve a contradiction to wish that God would relieve them from such universal and pernicious delusions, *by giving them a book-revelation to show them that all book-revelations are impossible!*'"

The sceptic presses his point, and, with great gravity, says:—

"'Pray permit me to ask, Did *you* always believe that a book-revelation is impossible?'

"'How can you ask the question?' is the candid reply. 'You know that I was brought up, like yourself, in the reception of the Bible as the only and infallible revelation of God to mankind.'

"'To what do you owe your emancipation from this grievous and universal error, which still infects, in this or some other shape, the myriads of the human race?'

"'I think principally to the work of Mr. Newman on "the Soul," and his "Phases of Faith."'

"Harrington replies: 'These have been to you, then, at least, a *human* book-revelation that a *divine* book-revelation is impossible—a truth which I

Digitized by Google

acknowledge you could not have received by *divine* book-revelation without a contradiction. You ought, indeed, to think very highly of Mr. Newman *It is well when God cannot do a thing that man can!*"

The conversation on this point is too protracted for our pages. As was fitting, it being the fundamental principle of "spiritualism," our author brings to bear upon it all his powers. The Socratic mode of argumentation is plied with great skill, and the disciple of Mr. Newman is driven just where Mr. Newman himself would have been driven had he been present *in propria persona*, into the manifestly absurd, but perfectly logical conclusion that "THAT MAY BE POSSIBLE WITH MAN WHICH IS IMPOSSIBLE WITH GOD."

Further on in the volume the author, who represents himself as a mere listener to the above conversation, reads to the young men a paper on the subject prepared by himself. It is a close-reasoned argument, or rather series of arguments, to prove the *possibility* of an external revelation of moral truth, the *usefulness* of such a revelation, and, what is most to the purpose, that such a revelation is *in strict analogy* with the conditions of human development. On this last point the author's remarks appear to us perfectly conclusive. It is a fact, however it may be accounted for, that external influences do mould and modify man's *intellectual* position in this world. What else makes the difference between a Hottentot and an Englishman? Admitting, as claimed by "the spiritualist," that all men have the same innate susceptibilities, "potentialities," as they say, of what avail are they, even in an intellectual point of view, unless something is brought to bear upon them from without? And what is it that is thus brought to bear upon the human mind, making such a mighty difference between the savage and the civilized races, but a "book-revelation?" Hear our author:—

"The world waits for a—BOOK. Among the varied external influences amidst which the human race is developed, this is incomparably the most important, and the only one that is absolutely *essential*. Upon it the collective education of the race depends. It is the sole instrument of registering, perpetuating, transmitting thought. Yes, whatever trivial and vulgar associations may impair our due conceptions of the grandeur of this material and artificial organon of man's development, as compared with the intellectual and moral energies which have recourse to it, but which are almost impotent without it, God has made man's whole career of triumphs dependent upon this same art of writing! The whole progress of the world he has created, he has made dependent upon the alphabet! Without this the progress of the individual is inconceivably slow, and with him, for the most part, progress terminates. By this alone can we garner the fruits of experience, become wise by the wisdom of others, and strong by their strength. Without this man everywhere remains, age after age, immovably a savage; and, if he were to lose it when he has once gained it, would, after a little ineffectual flutter, by the aid of tradition, sink into barbarism again. Till this cardinal want is

Digitized by Google

supplied, all considerable progress is impossible. It may look odd to say that the whole world is dependent on anything so purely artificial; but, in point of fact, it is only another way of stating the truth, that God has constituted the race a *series* of mutually dependent beings; and as each term of this series is perishable and evanescent, the development and improvement of the race must depend on an instrument by which an interconnexion can be maintained between its parts; till then, progress must not only be most precarious, but virtually impossible. To the truth of this all history testifies. I say, then, not only that, if God has given man a revelation at all, he has but acted in analogy with that law by which he has made man so absolutely dependent upon external culture, but that, if he has given it *in the very shape of a book*, he has acted also in strict analogy *with the very form* in which he has imposed that law on the world. He has simply made use of that instrument, which, by the very constitution of our nature and of the world, he has made absolutely essential to the progress and advancement of humanity. May we not conclude from analogy, that if God has, indeed, thus constituted the world, and if he busies himself at all in the fortunes of miserable humanity, he has not disdained to take part in its education, by condescendingly using that very instrument which himself has made the condition of all human progress? I think, even if you hesitate to admit that God *has* given us a 'book-revelation,' you must admit it would be at least in manifest coincidence with the laws of human development and the 'constitution and course of nature.'"—Pp. 301–3.

In the discussion of that favourite dogma of "the Spiritualists," that *faith* may exist independently of *belief*, and that there may be true and acceptable faith however erroneous or absurd the creed, the combatants on either side evince much ingenuity. Fellowes is here quite at home in the dialectics of his teachers. He quotes, with evident hope of gaining the sceptic's assent to it, Mr. Newman's broad assertion:—"Nowhere from any body of priests, clergy, or ministers, as an order, is religious progress to be anticipated till *intellectual creeds are destroyed*;" and Mr. Parker's "beautiful" maxim:—"No one form of religion is absolutely true; faith may be compatible with them all." Harrington, of course, has no special objection to the destruction of creeds so earnestly contended for by Messrs. Parker and Newman and their allies, and, seeing that he lives and moves and has his being in an atmosphere of doubt, it matters little to him if priests, clergy, and ministers were all involved "as an order" in the same destruction. As usual, however, he has difficulties, and throws the dark shadow of his scepticism over his friend's attempted illumination. "If I understand you," he says, "an acceptable faith may, or may not, coëxist with a true belief; and men who believe in Jupiter or Jehovah, in one God or a thousand, who worship the sun, or an idol, or a cat, or a monkey, all may have an equally acceptable faith."

This is carrying out the dogma to its legitimate results. It is, in other words, Mr. Parker's own statement. Here it is:—"The principle of *true* faith may be found to coëxist with the grossest and most hideous misconceptions of God." Here a question

Digitized by Google

suggests itself. These premises being granted, is there, or can there be, any such thing as *idolatry?* and if so, what is it? What is that thing against which the Bible is so full of denunciations,—against which "the Everlasting fixed his canon" from the smoking summit of Mount Sinai? In whichever way the theorists of the new school answer this question, they are involved in an absurdity. Logically, they ought to say there is no such thing as idolatry. This is, doubtless, what they will say by-and-by, but not yet have they ventured so far. He is an idolater, according to their teaching, who worships an idol *knowing it to be nothing more.** He who does homage to a wooden image, believing it to be divine; who worships a consecrated wafer, a cat, or a crocodile, an amulet, or a gree-gree, supposing them to be something more than they appear to be, is not an idolater. But does any one, in heathen or in Christian lands, worship anything without believing it, somehow, in some way or other, to possess divine attributes? Is it not, on the contrary, a contradiction in terms to suppose that a rational being *can* worship what he believes not to be divine, and consequently not to be entitled to worship? Satisfy the Romanist that the wafer is flour and water, and nothing more, or the most degraded savage that the object of his father's worship is nothing but a manufactured thing, and it is impossible for him any longer to offer unto it the sincere homage of his heart; so that we come precisely to the same result, and, according to the "Spiritualism" of the present day, there is no such thing as idolatry.

The absurdity that faith has nothing to do with the intellect, but is exclusively a state of the affections, is well exposed in the course of the conversation we are now considering:—

"'The writers you are fond of quoting,' says Harrington, 'very generally give an illustration of the nature of *faith* by pointing to the ingenuous trust of a child in the wisdom and kindness of a parent.'

"'They do,' is the reply, 'and is it not a beautiful illustration? *That* is genuine faith, indeed!'

"'I am willing to take the illustration. The child has faith, we see, in his father's superior wisdom and experienced kindness.'

"'Yes.'

"'He believes them therefore.'

"'Certainly.'

"'But *belief* is *reason*.'

---

* Lest we be thought to hyperbolize or caricature the sentiments of this new school of Deists, we subjoin a quotation from Mr. Francis Newman's late work on "the Soul:"—"To worship," he says, "*as perfect and infinite*, one *whom we know* to be imperfect and finite, this is idolatry, and, in any bad sense, this alone.... If idolatry is to mean anything wrong and bad, the word must be reserved for the cases in which a man degrades his ideal by worshipping something that falls short of it."

Digitized by Google

"'Certainly; but faith is something more than that.'

"'No doubt; but he *does* believe these things.'

"'Yes, certainly.'

"'And if he did not believe them he would cease to have *faith*. If, for instance, he be convinced that his father is mad, or cruel, or unjust, the state of affections which you call *faith* will diminish and at last cease.'"—P. 111.

This is a conclusion which Mr. Fellowes is not quite ready to admit. And no wonder, for it sweeps away the gossamer fabric upon which he delighted to gaze. It is simple, direct, and conclusive. It shows that although in *theory* a distinction may be maintained between the intellect and the emotions, yet *practically* they are inseparable, and that faith partakes of the nature of the truth or falsehood believed. So it has always been; so it must be, necessarily. In the "absolute religion" preached by the "Spiritualists," of whom Fellowes is represented as the most docile disciple, it is fundamental on the other hand that *faith* is entirely independent of any intellectual condition—that faith, in short, may be just as real, just as acceptable when the intellect believes a lie as when it receives the truth, and hence the argument that a revelation of the will of God is unnecessary. The avowed sceptic is very severe, and deservedly so, upon this point. After having wound up his antagonist in the argument, he says:—

"'If *this* be the "faith" to which you attach so much importance, it really is not worth the powder and shot that must be expended in the controversy. For my own part, I do not hesitate to say that I would rather be absolutely destitute of faith altogether than exercise the most absolute faith ever bestowed upon a tawdry image of the Virgin, or some misshapen beast of an idol of Hindoo or Hottentot workmanship.'

"'O my friend,' cried Fellowes, 'do not thus blaspheme the most holy feelings of humanity, however misapplied.'

"'I do not conceive that I do in declaring abhorrence and contempt of such perversions of "sentiment," however "holy" you may call them. Hideous as they are, however, they are less hideous than the half-length apologies for them on the part of cultivated and civilized human beings, like our "spiritual" infidels. Your tenderness is ludicrously misplaced. I wonder whether the *same* apology would extend to those exercises of simple-minded "faith," in which it is said the Spanish and Portuguese pirates sometimes indulged when they implored the benediction of their saints on their predatory expeditions! And yet I see not how it could be avoided; for the exorbitancies of these pirates were not more hateful to humanity than are the rites practised, and the duties enjoined by many forms of religion. What delightful ingenuous faith and genuine simplicity of mind did these pirates manifest! . . . The fanaticism of such pious and devout beasts as those saint-loving pirates is not a more flagrant violation of the principles of morality, than the acts which flow directly as the immediate and natural expression of the infinitely varied but all-polluting forms of idolatry with which you are pleased to identify your "absolute religion," and on *all* of which you suppose an acceptable faith to be very possible.'"—Pp. 113, 114.

With more logical precision, but less vivacity, our ingenious sceptic presents his objections to "the absolute religion" in a long and

Digitized by Google

elaborate paper, which he is represented as reading to his uncle and his friend Fellowes. It is entitled, "Reasons for declining the *via media* between revealed religion and atheism or scepticism; with special reference to the theories of Mr. Theodore Parker and Mr. Francis Newman." It is professedly a narrative of his own experience, and one is tempted to ask, How a man who reasons so closely and conclusively still remains a sceptic? Indeed, Harrington's character here borders upon the impossible. That, however, is no concern of ours, and seems not to have troubled the author. Enough for him and for us that the character is conceivable; and it is amusing at least to witness how easily the sturdy infidel, with no arguments but those belonging to his own proper armory, batters down the dainty citadel of the superfine religionists who, like himself, reject the Bible as a revelation from heaven. The article is too long to be quoted entire, and the sentences are so closely interlocked as to forbid extracts. We may advert, however, to two or three points. And first, the diversity of sentiment between the two great hierophants of "the absolute religion" upon a most vital subject—the immortality of the soul—seems to require at their hands some explanation. We marvel not that Harrington was pothered by it. Mr. Parker's "spiritual insight" perfectly satisfies him that the soul of man is immortal. The "inner revelation" of Mr. Newman, on the other hand, leaves the question in doubt. For all he knows, man dies like a dog. Strange, that the universal revelation which, according to the teaching of both these gentlemen, is made to every human breast, should be in fact nothing better than a dark lantern, shedding rays of light upon one disciple, while holding its opaque sides and angles steadily to another,—his equal in assumed docility, his superior in softness.

The insuperable difficulty of abstracting the *essence* of "the absolute religion," of ascertaining precisely *what that is* "which *equally* embalms all forms, from the Christianity of Paul to the religion of the grim Calmuck," is shown in strong colours in the paper before us. The sceptic avows himself to be, after every honest effort he was capable of making, very much like the man who tried, and tried in vain, to form in his mind an abstraction of the Lord Mayor. That is his misfortune certainly. Even Mr. Parker would admit so much, and tender to him his pity; while he himself is like the antagonist of the man referred to, who said, and swore to it, that *he* could form an abstraction of a lord mayor, not only without his horse, gown, and gold chain, but even without stature, feature, colour, hands, head, feet, or anything else. It happens—very perversely indeed for the universal acceptance of the absolute religion;

Digitized by Google

but it does happen—that the great majority of our race are just as incapable of this profound abstraction as Harrington professes to be; and we see no ray of hope for them, unless it be communicated through a "book-revelation:" but that, so far as relates to spiritual things, is, on the theory of the abstractionists, an absurd impossibility.

But again: the reasons given by the new-school "Spiritualists" for their rejection of the Bible as a revelation of the will of God, are shown by the sceptic to be equally sufficient to warrant his doubts in reference to the works, the government, or even the existence of the great Supreme. "The human mind," says Mr. Newman, in his work on the Soul, "is competent to sit in moral and spiritual judgment on a professed revelation, and to decide (if the case seem to require it) in the following tone: This doctrine attributes to God that which *we* should all call harsh, cruel, or unjust in man: it is, therefore, intrinsically inadmissible; for if God may be what we should call *cruel*, he may equally well be what we should call a *liar;* and if so, of what use is his word to us?" Those special parts of the "professed revelation" upon which Mr. Newman sits "in spiritual judgment," and which compel from him "the righteous verdict" that the Bible cannot be from God, are precisely those upon which infidels of every class have harped their doleful music from the beginning. The command to Abraham to sacrifice his son, is what *we* should call cruel; the approbation of Sisera's murder by the wife of Heber, although the approbation on the part of God is only inferential; and more especially the command to exterminate the Canaanites, are, "in our judgment," harsh and unjust, and therefore intrinsically inadmissible, and therefore the Bible which relates them must be rejected. So be it, says the sceptic,—

.... "and yet does not God *do* still more startling things every day of our lives, and which appear *less* startling only because we are familiar with them,—at least, if we believe that the elements, pestilence, famine, in a word, destruction in all its forms, really fulfil *his* bidding? Is there any difference in the world between the cases, except that the terrible phenomena which we find it impossible to account for are on an infinitely larger scale, and in duration as ancient as the world? that they have, in fact, been going on for thousands of weary years? Does not a pestilence or a famine send thousands of the guilty and the innocent alike—nay, thousands of those who know not their right hand from their left—to one common destruction? Does not God, if you suppose it his doing, swallow up whole cities by earthquake, or overwhelm them with volcanic fires? I say, Is there any difference between the cases, except that the victims are very rarely so wicked as the Canaanites are said to have been, and that God, in the one case, *himself* does the very things which he commissions men to do in the other? Now, if the *thing* be wrong, I, for one, shall never think it less wrong to do it one's self than to do it by proxy.... Why, if God does not mind *doing* such things, are we to suppose that he minds on some occasions *ordering them to be done?* unless we suppose

Digitized by Google

that man—delicate creature!—has more refined intuitions of right and wrong, and knows better what they are than God himself. Now, Mr. Newman and you affirm, that to suppose God should have *enjoined* the destruction of the Canaanites is a contradiction of our moral intuitions, and that for this and similar reasons you cannot believe the Bible to be the *word* of God. The things I have mentioned are in still more glaring contradiction to such 'intuitions,' than which none appears to me more clear than this—that the morally innocent ought not to suffer; and *I therefore doubt whether the above phenomena are the work of God.* I must refuse, on the very same principle on which Mr. Newman disallows the Bible to be a true revelation of such a Being, to allow this universe to be so. In equally glaring inconsistency is the entire administration of this lower world with what appears to me a first principle of moral rectitude—namely, that he who suffers a wrong to be inflicted on another, where he can prevent it, is responsible for the wrong itself."—Pp. 150, 153.

The whole course of reasoning pursued by the sceptic on these topics appears to us perfectly conclusive. There is, absolutely, no middle way between the religion of the Bible and no religion at all. If there are difficulties, and it is freely conceded that there are difficulties in revelation, there are still greater difficulties in every scheme that man's ingenuity has suggested in its place. The fact is admirably shown in what is perhaps the most ingenious part of the volume before us. It is an account of a select party at the house of Harrington, where are assembled representatives of all the more prominent forms of belief and infidelity. The uncle, an old-fashioned believer in the Bible, is of course invited, and Mr. Fellowes, the implicit follower of the absolute religion that needs no Bible. There are two Roman Catholics—one a bigoted priest, the other a more liberal layman; three rationalists, one of them a devoted follower of Strauss; one deist, of the old school; an atheist, of the Miss Martineau stamp; and a young student, "five hundred fathoms in German philosophy." Truly it is a queer company; and the manner in which one absurdity is set off against another, is most amusing. As was natural, each became more anxious to prove that his *mode* of proving Christianity false is the *true* mode, than to prove the falsehood of Christianity itself.

"'I tell you what,' said the Straussian, with some warmth, 'sooner than believe all the absurdities of such an hypothesis as that of Paulus, I could believe Christianity to be what it professes to be.'

"'I may say the same of that of Strauss,' said the other, with equal asperity; 'if I had no better escape than his, I could say to him, as Agrippa said to Paul, "Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian."'

"'For my part,' exclaimed the deist, who was perfectly contented with his brief solution, 'I should rather say, as Festus said to Paul, "Much learning hath made you both mad;" and sooner than believe the impossibilities of the theory of either,—sooner than suppose men *honestly* and *guilelessly* to have misled the world by a book which you and I admit to be a tissue of fables, legends, and mystical nonsense,—I could find it in my heart to go over to the Pope himself.'

Digitized by Google

"'Good!' whispered our host, (the universal sceptic,) 'we shall have them all becoming Christians by-and-by, just to spite one another.' The admirer of Mr. Atkinson and Miss Martineau here reminded the company that the miracles of the New Testament *might* be true—only the result of Mesmerism. 'Christ,' said he,—to employ the words of Mr. Atkinson,—'was constitutionally a *clairvoyant* .... Prophecy, and miracle, and inspiration, are the effects of *abnormal* conditions of man.... Prophecy, clairvoyance, healing by touch, visions, dreams, revelations, are *now known* to be simple matters in nature, which may be induced at will, and experimented upon at our firesides here in England (climate and other circumstances permitting) as well as in the Holy Land.'* But no one seemed prepared to receive this hypothesis. At last our host, addressing the deist, said: 'But you forget, Mr. M., that though you find it insurmountably difficult to conceive a book full of lies (as you express it to have been) consciously or unconsciously the product of honest and guileless minds, you ought to find it a little difficult to conceive a book (as you admit the New Testament to be) of profound moral worth produced by shameless impostors. But let that pass. Let us assume that Christianity, as a supernaturally revealed and miraculously authenticated system, is false, though you are dolefully at variance as to how it is to be proved to be so; let us assume, I say, that this system *is* false, and dismiss it. I am much more anxious to hear what is the positive system of religious truth, which you are of course each persuaded is the true one. I have left off to "seek;" but if any one will find the truth for me, without my seeking it, how rejoiced shall I be.'"—Pp. 181, 182.

Of course, each of the visitors is ready to help the sceptic to find "the truth." The only difficulty is that no two of them agree, and at every step in the enlightening process the advocate of any theory finds all the rest in bitter hostility. The "Straussian" has as little sympathy from the admirer of Miss Martineau, as the follower of Hegel from the bigoted Papist; and, while they all regard the old-fashioned believer in the Bible as a strange creature, staring at him as they would at the remains of a *megatherium*, they very successfully confound one another without convincing anybody. Harrington, of course, enjoys the whole scene hugely, and pits the advocate of one theory against another with admirable adroitness. Alluding to his admiring countryman's neoteric propensities, he sarcastically observes:—

.... "'In many cases we are too late in changing our metaphysical fashions, so that we sometimes take up with rapture a man whom the Germans are just beginning to cast aside. Our servile imitators live on the crumbs that fall from the German table, or run off with a well-picked bone to their kennel, as if it were a treasure, and growl and show their teeth to any one that approaches them, in very superfluous terror of being deprived of it. It would be well if they were to imitate the importers of Parisian fashions, and let us know what is the philosophy or theology *à-la-mode*, that we may not run a chance of appearing perfect frights in the estimate of even the Germans themselves.'"—P. 191.

After the champions of the several theories have pretty well exhausted their dialectic skill, and our author has shown up the an-

* He cited the substance of these sentiments. I have since referred to, and here quote, the *ipsissima verba*. See "Letters," &c.—Pp. 175, 212.

Digitized by Google

tipodal contrast between the Romanist, who deems the Bible too precious to be intrusted to vulgar hands, and the "Newmanite," who estimates it as perfectly worthless and nonsensical, the uncle, by permission of the company, gives them a detailed account of his own religious experience. He shows how it was that, in his own language, *infidelity* prevented his becoming an *infidel*, in a narrative, whether of actual occurrences or fictitious we cannot say, but certainly of great verisimilitude. As with most young men, it was rather the stern morality of the New Testament than its supernatural history that induced him to seek for arguments to prove its falsity. He was not insensible to the *advantages* of infidelity,—its very accommodating ethics, its large liberty for the indulgence of appetite, and its total negation of all accountability in a future state. But then nature had endowed him with prudence as well as passion, and he wanted *proof* of the falsity of Christianity, and evidence of the truth of some one or other of the opposing theories. These he professes to have sought with all diligence. He went from one sceptic to another. He conversed with men of every shade of sentiment. He listened with candour to the theorists who resolve everything into chance, to those who demonstrate that there is no God, and to those who are equally positive that everything is God. On the subject of *miracles* especially, he found a most plentiful variety of sentiment and dogmatism. One class declared all miracles to be absolutely impossible; another would not presume to deny their possibility, but were quite certain that no amount of evidence would establish the fact of their occurrence; while a third, admitting miracles to have been wrought, maintained their utter incompetency to establish or attest a *moral* truth. But we may not follow him through the perplexing dilemmas in which he found himself successively involved. Suffice it to say, that he was *driven* to the adoption of Christianity by the manifest and palpable contradictions of the opposing theories, and proves conclusively that it requires stronger faith—a faith which might rather be called credulity—to *reject* than to receive Christianity.

We must, however, advert briefly to the author's masterly argument on the subject of miracles. It is couched in a dialogue between Harrington and his friend, and is, in many respects, the most valuable portion of his book. Passing by the difficulty of answering the question, What *is* a miracle? and accepting the definition that it is a suspension or violation of a law of nature, without, however, being able to define what a "law of nature" is, the friends find themselves plunging from one absurdity into another:—

Digitized by Google

.... "'If we were told,' says Harrington, 'that last year an event of such a miraculous nature occurred as that the earth did not revolve for twenty-four hours together, we should at once reject it without any examination of witnesses, or troubling ourselves with anything of the kind.'

"'Unquestionably.'

"'And if it were said to have occurred twenty years ago, we should take the same course.'

"'Certainly.'

"'And so if any such event were said to have occurred eighteen hundred years ago?'

"'Agreed.'

"'And if such events were said at *that* day to have occurred eighteen hundred years previously, we believe, of course, the men of that time would have been equally entitled to reason in the same way about them as ourselves; and, in short, that *we* may fearlessly apply the same principle to the same epoch.'

"'Of course.'

"'And so for two thousand years before that; and, in fact, we must believe that everything has always been going on in the same manner,—the sun always rising and setting, men dying and never rising again, and so forth.'

"'Exactly so, even from the beginning of the creation,' said Fellowes.

"'The beginning of the creation! My good fellow, I do not understand you. As we have been going back, we have seen that there is no period at which the same principle of judgment will not apply, and following it fearlessly, I say that we are bound to believe that there never has been a period when the present order has been different from what it is; in other words, that the progression has been an eternal one.'"

Of course Mr. Parker's disciple is not prepared to admit this. He resorts to the usual sophistical evasions. Creation, forsooth, is not to be considered as a miracle, although manifestly it comes within the limits of the definition of the word as mutually agreed upon by the disputants, being a violation of the previously established series of antecedents and consequents. The first appearance of a living man in our world was an event of the same nature, although a greater wonder than would be the reviviscence of a dead body. Pressed with this difficulty, Mr. Fellowes says:—

"'It is impossible, in the face of geologists, to contend that there have not been many such revolutions in the history of the world as these. Man himself is of comparatively recent introduction into our system.'"

To which Harrington replies:—

"'I cannot help what the geologists affirm. If we are to abide by our *principle*, we have no warrant to believe that there have been any such violations, or infractions, or revolutions of nature's laws in the world's history. If they contend for the interpolation of events in the history of the universe, which, by our criterion, are of the nature of miracles, and we are convinced that miracles are impossible, we must reject the conclusions of geologists.'"

This is very clear; but, unfortunately, the Spiritualists and the advocates of the "absolute religion" which needs no Bible, are great admirers of the geologists, regarding them as their natural allies in the great work of fastening absurdities on the Mosaic

Digitized by Google

records. The only plausible answer to the difficulty is given by Fellowes:—

"'May we not say,' he asks, 'that the great epochs in the history of the universe are themselves but the manifestation of *law*?'"

To this the answer is very simple. If the great epochs in the world's history are manifestations of law, why may not the believer in the actual occurrence of miracles place *them* in the same category? After dwelling a moment on this point, the sceptic asks, amusingly and conclusively:—

"'If you saw now introduced on the earth, for the first time, a being as unlike man as man is unlike the other animals,—say with seven senses, wings on his shoulders, a pair of eyes behind his head as well as in front of it, and the tail of a peacock, by way of finishing him off handsomely,—would you not call such a phenomenon a miracle?'

"'I think I should,' said Fellowes, laughing.

"'And if the creature died, leaving no issue, would you continue to call it so?'

"'Yes.'

"'But if you found he was the head of a *race*, as man was, and a whole nation of such monsters springing from him, then would you say that this wonderful intrusion into the sphere of our experience was *no* miracle, but that it was according to *law*?'

"'I should.'

"'Verily, my dear friend, I am afraid the world will laugh at us for making such fantastical distinctions. The infraction of "established sequences" ceases to be miraculous, if the wonder is perpetuated and sufficiently multiplied! Meantime, what becomes of the prodigy during the time in which it is *uncertain* whether anything will come of it or not?'"—Pp. 256, 259.

The distinctions are, indeed, "fantastical;" and the idea of waiting to see whether the wonder is to be repeated before giving or withholding the name of *miracle*, is sufficiently ludicrous. But Harrington presses his friend still more closely on another point. Referring to the Eastern prince mentioned by Hume, he contends that, in the absence of all experience of his own, or of those around him, the royal sceptic was perfectly right in disbelieving the existence of such a thing as ice. He had never beheld solid water, nor had any of his associates. True, they had testimony from those who had seen the phenomenon; but the dictum of our unbelieving philosophers is, "*No* testimony can establish a miracle." In the language of Hume himself, "Nature does not transgress certain limits either in the moral or physical world." Now, for water to become solid, would be, in the estimation of a dweller in the tropics, a palpable transgression of nature's limits; and if he is justified in the assumption that no testimony can establish such a transgression, it is most certain he ought to continue to doubt the possibility of such a phenomenon as ice. The conclusion evidently is,

Digitized by Google

that the prince was perfectly right in disbelieving what *we* know to be the truth; or that our uniform experience, with its limited variations, is no sufficient test; and that there are cases for which it makes no provision, among which what are called miracles may be classed.

But further, on the supposition that miracles are an impossibility and an absurdity *per se*, how are we to dispose of that mass of testimony which affirms the contrary—which declares and persists in the declaration, in defiance of contempt, and injury, and suffering, that such things have been? It is certainly contradictory to our experience, that under such circumstances men would persist in these declarations. Such a complication of false testimony would be "a flagrant violation of the established series of sequences," on which, as applied to the physical world, the sceptic justifies himself in rejecting all miracles. In other words, he gets rid of miracles, in connexion with material things, by swallowing miracles connected with mind. On this point, in answer to the suggestion of his friend, that there never was such a case of testimony, the sceptic replies:—

"'I wish this could help us; but it plainly will not, because we have concluded that, if there *were* such testimony, we *must* believe it false. . . . . There *has been*, in the opinion of millions, testimony often given to miracles, which, *if* false, does imply that the laws of human nature have been turned *topsy-turvy*, and I, for my part, know not how to disprove it. If, in such case, the testimony, *the falsity of which would be a miracle*, is not to be rejected, then we must admit that the miracle which it supports is true. . . . . If you believe the testimony false, you must believe the alleged miracle false; but you will have then the *moral miracle to believe*. If you believe the testimony true, you will then believe the physical miracle true. Perhaps the best way will be to disbelieve both alternately in rapid succession, and you will then hardly perceive the difficulty at all!'"—Pp. 275, 276.

But the friends run themselves into a still worse dilemma. What should we do, or in what state of mind should we be if we *did* see a miracle? is the question gravely proposed by the sceptic, to which Fellowes replies:—

"'Of what use is the discussion of such a particular case, when you know it is impossible that we should ever see it realized?'

"'Of course it is,' says Harrington, 'just as it is *impossible* that we should ever see levers perfectly inflexible, or cords perfectly flexible. Nevertheless, it is perfectly possible to entertain such a hypothetical case, and to reason with great conclusiveness on the consequences of such a supposition, and in the same way we can imagine that we have seen a miracle; and what then?'

"'Why, if we were to *see* one, of course seeing is believing. We must give up our principle,' said Fellowes, laughing.

"'Do you think so? I think we should be very foolish then. How can we be *sure* that we have seen it? Can it appeal to anything stronger than our *senses*? and have not our senses often beguiled us? Must we not rather abide by that general induction from the evidence to which our ordinary experience points us? In other words, ought we not to adhere to the great principle we have already laid down, that a miracle is impossible?'"

Digitized by Google

Fellowes perceives the absurdity of adhering to the principle laid down in opposition to the evidence of his own eyesight. He replies:—

"'But, according to this, if we err in that principle, and God were to work a miracle for the very purpose of convincing us, *it would be impossible for him to attain his purpose.*'"—P. 277.

Nothing can be more conclusive; and it is somewhat marvellous that men so sagacious as Mr. Parker, and so devout as Mr. Newman, have not already perceived that the position, "Miracles are impossible," is nothing more nor less than a limitation of power that is almighty; and the conclusion Harrington reaches is logically correct: *If I believe that a miracle is impossible, I must admit that if I err in that, it is impossible for God himself to convince me of it.*

There is one other point to which we may advert briefly. It is this: "Uniform experience," as the phrase is, being against the possibility of miracles, it ought to follow that the mass of mankind do not believe in them, never did, and never will. Now the fact is directly and notoriously the reverse. The existence of a Supreme Being having been admitted, the human mind seems, spontaneously and almost universally, to connect with his existence the performance of miracles, and finds no difficulty, in the absence of all experience, in resting its belief on the testimony of others. This testimony may be oral or written; and, as it is well expressed by our author, it is a part of *our* uniform experience on this subject, that mankind disregard and disbelieve the lessons of *their* uniform experience. Says Harrington:—

"'This is almost a miracle of itself; at all events a curious paradox, but one which we must not stay to examine; though I confess it leads to one other humiliating conclusion,—a little corollary, which I think it is not unimportant to mark,—and that is, that we can never expect these enlightened views of ours to spread among the mass of mankind; .... *and though miracles never can be real, they will, nevertheless, always be believed; and that, though the truth is with us, it can never be established in the minds of men in general.*'"—P. 281.

After thoroughly exhausting the subject of miracles, our author turns his attention to the question of *historic credibility*, as involved in the theory of the celebrated Strauss. That theory has its foundation in the fact that certain apparent contradictions and seeming inconsistencies have been detected in the narrative parts of the Bible, and therefore the whole of it is unworthy of credence, and is to be regarded as mythic, legendary, and fabulous. In a conversation between Harrington and "a devout admirer of Strauss," it is shown, with great clearness, that the same arguments which bear against the credibility of the Scriptural narratives may be urged with equal

Digitized by Google

plausibility against all history whatever; and that, on the same principles, the whole of it must be abandoned to scepticism. Than the Sacred Scriptures there are, certainly, no writings which have been more rigidly scrutinized, and none which bear greater evidences of trustworthiness, and, at the same time, none of any magnitude in which greater discrepancies may not be found; and hence, upon the principle of Strauss, we must reject not only the narratives of the Evangelists, but those of every historian, ancient and modern, profane as well as sacred.

Pursuing this line of argument, the author shows that no event whatever may not become a subject of very serious doubt, if tortured in a critical alembic, like that by which Strauss and his associates profess to try the narratives of the sacred writers. In a section entitled, "*The papal aggression shown to be impossible,*" supposed to be written by a learned critic eighteen hundred and fifty years hence, it is made very manifest that the well-known attempt of the Pope to reëstablish the Romish hierarchy in England two years ago, is merely a figment of the imagination; or, at any rate, that it cannot be received as a literal statement of historic truth. The learned doctor examines the narrative internally and externally. In a manner perfectly Straussian, he detects discrepancies and absurdities, and spreads them before the reader with wonderful complacency and the greatest possible air of candour and honesty. He admits, indeed, that there may have been "some nucleus" of fact which served as the basis of this pseudo-historical legend, but points out unequivocal traces of "unhistoric origin." Finally, he comes to the conclusion that the story of Pio Nono's division of England into twelve sees, with a Romish bishop at the head of each, and the appointment of Nicholas Wiseman as Archbishop of Westminster and cardinal, is nothing more than an allegorico-ecclesiastico-political satire.

In examining the *internal* evidence, the critic asks, with an air of triumph:—

"'Is it possible to overlook the *singular* character of the names which everywhere meet us? They, in fact, tell their own tale, and almost, as it were, proclaim of themselves that they are allegorical.... Thus the name "Wiseman," is evidently chosen to represent the proverbial craft which was attributed to the Church of Rome; and "Nicholas" has also been chosen, as I apprehend, for the purpose of *indicating the source whence that craft was derived.* In all probability the name was selected just in the same manner as Bunyan, in his immortal Pilgrim's Progress, (which still delights the world,) has chosen "Worldly Wiseman" for one of his characters. It is said that he was a Spaniard; but who so fit as a Spaniard to be represented as the agent of the Holy See? while, as there never was a Spaniard of that name, every one can see that historic probability has not been regarded. The word "Newman," again, (and

Digitized by Google

observe the significant fact, that there were two of them,) was, in all probability, I may say certainly, designed to embody two opposite *tendencies*, both of which perhaps claimed, in impatience of the effete humanity of that age, (a dead and stereotyped Protestantism,) to introduce a new order of things. These parties (if I may form a conjecture from the document itself) were essaying to extricate the mind of the age from the difficulties of its intellectual position; an age, asserting inconsistently, on the one hand, the freedom of the spiritual life, and, on the other, claiming for the Bible an authorized supremacy over all the phenomena of that spiritual life. One of these parties sought to solve this difficulty by endeavouring to resuscitate the spirit of the *past*; the other, by attempting to set human intellect free from the yoke of *all* external authority. In all probability the names were suggested to the somewhat profane allegorico-satirical writer by that text in the English version, "*Put on the new man*," the new man of the *Spirit*. We are almost driven to this conclusion by the extreme and ludicrous improbability of two men—brothers, brought up at the same University—gradually receding, *pari passu*, from the same point in opposite directions to the uttermost extreme; one, till he had embraced the most puerile legends of the middle ages; the other, till he had proceeded to open infidelity. Probably such a curious coincidence of events was never heard of since the world began; and this must, at all events, be rejected.'"—Pp. 349, 351.

In the same strain this very sagacious critic dissects other parts of the internal evidence of this strange narrative. In his most patient and painstaking researches into the archives of the national museums of the age in which he is represented as living, about *Anno Domini* 3700, he declares, upon his honour, that he finds no mention of any man of eminence bearing the name of Newman, or of Wiseman, or indeed of any of the others who are said to have figured during these singular proceedings. This, at any rate, he feels warranted in considering a *presumptive* proof that the whole narrative is a fiction.

But the *external* evidence is still more conclusive. How contrary to all probability the statement that France, of all the nations of Europe, should take sides with the Pope against a *republican* movement on the part of his subjects! Did not the French emperor—if there ever were such a person, and Napoleon be anything more than a *myth*—imprison the Pope? Is not France represented as having been, at this very period, racked with agitation, with infidelity, and democratic violence? On these points the critic dogmatizes with the flippancy of Strauss, until he reaches the conclusion that the story of the papal aggression is what the German would make the Scripture narrative, a fabulous invention, or, at best, a conglomeration of truth and fiction, so jumbled together as to forbid the possibility of separating the one from the other. Hear how conclusively he demonstrates that what *we* know really occurred some two years ago never did take place, and, in fact, never could have been anything more than a fiction of the imagination :—

Digitized by Google

"'That France should have undertaken the task of subduing a republican movement just when she had come out of a similar revolution, or rather many such,—and of reseating the Pope on his throne, when she had been more impatient of the restraints of all religion than any other nation in Europe,—is perfectly incredible! Not less improbable is it that, supposing (as may perhaps be true) that there was a basis of fact in the asserted rebellion of the Romans, and Pio Nono's restoration to his dominions, (though not by France—*that* the intelligent reader will on politico-logical grounds pronounce impossible,—but more probably by the Spaniards,) yet can we suppose that a power which was always celebrated for its astuteness and subtlety would choose that very moment of humiliation and ignominy to rush into an act so audacious as that of reëstablishing the Romish hierarchy in England,—a nation by far the most powerful in the world at that time,—a nation which, if it had pleased, could have blown Rome into the air in three months?'"

Some of the well-known particulars of the event under consideration are disposed of in the same summary manner, and the critic's objections are quite as strong as the majority of those urged against the credibility of the Bible:—

"'How ridiculous is the story of Cardinal Wiseman's pretending that the oath in receiving the pallium had been modified for his convenience; little less so, indeed, than his challenge to his Presbyterian antagonist to examine it, and that, too, in the very book in which the contested clause was *not* cancelled! All this is such a maze of absurdity that it is impossible to believe it. In the first place, do we not know that, throughout the whole history of the Papal power, the inflexible character, not only of its doctrines, but of its official forms and solemnities, was always maintained, and that this pertinacity was continually placing it at a disadvantage in the contest with the more flexible spirit of Protestantism? It would not renounce, in terms or words, the very things which it *did* renounce in deeds, and never could prevail upon itself to get over this unaccommodating spirit! Yet here we are to believe that, at the Cardinal's request, a certain part of a most solemn ceremonial—that of receiving the pallium—was remitted by the Pope! If it were so, the Cardinal would certainly have desired to conceal it. If he could not have done that, he would, at least, never have given so easy a triumph to his adversary as to challenge him to inspect the very copy of the pontifical, in which, after all, the oath was *not* cancelled, in order that he might be satisfied that it was! Who can believe that a cardinal of the Romish Church, Wiseman or Fool, would have been simple enough for such a step as this? It is plain that the historian himself was not unaware that such an objection would immediately suggest itself, and endeavours to guard against it,—a suspicious circumstance *in itself*,—which may serve to warn us how little we can depend on the historic character of the document.

"'Again; what can be more improbable than that, when a great nation was convulsed from one end to the other, as the English are said to have been, there should have been *no* violence, not even accidentally, attending those huge and excited assemblages; a thing so natural, nay, so certain! Who can believe that only *one* man was sacrificed, and *he* on the predominant side? I have discovered, in my laborious researches on this important subject, that only seventy years before, when a cry of the same nature, but much less potent, was raised, London was filled with conflagration and bloodshed. Whoever heard, indeed, of commotion such as this is pretended to have been, and its ending in *vox et præterea nihil*?

"'It is superfluous to point out the absurdity of supposing a cardinal of the Romish Church lecturing the people of England on "the claims of religious

Digitized by Google

liberty;" or so great a nation, in such a paroxysm, spending many months in the concoction of a measure confessed to be a feeble one, and suffered to be broken with impunity!

"'But, lastly, my laborious researches have led to the important discovery, that in this very year of pretended hot commotion, England—in peace with all the world, profound peace within, and profound peace without—celebrated a sort of jubilee of the nations, in a vast building of glass, (wonderful for those times,) called the Great Exhibition, to which every country had contributed specimens of the comparatively rude manufactures of that rude age! London was filled with foreigners from all parts of the earth; the whole kingdom was in a commotion, indeed, but a commotion of hospitable festivity, in which it shook hands with all the world! This is a piece of positive evidence which ought to settle the whole matter. In short, the external and internal evidence alike warrants us in rejecting this absurd story as utterly incredible.'"—Pp. 355, 357.

Thus, with great plausibility, the case is made out; and on the assumption that probabilities will justify conclusions, like those to which Strauss conducts his readers in his *Leben Jesu*, it is shown that any fact of history may be enveloped in fog—questioned, doubted, disproved; nay, by an ingenious sophist, every event of past ages, and not of the distant past only, may be plausibly argued into myth, or allegory, or sheer fiction. Dr. Whately, in his "*Historic Doubts*," has done this with reference to the wonderful career of Napoleon Bonaparte; by his countryman, Wolfgang Menzel, Strauss himself has been demonstrated to be an imaginary being; and, still more recently, an ingenious Englishman has disproved the historical character of Sir Robert Peel, and shown, by "a commanding probability," that the story of the agitation and repeal of the corn-laws can be nothing more than a cunningly-devised fable.

But it is time to take our leave of this instructive and entertaining volume. From our copious extracts, the reader will be enabled to form a tolerably correct estimate of "the Eclipse of Faith,"—of its design and scope, and of the author's skill and critical acumen. We have necessarily omitted even an allusion to many of the minor topics which are touched upon in the course of the volume, including several ingenious digressions, thrown in as episodes, which, while they tend to the furtherance of the author's main design, break the monotony of continuous argumentation, and give increased vivacity to his pages without impairing their strength. We close this article with a brief account of one of the most amusing of these sallies. It is entitled "The Blank Bible," being the relation of a dream, suggested evidently by a remark of Foster, in his Introduction to Doddridge's "Rise and Progress." Our author is indebted, however, only for the hint. The subject-matter of the dream—that in one night, by some miraculous agency, every page of every Bible in the world was obliterated; the consequences thence resulting,

Digitized by Google

and the effects thereby produced, are entirely his own, and are related with a simplicity and beauty that remind us of the best papers in the Essays of Addison. When, according to the vision, the terrible truth became public, that every syllable of Sacred Writ had been taken away, every copy of the Bible reduced to blank paper, and every quotation from it in every other volume sponged out, a wide field is opened for imagining the effects of this calamity upon the varieties of human character. One stout sceptic (we cannot help admiring his consistency) denied that any miracle had been wrought; and although piles of blank Bibles were brought for his inspection, he would sooner believe that the whole world was leagued against him than "credit any such nonsense." Nay, he insisted that they should show him, not one of these blank books, "which could not impose upon an owl," but *one of the very blank Bibles themselves;* that is, a Bible containing every syllable of the Old and New Testament, (for how else could he be satisfied that it was a Bible?) *and at the same time perfectly blank;* else, says he, "I will not believe." The founders of "the absolute religion," with their disciples, were at first disposed to felicitate themselves and the world upon the event. It was a mercy, rather than a judgment; and now, at length, their ardent hopes were to be realized, and mankind delivered from that *Bibliolatry* which had been for so many ages a yoke of bondage. But, alas! on looking into their own "book-revelations," the pages of Messrs. Newman and Parker, they were found to be shockingly mutilated. Those ingenious gentlemen themselves were not aware for how many of their sentiments, and how much of their very phraseology, they had been indebted to the Sacred Scriptures; and now that everything they had borrowed was reclaimed, their books presented nothing but unintelligible jargon, and were rather more worthless than so much blank paper.

The Papists rejoiced at the event. They regarded it as an interposition of Heaven in favour of "the true Church," and invited the entire Protestant world to bow to the sovereign Pontiff, who, says the dreamer, "they truly alleged could decide all knotty points quite as well without the word of God as with it." It was urged that the writings of "the Fathers," upon which so much dependence is placed for the maintenance of tradition, were sadly mutilated by the expurgation of all their Scriptural quotations. This, however, was decided by the Jesuits to be of little consequence. It was thought, indeed, that many of the Fathers were rather improved by these omissions; and those who delighted in their perusal found them "quite as intelligible, and not less edifying than they did before."

Digitized by Google

The attempt, on the part of learned divines of all religious denominations, to reconstruct the Bible from memory, is admirably depicted. There was, on the part of all, an earnest and honest desire to make the Scriptures just what they were before this terrible visitation. But their memories, differed, and led them into the strangest wranglings and disputations :—

"A certain Quaker had an impression that the words instituting the Eucharist were preceded by a qualifying expression: 'And Jesus said *to the twelve*, Do this in remembrance of me;' while he could not exactly recollect whether or not the formula of 'Baptism' was expressed in the general terms some maintained it was. Several Unitarians had a clear recollection that in several places the authority of MSS., as estimated in Griesbach's Recension, was decidedly against the common reading; while the Trinitarians maintained that Griesbach's Recension in those instances had left that reading undisturbed. An Episcopalian began to have his doubts whether the usage in favour of the interchange of the words 'Bishop' and 'Presbyter' was so uniform as the Presbyterian and Independent maintained, and whether there was not a passage in which Timothy and Titus were expressly called 'Bishops.' The Presbyterian and Independent had similar biases; and one gentleman, who was a strenuous advocate of the system of the latter, enforced one equivocal remembrance, by saying he could, as it were, distinctly see the very spot on the page before his mind's eye. Such tricks will imagination play with the memory, where preconception plays tricks with the imagination! In like manner it was seen that, while the Calvinist was very distinct in his recollection of the ninth chapter of Romans, his memory was very faint as respects the exact wording of some of the verses in the Epistle of James; and though the Arminian had a most vivacious impression of all those passages which spake of the claims of the law, he was in some doubt whether the Apostle Paul's sentiments respecting human depravity, and justification by faith alone, had not been a little exaggerated. In short, it very clearly appeared that *tradition* was no safe guide; that if, even when she was hardly a month old, she could play such freaks with the memories of honest people, there was but a sorry prospect of the secure transmission of truth for eighteen hundred years. From each man's memory seemed to glide something or other which he was not inclined to retain there, and each seemed to substitute in its stead something that he liked better."—Pp. 241, 242.

It would not be difficult to point out defects and blemishes in this instructive volume. There is, occasionally, a slovenly and ungrammatical sentence. Not unfrequently we meet with an uncouth expression and phraseology unpleasant to the fastidious ear. Were the work constructed on any other plan, we should incline to dissent from some of the positions taken; and more stress than it is fairly entitled to, is now and then laid upon an argument. There is, moreover, a lack of courtesy toward his opponents, of which we think the writer would not have been guilty had he been preparing an argumentative treatise upon the subjects discussed. That he was not doing this, and by no means intended to refute logically all the objections brought against divine revelation, is a sufficient answer to the critical cavils to which we have adverted. To have made his

Digitized by Google

interlocutors always speak with rhetorical propriety and strict logical accuracy,—to have cramped them with the conventional usages of courteous theological disputants,—would have marred the life-like lineaments with which they are drawn. The work, as it is, successfully carries out the design of the author. It is a piquant, witty, and, in our judgment, triumphant exposure of many infidel sophistries, and a common-sense refutation of the more popular, and therefore the more mischievous.

For ourselves, (but this is a mere matter of taste,) we could have spared the occasional and rather occult allusions to Harrington's heart-lacerations in his early adventures with the other sex. Our author might have thrown a little more light upon the death-bed of his hero.

Art. II.—PORT ROYAL.

Select Memoirs of Port Royal; to which are appended, Tour to Alet, Visit to Port Royal, Gift of an Abbess, Biographical Notes, &c. By M. A. Schimmelpenninck. Hamilton: Adams & Co. London. 1835.

"I do feel that strength of affection that makes me wish the whole world to know what those persons really were," writes Nicolas Fontaine, of the worthies of Port Royal. A similar feeling now leads us to speak of a book which has become so rare as to be almost unattainable at the present time. It is, moreover, a work well calculated to widen our charity, and extend the boundaries of our Christian sympathy; for it furnishes another proof that true religion may "glimmer through many superstitions," and that the deepest piety is everywhere essentially the same.

The monastery of Port Royal was the nursery of spiritual devotion, as well as of profound and elegant scholarship. In the great cloud of witnesses for the truth in that seat of hallowed learning, we recognise a genuine piety that is identical, whether it be found in the cloister, the chapel, or the cathedral. In all essential points the Port Royalists were really Protestants in the Papal communion. They obeyed the dictates of the Bible when they were at variance with the voice of their priests, and became victims for their faith rather than swerve an iota from what they believed gospel truth to require. The Scriptures were unceasingly studied by them, their reliance for salvation was upon Christ alone, and the ritual of their Church was esteemed of less account than the testimony of a good conscience before God. Their inward devotion, unlike that of other orders in

Digitized by Google

their Church, was extensively practical. There was no unnatural divorce between their religious and secular affairs. They relieved the poor, nursed the sick, and applied themselves to the education of the young. The recluses of Port Royal wore no peculiar dress, were bound by no religious vows. They studied and practised law, medicine, and surgery. Their writings fixed the French language. "They formed," writes one, not himself a Christian, "a society of learned men of fine taste and sound philosophy. Alike occupied on sacred and profane writings, they edified, while they enlightened the world."

The volumes before us open with a necrology of the Abbe de St. Cyran and Cornelius Jansenius, two persons intimately connected with the history of Port Royal. The Abbe de St. Cyran, the devoted friend, and, until imprisoned in the Bastile by Cardinal Richelieu, the director of Port Royal, was descended from one of the most illustrious families of France. Its different branches are minutely detailed by his biographer, but we pass over adventitious circumstances in the contemplation of his elevated and most lovely character. Following the memoirs of St. Cyran, are those of his twin-brother in spirit, Cornelius Jansenius, afterwards Bishop of Ypres. These two persons were, for a time, joint-labourers in the compilation of the system of doctrine denominated Jansenism; although Cornelius Jansenius always affirmed that the system, so far from originating with himself, was a condensed statement of the opinions of St. Augustine and other fathers of the Christian Church. This work, when published, awoke the bitter hostility of the Jesuits, and at length caused the utter extinction of Port Royal, an institution which had long stood amidst the spiritual darkness of France like a lone star in the evening sky.

Jansenius and St. Cyran had both studied in the University of Louvain. At the expiration of his course, Jansenius returned to Holland, his native country; but soon after, in consequence of losing his health, through unintermitting study, he was advised to seek a milder climate, and went back to France in 1604. At Bayonne he was cherished with liberal hospitality in the princely mansion of his friend, where they prosecuted their literary labours so diligently as hardly to allow themselves necessary food and repose. The frequent warning of St. Cyran's mother, "I am really afraid, my dear son, you will kill your good Fleming with so much study," was always spoken in vain.

Jansenius toiled twenty years over the ponderous volumes of St. Augustine, and died with the plague on the very day that he completed his onerous task. "As lightning he shone, and was extinct.

Digitized by Google

The Church reaps the fruit of his labours on earth, whilst he enjoys their full reward in heaven," says his beautiful epitaph.

It is delightful to linger over the memoirs of two such heavenly spirits as St. Cyran and his friend; men truly

"Spotless in life, and eloquent as wise."

Both of them appeared to walk through the world with the voice of God speaking to their souls, and the songs of his angels sounding in their ears. In their perpetual communion with the Father of lights, they remind us of what we have heard of the pilgrim of the desert, who, through the tension caused by its heat and dryness, often listens with trembling wonder to the familiar melodies of his far-off home.

Of Jansenism, the system so abhorred and denounced by the Jesuits, and defended to the death by the Port Royalists, we will merely give Mrs. Schimmelpenninck's unscholarly definition, leaving it to the casuist and the scholar to decide upon its correctness.

"Jansenism," she says, "is in doctrine the Calvinism, and in practice the Methodism of the Catholic Church. Both the Genevese reformer and the Bishop of Ypres derived their sentiments from the same source. Both ascribed their systems to St. Augustine, though both received it under different modifications. Again, both the disciples of Jansenius and the most strict orders of modern dissenters used to be distinguished for their complete renunciation of the world under the three grand branches as described by St. John—the lust of the flesh, the lust of the world, and the pride of life. Both have been remarkable for being in prayer, in watchings, and in fastings oft."—Vol. i, p. 7.

The monastery of Port Royal was founded in 1204 by Matilde de Garlande, the wife of a younger son of the house of Montmorenci. It stood six leagues from Paris, in a wooded valley, watered by a river, which was the outlet of a pellucid lake, lying in its bosom. The surrounding landscape was rich in the varied beauty of forests, mountains, hills, and pastoral fields. For a time the institution fulfilled the pious designs of its owner, and became an instrument of good to the surrounding country. But, "like the generality of religious houses of the same order, it exhibited towards the close of the sixteenth century a lamentable degree of relaxation. Self-indulgence had banished all regularity, and a worldly spirit influenced the whole community."

The Abbess died at this juncture, and, according to the abuse of the times when mere children were appointed to ecclesiastical offices, in order to insure the revenues to their family, Marie Angélique, a daughter of the distinguished house of Arnauld, became Abbess of Port Royal, at the age of ten years. Little could it have been supposed that the child thus iniquitously elected was to lay the founda-

Digitized by Google

tion of the future purity and usefulness of the monastery. The nuns, already nearly freed from constraint, rejoiced in the expectation of still greater freedom under their child abbess. She at first seemed entirely intent upon the gratification of her own tastes, which, however, were far from being of a frivolous nature. It was remarked that even her recreations exhibited marks of a vigorous and powerful mind. Her favourite reading at that time was Plutarch's Lives, a book, by the way, which had great influence in forming the character of her noted country-woman, Madame Roland. M. Angélique's first religious convictions were awakened by the preaching of a travelling Capuchin friar. By some, this man is said to have been an irreligious person, unmindful of his ecclesiastical obligations, who preached pointedly and spiritually at Port Royal because ignorant of the true character of the nuns. But another version of the story is, that the Capuchin was a truly converted man, who, from having become disgusted with the errors of his Church, endeavoured to emancipate himself from its shackles, and therefore incurred its obloquy. Be this as it may, from the hour M. Angélique listened to his discourse, she resolved upon a thorough reform in herself and the monastery. An illness of several months' duration deepened her religious views, and the study of the Holy Scriptures, with prayer and meditation, enlightened and confirmed them. Immediately upon her recovery she commenced the execution of her determination in the monastery. She met with violent opposition from the nuns, as well as from other sources; but she never wavered, and her gentleness and prudence were not inferior to her resolution. In a few years from that time the whole character of the monastery had changed. In place of its former laxity and worldliness, "the whole community presented a pattern of piety, charity, self-denial, regularity, and every good work." Yet all this was not accomplished without the most painful sacrifice of feeling on the part of the young Abbess. At one time she was very near alienating her whole family from her by her fidelity to what she considered her duty. But, eventually, she had the happiness of seeing them shining with piety akin to her own, and coadjutors with her in every good work.

And now the fame of Port Royal spread over France, She, who had raised it to its present elevation, was solicited to visit and reform other religious houses. An order to that effect reached her from the General of Citeaux. With this she, of course, complied. Among other institutions, she visited the monastery of Maubisson. Its haughty Abbess was sister of the beautiful Gabrielle d'Etrees, mistress of Henry IV. She found her own determined spirit met by one equally indomitable. After many ludicrous and exciting scenes

Digitized by Google

had occurred in the endeavour to force Madame d'Etrees to give up her right of possession, the holy father became convinced that carnal weapons alone would avail in his struggle with the persevering and imperious lady. He sent a company of archers to expel her from the monastery. The nuns, who at first were devoted to the interests of Madame d'Etrees, and greatly prejudiced against M. Angélique were soon won over by her heavenly sweetness, and the institution was radically reformed.

The celebrity of Port Royal continued to increase. The building which had been originally intended for twelve nuns, now numbered eighty. Perhaps in her care for the spiritual wants of her family, Angélique may, in some measure, have overlooked their physical necessities. Disease originated from the crowded state of the house, and the want of drainage to the lake. Many of the nuns died, and it became evident that another habitation must be provided. This was furnished by the munificence of Madame Arnauld, the mother of the Abbess. She purchased a spacious house with princely gardens, and presented it to the monastery. Henceforth the two houses, known by the appellations of Port Royal de Paris and Port Royal des Champs, formed one abbey.

In 1625 the removal of the nuns to their new habitation took place. In the same year M. Angélique, less anxious for self-aggrandizement than for the prosperity of the monastery, obtained a royal grant that the abbess should, in future, be elected triennially by the nuns, instead of being chosen for life by the king.

M. Angélique Arnauld was the worthy scion of a noble stock. Greatness and goodness seemed to be almost heir-looms in her family. Madame Arnauld was herself the daughter of the celebrated Advocate-General, M. Marion. Six daughters, distinguished for their superior mental endowments, as well as their great piety, took the veil at Port Royal. The qualities of the Christian, the scholar, and the gentleman, were finely blended in the character of the eldest son, M. Arnauld d'Andilly. The second son, M. Henry Arnauld, Bishop of Angers, was esteemed one of the most pious prelates in France. It was said of him that an infallible claim to his good offices was to use him ill. A friend, who feared that his health would be injured by incessant attention to the duties of his diocese, besought him to rest one day in the week. "I have no objection," he replied, "provided you find one day in which I am not bishop."

While at Maubisson, M. Angélique became acquainted with Francis de Sales, and introduced him to her family. How potent is the influence of one heavenly spirit! Through his instrumentality the

Digitized by Google

religious character of the Arnaulds was raised to a level with their intellectual endowments. Several years after the family made another valuable acquaintance in the Abbe St. Cyran.

"The effects which these excellent men produced on the Arnauld family were exactly those which might be expected from the difference of their characters. From their intimacy with St. Francis, they had rather received deep religious impressions than acquired clear religious views. Many years had elapsed since his death, and, at the time of their acquaintance, the younger part of this numerous family were quite children. Hence they had been rather distinguished for warm devotional feelings, a respect for piety, and a horror of immorality, than for a distinct light that enabled them at once to enter upon a religious course of life, and steadily to pursue it. Their intimacy with M. de St. Cyran exactly supplied that which had been wanting. He became the means not only of awakening, but also of enlightening their consciences. He clearly pointed out to them the grand essentials of Christian doctrine. From thence emanated a clear light which distinctly showed the path of Christian practice. The pious impressions of this excellent family had lived unquenched amidst the evil contagion of the world. What might be expected when placed under the immediate influence of two such powerful characters as M. Angélique and the Abbe de St. Cyran?"—Vol. i, pp. 145–6.

We have dwelt thus largely upon the character of the Arnauld family, because it is so closely interwoven with the history of Port Royal.

In the year 1638 a number of young men, alike distinguished for birth and talents, resolved to give themselves up exclusively to a life of study, of charity, and devotion. Though retired from the great world, they had yet no idea of dwelling in cloistered privacy. Their object was to benefit others as well as themselves, and from their retirement emanated a light to which "literary Europe will owe perpetual obligations." This community numbered the illustrious names of the Arnaulds, Saci, Pascal, and Tillemont. Le Maitre resigned the honour of being Conseiller d'Etat, which his uncommon merit had obtained him at twenty-eight years of age, to unite himself with them. The recluses took possession of the house at Port Royal des Champs, which the nuns had vacated. They found it a picture of wild desolation. The gardens were choked with weeds, the avenues closed with underwood, and the lake become a noxious marsh. But the hand of industry soon restored the place to its former neat and flourishing condition, "and the walls of Port Royal arose from the ground amidst hymns of prayer and shouts of praise." Here were established schools, whose influence extended over France. The Port Royal Greek and Latin Grammars, the Greek Primitives, the Elements of Logic and Geometry, soon became known throughout Europe. "*Ils sont marqués au coin de Port Royal*," became the fashionable phrase of literary commendation. It was this learned community which, says Gibbon, "con-

Digitized by Google

tributed so much to establish in France a taste for just reasoning, simplicity of style, and philosophical method." Here Racine was educated; and here, when a boy at school, conceived some of his noblest tragedies. So dear did the valley become to him, that he desired to be buried in its cemetery, at the feet of his master Hamon. Here the great Pascal set down those thoughts that the exasperated Jesuits pronounced "*les menteurs immortelles.*" The jealousy of the Jesuits was powerfully excited. Their writers had hitherto enjoyed great celebrity. But they were now surpassed in every respect by the Port Royalists, who united to classic elegance of style and great learning a glowing piety that warmed the hearts of their readers. The total extinction of the community was resolved upon by the Jesuits.

After the nuns of Port Royal had resided ten years in their new habitation, their numbers had so greatly increased, that another became necessary. They therefore reclaimed their former abode, which the recluses hastened to put in proper order for them. On the morning that the nuns arrived, with M. Angélique at their head, they left the monastery for their new abode. A stone farm-house, which stood on the brow of a hill, and commanded a view of the valley and the adjacent country, had been converted into a residence for them. From this time the nuns and recluses formed one community, although dwelling apart, and never meeting even at church, without a grate between them. A spirit of fervent piety pervaded both establishments, "and," says their biographer, "nothing ever approached to the complete and entire disinterestedness that characterized Port Royal." M. Angélique imparted her own tone of feeling to the monastery. The nuns learned from her to practise strict self-denial and frugality, while "the revenues of the convent were devoted to acts of generosity such as the most enlarged mind alone could have devised."

"The admirable Abbess truly had her affections set on things above. Her peace was therefore never disturbed by temporal misfortunes, nor her desires excited by merely temporal goods. She might be eminently said to be wholly void of that covetousness which is idolatry. Her soul being fixed on God, the fluctuations of all created good never shook the foundation of her peace. The spirit of piety and disinterestedness produced that perfect tranquillity of mind which M. Angélique always manifested under all the accidents which befell the affairs of Port Royal."—Vol. i, p. 166.

From the numerous anecdotes related to illustrate these qualities of her character, we transcribe the following:—

"One day Le Petit Port Royal, a farm belonging to the monastery, took fire. Besides the buildings, barns, stables, hay-racks, wool-stacks, wine-presses, all the stores were completely consumed, all the cattle were destroyed, with five

Digitized by Google

horses, and all the linen. . . . M. Arnauld was desired to inform his sister of this circumstance with discretion, lest the heavy loss might too deeply afflict her. She heard him with the utmost tranquillity, and answered: 'God be praised that this is all! Come, brother, let us go and offer fervent thanks to God that no lives are lost!'"

"On another occasion, when the flocks were ravaged by the wolf, she said, 'I was going to send to the fair to buy more sheep, but God, no doubt, finds we have too many, since he sent this wolf to destroy them. We must not, however, refuse ourselves some pleasure, to counterbalance the accident. Let all the wounded sheep be killed, and distributed among the peasants, that there may not be to-morrow one poor peasant's house in all the villages round Port Royal where the spit does not turn."—Vol. i, p. 167.

"When the house was in great distress from the largeness of her benefactions, M. Angélique has been known to part with all the church plate of both houses, even to the very silver lamps and candlesticks; nay, she has even taken the very napkins off the altar to make clothes, or bind up the wounds of the poor. She was one of a grand and comprehensive mind, who knew when to sacrifice the appendages of religious profession to the immutable principles of religion itself."—Vol. i, p. 174.

M. Angélique had abundant means to gratify the wishes of her noble heart. Her family, who were such munificent patrons of Port Royal, were content to have her use their bounty according to her own desire. From other sources also a prodigious influx of wealth now poured into the monastery. All of it, however, continued to be used for the good of others.

The Abbess was engaged in building when the War of the Princes commenced. She would not cease, although the expense became enormous, because it afforded employment to the poor. A gentleman passing through the valley, afterwards remarked to a servant whom he accidentally met: "These buildings, I understand, have cost double the sum they ought." "Sir," answered the man, "the price did not seem great to the nuns, since every stone was accompanied by the benediction of the whole country."

The recluses were not inferior to the nuns in their spirit of piety and generosity. Their charitable exertions made them a blessing to the neighbourhood, and it may be said of the community generally, as well as of the Arnauld family alone, that they presented "a sublime union of learning with religion."

In 1643 the war of the Fronde commenced. It levelled many religious houses to the ground, and the nuns of Port Royal feared a similar result for their own. They took refuge in their house at Paris. The recluses assumed the military garb, and prepared to defend Port Royal des Champs, without consulting the venerable M. de Saci. When a proper opportunity occurred, this excellent man gently, but faithfully, reproved their want of faith, and persuaded them to lay aside weapons which he considered quite unbefitting the soldiers of the cross. His words diffused a feeling of increased con-

Digitized by Google

fidence in God in the breasts of the recluses; and the nuns, at his suggestion, returned, to be ministering angels to the suffering poor. Crowds sought the shelter of the monastery, and it supplied hundreds with food. To its bitterest enemies it extended the same treatment that it gave its most zealous friends.

A letter which M. Angélique at this time wrote to one of her friends is probably well known; but it affords so striking a picture of the state of the monastery that we cannot forbear extracting it:—

"We are all occupied in contriving soups and pottage for the poor. This is, indeed, an awful time. Our gentlemen, as they were taking their rounds yesterday, found two persons starved to death, and met with a young woman who was on the very point of killing her child because she had no food for it. All is pillaged around; corn-fields are trampled over by the cavalry in the presence of their starving owners; despair has seized all whose confidence is not in God; no one will any longer plough or dig; there are no horses indeed left for the former, nor if there were, is any person certain of reaping what he sows; all is stolen.

"Perhaps I shall not be able to send you a letter to-morrow, for all our horses and asses are dead with hunger. O! how little do princes know the detailed horrors of war! All the provender of the beasts we were obliged to divide between ourselves and the starving poor. We concealed as many of the peasants and the cattle as we could in our monastery, to save them from being murdered and losing all their substance. Our dormitory and our chapter-house were full of horses. We were almost stifled by being pent up with these beasts, but we could not resist the piercing lamentations of the starving and heart-broken poor. In the cellar were concealed forty cows. Our court-yards and out-houses are stuffed full of fowls, turkeys, geese, ducks, and asses. The church is piled up to the ceiling with corn, oats, peas, and beans, and with caldrons, kettles, and other things belonging to the cottagers. Every time we enter the chapel, we are obliged to scramble over sacks of flour, and all sorts of rubbish. The floor of the choir is entirely covered with the libraries of our gentlemen. Thirty or forty nuns from other convents have here fled for refuge. Our laundry is thronged with the aged, the maimed, the halt, the blind, and infants. We have torn up all our rags and linen clothes to dress their sores. We have no more, and are at our wits' end. The cold is excessive, and all our firewood is consumed. We dare not go in the woods any more, as they are full of marauding parties. We hear that the Abbey of St. Cyran has been burnt and pillaged. Our own is threatened with an attack every day. The cold weather alone preserves us from pestilence. We are so closely crowded that deaths happen continually. God is, however, with us, and we are at peace." —Vol. i, pp. 199, 200.

This affliction passed to be succeeded by a heavier one. M. Arnauld issued a work which contained the sentiment that a priest should never, upon any occasion, give absolution to a person who did not evince heartfelt repentance for sin, by entire cessation from it. This was entirely opposed to the conduct of the Jesuits. They had guided the consciences of men in power and winked at evil, that they might secure the patronage of the great. The book incurred their displeasure, and they had always been averse to its author. The Arnaulds had long been thorns in the sides of the Jesuits. The

Digitized by Google

maternal grandfather of M. Angélique, who was the most powerful advocate of his day, had been employed by the University of Paris in a suit against them. By gaining this, he also gained the deadly animosity of the defeated. Now they branded the work of his descendant with heresy. They appealed to the Sorbonne, the Gallican clergy, and even to Rome itself against the Port Royalists. They continued their unrelenting persecution year after year, and at length obtained an order from government to abolish the Port Royal schools, and expel the nuns and recluses from their retirement. The sentence was about being put in force, when it was arrested by a singular incident which remains a mystery to this day. The report of a wonderful cure wrought upon the niece of Pascal was the means, at that time, of warding off the blow that threatened the ruin of Port Royal.

But the Jesuits would not be foiled entirely. They were determined to compass the destruction of the Jansenists, and in 1660 procured a formulary entirely at variance with their religious views, which the clergy, school-masters, and members of religious houses throughout the kingdom were required to sign. Four bishops, and all the Jansenists, at once refused to do this. Their refusal was the commencement of immediate persecution. For five-and-twenty years the Jesuits had harassed the Port Royalists in every way within their power. What might not be feared now that they were fully supported by the authority of the government! The directors and confessors of Port Royal des Champs were banished from their beloved valley, and their schools broken up and scattered. M. de Saci, M. Arnauld, M. de St. Marthe, and M. Singlin fled for the preservation of their lives. Both houses were visited by a troop of horse, headed by a lieutenant of the police.

Intelligence of what was passing came to M. Angélique as she lay upon what appeared to be her dying bed. While her mind remained as clear, and her faith as firm as it had ever been, her health had sunk under the load of care and anxiety which the enemies of Port Royal had heaped upon her. Yet ill as she was, when informed that violent measures had been resorted to at Port Royal de Paris, and that her presence was especially needed, she rose from her bed and prepared herself to be transported thither on a litter, after pronouncing a benediction upon the nuns, and exhorting them, in the most tender and solemn manner, to continue faithful to their convictions of duty. In parting with her beloved brother, M. Arnauld d'Andilly, he spoke of the perfect courage that possessed his soul. His sister replied: "My dear brother, let us be humble; let us remember that if humility without constancy is vilely casting

Digitized by Google

away the shield of faith, courage without deep self-distrust is that ungodly presumption and pride that cometh before a fall." She had proceeded a few miles on her way when she was met by an ecclesiastic, who informed her that all the scholars were just about being expelled from Port Royal de Paris. "Well, sir," replied the aged saint, "under every circumstance God be praised! I will request the favour of you to go on and inform my sisters whom I have just left of the intelligence; and tell them not to let their minds be troubled, but to have their hearts fixed, trusting in the Lord." She found the monastery guarded by soldiers, and could only gain an entrance through files of archers. The trembling nuns gathered around their venerable mother, who, upborne by a heavenly strength, spoke words of courage and consolation to them. Yet, although her exterior was calm, her heart was riven by the separation from those young creatures, whom she had hoped to train for heaven. At length, as she was about bidding farewell to three young ladies of high birth, whom she had educated from their cradles, and made them all her heart desired, her courage appeared to fail. But she knelt and prayed audibly, and then, with an unfaltering step and tranquil countenance, conducted them to the door.

The house was broken up, and, two days after the cruel enterprise was accomplished, M. Angélique writes: "At length our good Lord has seen fit to deprive us of all. Father, sisters, disciples, children, all are gone! Blessed be the name of the Lord! Grief and sorrow, indeed, abound; but patience, and resignation to His holy will, abound yet more." To one of the nuns she says: "Do not enter into a relation of what is now passing, unless you are positively asked. Listen with kindness, and answer in as few words as possible—pride, vanity, and self-love mingle in every thing; and since God has united us by his Holy Spirit of divine love, we must serve him in humility. The most valuable fruit of persecution is a real humiliation, and humility is best preserved in silence." Soon after this, as M. Angélique was fervently engaged in prayer for those children of her love from whom she had been so cruelly separated, she sank down in a fainting-fit, and was laid upon her bed never to rise from it more. During this last illness her bodily anguish was dreadful; "yet, as she slowly descended into the valley of the shadow of death, and, with a footstep that never slid, passed through its fearful gulfs unhurt, though the adversary of her soul was allowed to thrust sore at her, her faith was never suffered to fail." "As the veil of flesh decayed," the eminent loveliness and strength, the humility and elevation of her character, became still more striking. Her spiritual directors were banished; she stood without any human aid, but she

Digitized by Google

found the Great High Priest sufficient in her awful crisis. True, it was very painful to her to be deprived of the offices of M. Singlin, the friend who had been her spiritual director for twenty years; yet upon this subject, with her usual serenity and submission, she said: "It is the will of God, and that is sufficient. I have always esteemed M. Singlin's directions more than any other blessing, and I do so still. But I have never put men in the place of God. He can have nothing but what he receives from God, and God gives him nothing for us but when in the order of his providence he is appointed to be with us. Let us go straight to the fountain, which is God himself. He never fails those who put their trust in him."

M. Angélique one day observed a nun putting down some of her expressions upon paper. She commanded her to burn it, saying: "It is a pity not to content ourselves with the word of eternal life itself, which contains truth without any mixture of error; and when I see you, my sisters, more touched and affected by words spoken by a miserable sinner, like myself, than by the essential truths of which the gospel is full, and which have converted so many souls to God, and on which we cannot meditate enough, I consider it as a snare and temptation of the adversary of your souls."

Every circumstance combined to add affliction to M. Angélique's dying moments. Fresh disquietudes harassed the monastery. Masons and carpenters came to wall up the doors, and the noise of their hammers was heard instead of "prayer in stillness and the chanted rite." Word came that the nuns were to be immediately dispersed. Parties of archers were in pursuit of their confessors to drag them to the Bastile. The dying chamber of the Abbess was invaded by a band of police, and by two ecclesiastics, who came upon an inquisitorial visit. Still, she lay under the wings of the cherubim with God's peace possessing her soul, calm and undisturbed. "How do you feel?" asked one of the officers. "Like a person who is dying." "Do you speak of death thus calmly? Does it not amaze you?" he asked. "No," replied M. Angélique; "I only came into the world to prepare for this hour."

The expiring saint then remained with her hands clasped and her eyes closed. The nuns gathered around her bed and wept in silent anguish. Nothing broke the solemn stillness but the clashing arms and heavy footsteps of the guard, and the hammers of the workmen—unmeet sounds for such an hour! Hitherto, the humblest domestic in the monastery had, in similar circumstances, been strengthened and uplifted by the rites of his Church; but she, who was its glory and its pride, was passing away without human support. She needed it not, strong as she was in the Lord and in the power

Digitized by Google

of his might. At length one of the nuns, unable to command herself longer, burst into an indignant remonstrance at the treatment of her Superior. She opened her eyes, and, fixing them on the nun, rejoined: "My daughter, say not so. The intention of their hearts is known to God alone, their God and our God. Let us rather join in prayer to the throne of mercy for them and for us." But now those around united in lamentations at her forsaken condition, while she whispered them: "My daughters, I never placed any man in the stead of God. Blessed, then, be his goodness! I have not now man, but God to depend upon. His mercies never fail those who believe, and who place their reliance and trust on his name." But even yet, M. Angélique's work was not quite finished. She roused herself from the stupor of death to dictate a vindication of Port Royal to the Queen Mother. Almost every line was interrupted by fainting-fits and convulsions, yet it was so eloquently expressed that the Court pronounced it the joint work of Arnauld, Nicole, and De Saci.

On the 6th of August, 1661, her spirit departed to her Saviour, and the passing bell conveyed the sad intelligence to M. de Saci and M. Singlin as they lay concealed in the neighbourhood. M. Agnes, the excellent sister of Mère Angélique, succeeded her as abbess. Under her jurisdiction a new affliction befell the monastery, in some respects even more trying than any former one. Assailed and persecuted as the nuns had been previous to the death of their venerable mother, they had always continued faithful and strong in love to each other. But soon after this event an ungrateful nun, who had been received into the convent from charitable motives, consented to become a tool of its enemies, and endeavoured to compass the ruin of her benefactors. She was a woman of extraordinary talents, and her professed zeal for Jansenism prevented her being suspected by the nuns. It would take too much space to dwell upon the artful intrigues of this wicked woman. Her object was personal aggrandizement; the end of her duplicity was the ruin of Port Royal. She fomented the scruples of the nuns against signing the formulary, she led them on to use expressions which she reported to the archbishop; yet so wily was she that when it was known that a traitor was among them, she, for a long time, was almost the last person suspected as such. Acting upon her suggestion to imprison some of the nuns, that the others might be terrified into obedience, the archbishop, with a long train of civil authorities, appeared at the convent. In a voice of thunder he commanded them to choose between signing the formulary or excommunication, between obedience and exile. From the room of

Digitized by Google

M. Agnes, the only surviving foundress of the reform, they were singly ushered into the presence of the archbishop. Nearly all remained firm in their refusal to violate their consciences, yet each trembled lest she alone should be the person on whose head all the wrath of the archbishop was to fall. He, finding the greater part of them remained unmoved by his threats, ordered them to the chapter-house, where he appeared before them in full pontificals, and, with a countenance flaming with wrath, pronounced them contumacious and rebellious in preferring to be guided by what they termed conscience, rather than the judgment of their superiors. The awful sentence of excommunication next came, while, overcome with grief and terror, the nuns wept in silence. The archbishop then prepared to depart, but again turned to hurl fresh anathemas upon them, and threaten them with still severer punishment. At length he left the convent, and the three succeeding days were spent in prayers, in tears, in dark forebodings by the afflicted nuns. On the fourth day the archbishop reäppeared with his armed train and a large body of ecclesiastics. He summoned the nuns to a final interview. Sobbing and weeping violently, they rushed into the room of M. Agnes, and, gathering around her, besought her blessing. She pointed them to God, and then, laying her aged hands upon their heads, said: "I do, my dear children, with the heart of a mother who will never see you more, commend each and all of you to Him with whom are all benedictions." M. Agnes had just before taken a final farewell of her beloved brother, M. d'Andilly, and the relation of this event is full of touching interest. We wish we might allow ourselves to present some of the noble scenes with which this portion of the narrative abounds. The heart is made better by the exhibition of the angelic meekness and the Christlike patience of the persecuted under the unchristian treatment they received. And now the nuns who held the chief posts in the monastery were torn from their beloved shelter and sent to other convents decidedly hostile to them. There they were rigorously imprisoned, in order to terrify them into compliance with the archbishop's demands. Nuns were sent from the Convent of St. Mary, to act the part of spies and jailers to those who remained. Jesuitical ecclesiastics hovered around them with threats of eternal damnation. A guard of armed soldiers surrounded the house and filled the gardens, so that no place for exercise was left the nuns. A contagious fever broke out. Several died, and their last hours were harassed by the taunts of their persecutors. At length, out of the hundred nuns who remained, six yielded and signed the formulary. These were, however, some of the least trusted of the community, and two were imbecile. The archbishop

Digitized by Google

now proceeded to wrest the bounty of the Arnauld family from the monastery. He took possession of Port Royal de Paris, and determined to send the refractory nuns back to Port Royal des Champs, to unite them with those who had remained. The joy of the nuns was extreme when they were told of this decision. They did not know under what circumstances they were to return to the scene of their former happiness. They had passed ten months in rigorous captivity, solitary and uncheered. Each one had been led to suppose that the others had yielded and signed the formulary. Their journey was at night, under every circumstance of discomfort and indignity. M. Angélique St. Jean, the niece of the Mère Angélique, tells us of her joy, after being hurried into a carriage in the darkness of the night, there to find the venerable Mère Agnes, whom she recognised by her voice. She says: "I seemed then to have received from God a hundredfold for all we had endured. . . . How could we sufficiently thank the Good Shepherd, who, not satisfied with pouring out his life for us, had guided and watched over us during our captivity, and who had now sought us and reünited us to each other." At the convent where the carriage stopped upon the way for the three remaining nuns, the joyful tidings reached them of the firmness and noble conduct of their sister-captives, and of the approval of their five excellent bishops. The day was dawning when they all entered the carriage which was to convey them to Port Royal des Champs. They said their morning-prayer together, "when," says Angélique St. Jean, "I pulled out a little Bible, bound in one volume, which I always carry about me, and handed it to the M. Agnes, who opened it to see what God would give us." By a singular coincidence the lesson opened upon was the thirty-fourth chapter of Ezekiel, every word of which seemed applicable to their circumstances. Their carriage, with six others, now passed on to the brow of a hill, from which the spires of their "beloved Zion, so deeply mourned, so long and earnestly desired," were first descried. But their joy was damped by the forsaken appearance of the valley, and when they reached the convent they found that they had but exchanged one form of captivity for another. The entrances were guarded by creatures of the archbishop, their aged servants met them with tears, and they were soon informed that the last carriage of their train contained the Grand Vicar and another hostile ecclesiastic.

Their first act was to repair to the church, "where," says Angélique St. Jean, "we prostrated ourselves with one accord at the feet of our Good Shepherd, who had thus reässembled his dispersed sheep. *He* only saw the movement of each heart, and perhaps in that glad moment they were all alike. We were thirty-six of us, who,

Digitized by Google

having been redeemed from our hopeless captivity, were now returned, and about to join our company left in the house of Port Royal des Champs. Those who abode faithful at Port Royal de Paris were expected to arrive on the morrow."

They now numbered ninety-eight nuns, and their joy at their reünion was so great as almost to make them forget the loss of their earthly possessions, the domination of their enemies, and the very precarious tenure by which they held the shadow of liberty they now enjoyed. Soon after their return, they chose sister Angélique St. Jean their abbess. This noble woman, a niece of the Mère Angélique Arnauld, was worthy of her glorious ancestry. She was animated by the spirit of M. Angélique and M. Agnes, while she excelled them in brilliancy of talent and intellectual powers. She had a perfect acquaintance with Scripture, and read the Greek and Latin Fathers in their native tongues. She possessed a scientific acquaintance with natural philosophy, surgery, and medicine, besides excelling in all elegant female accomplishments. She wrote several volumes, which combine capacious information with the deepest and most solid piety. She became the abbess of Port Royal des Champs in a time of its greatest need; but, soon after her election, the convent was presented with a superb mansion, with spacious parks and gardens. The dauphin saw it one day when engaged in a hunting expedition, and remarked that he would ask it of the king; but the intrepid abbess anticipated his request, and had the building levelled with the ground, rather than have it devoted to an unworthy purpose.

The nuns were disappointed in their hope of finding a peaceful and united seclusion in their beloved and consecrated home. Every species of indignity was heaped upon them. Armed guards were stationed at their doors, and their accustomed walks in the garden forbidden them. They were deprived of their ministers, interdicted the sacraments, declared heretics and rebels. They had only the consciousness of their integrity to sustain them. Many of the nuns sank under their persecutions, and died with prayers for their enemies quivering on their lips. Christian sepulture was denied them, and their memory was heaped with obloquy. Meanwhile the recluses, who were equally obnoxious to the court party and their instigators, wandered from one hiding-place to another. M. de Singlin at length died under his sufferings, and the venerable De Saci, with his friend Fontaine, were sent to the Bastile. To this imprisonment we are indebted for De Saci's translation and comment on the Bible, which is esteemed the best extant in the French language. After several years of unmitigated persecution, a brief

Digitized by Google

of reconciliation was procured from Clement IX. by some powerful friends at court, and a brief rest was allowed to Port Royal: but in 1679 its warm friend and protectress, Madame Longueville, died, and the Jesuits were encouraged to renew their hostilities. They obtained an order from the government for the immediate and final expulsion of the recluses. Most of them afterward died in poverty and exile. M. de Saci retired to the estate of a friend, where he passed his time in writing and in spiritual duties. He still speaks from the tomb in his translation of the Bible and his letters. In these volumes his pupil, Fontaine, gives us a sketch of his life, replete with beauty. In speaking of the departure of his friend, Fontaine writes: "As Jesus was parted from his disciples on the Mount of Olives, blessing them, so did this his servant quit his spiritual children on earth in the act of praying a benediction from the same Jesus." De Saci desired to be buried at Port Royal des Champs; but the Jesuits begrudged the monastery that poor consolation. An order was issued to detain the body at Paris. His loving disciples determined that their master's last request should be fulfilled. Under inconceivable hardships, upon an intensely-cold night in January, through deep snows and driving wind, the body of the venerable saint was hurried onward to its resting-place amid the scenes so dear to him in life. Tears were shed over that placid face by all save one. His cousin, Angélique St. Jean, could not weep that he had entered into the joy of his Lord, and in twenty days she shared his joy. The very life of Port Royal seemed to perish with her. And now wave after wave passed over the monastery. Friend after friend sank into the tomb; their enemies reviled, and their revenues were torn from them.

In 1710 their final and entire destruction was resolved upon by the court party, with Madame Maintenon at its head, and their unforgiving enemies, the Jesuits. "Annihilate it! annihilate it to its very foundation!" was their constant cry. They persuaded Cardinal de Noailles, a weak and undecided prelate, who afterward bewailed his share in the transaction with tears and groans, to issue a decree for the extinction of an institution whose piety reproached their own superstition and irreligion. The cardinal's promoteur left his service rather than draw out this iniquitous writing. But there was no difficulty in finding one of less scrupulous conscience. On the morning of the 29th of October, M. Argenson, counsellor of state, entered the abbey with a train of civil and ecclesiastical officers. He immediately demanded the keys, and seized the title-deeds. After some other preliminary steps, he had the nuns convened, and read to them a decree, the purport of which was, that the king, for

Digitized by Google

the good of the state, ordered all the nuns of Port Royal des Champs to be immediately separated and dispersed in different religious houses out of the diocese of Paris. Not a word was spoken, until the Mère de St. Anastatie, a nun, on whom the mantle of her admirable predecessors had fully fallen, said she hoped they might be sent two and two, being mostly aged and infirm. She was answered, "That cannot be." She then asked how long a time would be allowed to prepare them for their journey, in weather the most inclement that had been known for the season in two centuries. The reply was, That they must set off immediately. With much difficulty, permission was granted them to remain half a quarter of an hour longer. The nuns, with their veils drawn over their faces, listened to their sentence. No tear was visible, no sob was heard. They were prepared, in the courage of faith,

> "Their altars to forego, their home to quit,
> Fields they had loved, and paths they daily trod."

The manner of executing the sentence was no less barbarous than the decree itself. No eye pitied them, no word of sympathy comforted them when they were thrust forth from the walls which sheltered them. At twelve o'clock carriage after carriage bore them away, while the poor of the valley bewailed their departure with loud cries and frantic gestures. The aged servants were dismissed without compensation, and only in the Hotel Dieu could find a place in which to die. The nuns were sent to convents so inimical to them, that they would not open their doors for their reception until compelled to do so by an order from the king. Yet their Christian endurance did, in many instances, turn the hearts of their persecutors, and the religion of Jesus was advanced in other convents through their means. The building was completely sacked, and then, at the instigation of that cold-hearted Pharisaical devotee, Madame Maintenon, an order was issued on the tenth of January, 1710, for its total demolition. Even when the buildings were levelled, the malice of the enemies of Port Royal was not fully satiated. They envied the pious dead the privilege of a grave amid the scenes they had loved. Their bodies were exhumed under circumstances of almost incredible barbarity. Hacked, hewed, and mangled, they were thrown into a common pit in the church of St. Lambert. The circumstances attending this atrocious proceeding are too horrible to be dwelt upon. Soon after the exhumation, the walls of the church at Port Royal, the only one of its buildings which had been spared, were demolished by gunpowder, and nothing remained of the monastery but a heap of stones. The light of France was quenched when an institution

Digitized by Google

so famed for its love of the Holy Scriptures was destroyed. It had enjoined their study upon its disciples, and most of the nuns had learned the dead languages, to enable them to read the Bible in the original. They not only read it, but were advised to commit large portions of it to memory. When it was daily read to them they listened to it devoutly kneeling, "in order," says the venerable abbess who drew up the constitution, "that they may early be taught to pray for the Spirit of God, without which we can never understand the word of God."

Among the dispersed nuns, one most heroic woman particularly claims a notice. It is the Mère Anastatie, who was prioress of the convent at the time of its dispersion. She was chosen as her successor by the former abbess when she lay upon her dying bed. It was in a season of darkness. The storm that prostrated Port Royal was brooding heavily over it. The sister Anastatie entreated her superior to spare her youth and inexperience the insupportable load. The abbess's only reply was, as she laid her cold and moistened hands upon the head of the trembling nun, "His grace is sufficient for thee. Be thou faithful unto death, and He will give thee a crown of life." After the elevation thus forced upon her, she proved herself a worthy successor of the noble women who had preceded her in office. We shall certainly be excused for giving the subsequent history of the Mère Anastatie in the words of her biographer:—

"The place of her exile was Blois. For six years she suffered unabated persecution. Debarred from any access to her friends, either personally or by letter, she was closely immured in a solitary cell, except at the hour of attending divine service; nor had she either the indulgence of fire, nor the requisites of winter clothing. By the abbess and nuns of the convent in which she was placed, she was treated as an obstinate and excommunicated heretic, with whom it was dangerous to associate; and by priests, bishops, and confessors, she was almost daily persecuted, threatened, and tormented, to obtain a signature which it was against her conscience to grant. Her uniform mildness astonished the one, as much as her firmness did the other. But so unconscionable and unrelenting were her persecutors, that they followed her even on her deathbed. The bishops proposed perjury to her, as the only price for which she could obtain a participation in the sacraments of the Church. 'My lord,' replied the dying prioress, 'though I value the privilege of partaking in the blessed eucharist, even more than life itself, and though it would in this tremendous hour be my greatest consolation, yet I have not the ill-understood devotion to imagine it allowable to wound the Spirit of Christ to participate in his body!' Truly, indeed, might this saint-like prioress be said to be a partaker in the spirit of her venerable predecessor, the Mère Agnes, who, on a similar occasion, had exhorted her nuns rather to forego one of the benedictions of God, than to lose the favour of the God of all benedictions. The last illness of Mère Anastatie lasted six weeks, during which the clergy on the one side, and the nuns on the other, never failed to beset her dying bed, and to persecute and torment her with every device that could suggest itself; exhausting every argument, threat, and insidious persuasion, to induce her to sign the formulary. Two days before the close of her life, the bishop, who

Digitized by Google

was as usual standing close beside her bed, exhorted her to reflect, for she would soon be in the presence of God. 'My lord,' replied the prioress, 'God is continually present with his children; it was in his light only I ever sought light; it is then because it is His word, and not merely because I have weighed it during a solitude of six years, that I assure you my decision is made. It is because it was made in His presence that it is not now to be unmade.' 'But,' continued the prelate, after an exhortation of about two hours, 'who will present you to God? It will not be the Church whom you refuse to obey, nor yet will it be myself, who only am the pastor of the sheep within her fold. What will you do when you have to appear before God, bearing the weight of your sins alone?' The dying nun paused, deeply affected; then fixing upon him her mild but steady eye, answered: 'Having made peace through the blood of the cross, my Saviour has reconciled all things unto himself in the body of his flesh, through death, to present us holy, and unblamable, and unreprovable in his sight, if we continue in the faith grounded and settled, and be not moved away from the hope of the gospel.' Then rising in her bed, with clasped hands and fervently uplifted eyes, she exclaimed: 'In thee, O Lord, have I trusted, and thou wilt not suffer the creature that trusts in thee to be confounded.'

"The bishop, however, still went on, calling her the scourge of the diocese, declaring she was sent there as a judgment upon them for their sins, with many other opprobrious expressions. When the prioress, having now not a day to live, found she really was to be denied the last sacraments and every mark of Christian communion, unless she consented to lend her hand to perjury, she besought them with many tears; but finding it was of no avail, she wiped her tears away, and said, 'Well, my lord, I am content to bear with resignation any deprivation my God sees fit. I am convinced that his divine grace can supply even the want of the sacraments.' The Bishop of Blois, who, having seen her deep distress, hoped to gain his point, now perceiving nothing was to be obtained, fell into a violent fury, or rather into a perfect frenzy, and in a voice of thunder declared her body should be thrown out as a carcass, and never buried in consecrated ground. 'My lord, as it pleases you,' she answered. The physician, who happened to be by, now interposed, and addressing himself with some severity to the bishop, asked him how he could possibly refuse the sacraments to a dying person on so very frivolous a pretext, and how he could himself possibly live in peace, or die in hope, while he pursued a conduct so deficient in equity, and so opposite to Christian charity and meekness. The bishop made no reply, but went away. The prioress, now knowing that she had not many hours to live, and no priest being at hand to receive her confession, assembled the whole community, consisting of the abbess and eighty nuns, all her persecutors and enemies, and in their presence made a public confession to God of all her sins. This she did with such unfeigned piety and humility, that the nuns, prejudiced as they were against her, were not only much edified, but could not refrain from tears. Indeed, when they saw her extremity, and when her serenity proved to them that it was not obstinacy, but conscience that dictated her non-compliance, they repented, and, with lamentations they could no longer suppress, bewailed her situation.

"Meanwhile the prioress, having concluded her confession, turned from every earthly thought. She begged the nuns to recite to her the Psalms, and to read to her the fourteenth and fifteenth chapters of St. John's Gospel, and the accounts of our Saviour's passion, during which she either joined in the recitation, or was occupied, as appeared by her hands and eyes, in prayer. In this manner she continued until twelve o'clock at night, when the light of the candles, shining on her countenance, showed the awful majesty of settled peace, tranquillity, and joy; and that without sigh, groan, or agony, her spirit had departed to her Lord in a deep serenity of peace and love, that made us tremble."—Vol. ii, pp. 54–58.

Digitized by Google

In an abandoned burial-ground, filled with rubbish and overgrown with nettles, was she, who had passed from earth thus brightly, laid without prayer, or any "gentle offices of grace."

Louis XIV., after signing the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, imprisoning Madame Guion, banishing the excellent Fenelon, and causing the overthrow of Port Royal, was called to render up his account in 1715. After his death, persons immured in the state prisons for their religious opinions were released, and the five nuns of Port Royal who yet survived were gathered into the Convent of the Benedictines at Malnoue. Late as this mercy came, aged, paralytic, and infirm as most of them were, they rejoiced to be permitted to spend the small remnant of their many-coloured days together. They formed a little Port Royal, with the venerable Madame de Couturier at their head, in the bosom of the institution which received them, where they edified all around them by their holy lives, and serene and peaceful deaths.

The compiler of these volumes visited the valley of Port Royal in the year 1824. Through one of the few engravings of the monastery by Mademoiselle Hortemel, which had been secreted from the Jesuits when they destroyed other plates of the same description, she was enabled to ascertain the exact situation of the abbey and adjoining buildings, although the ground on which they stood had been ploughed up and defaced. The valley had become a green expanse, over which a death-like silence brooded. The little stream, which had formerly mingled its murmurs with the chants and prayers of the *religieux*, was choked with aquatic plants. Bright flowers were waving over the remains of fallen arches and fretted stonework, and, like the remembrance of those who originally planted them, emitted a sweeter odour for being crushed and trampled on. Near a stone seat, overshadowed with aged trees, a clear stream gushed from the rocks above, which still bore the name of Angélique's Fountain. By a deeply-shaded grotto were remains of stone benches, on which it was said the nuns sat of an afternoon and sewed. A willow rose from a pile of shapeless ruins, and bent over the spot in which the superiors of the monastery were once interred. It was here, probably, that the great Arnauld wished the heart to be inurned which he, in dying, bequeathed to his beloved Port Royal. Some pilgrim to the hallowed place had scratched on one of the stones beneath, "By the waters of Babylon we sat down and wept, when we remembered thee, O Zion!"

A part of Les Granges, the former abode of the recluses, still standing upon the brow of the hill, was then inhabited by one who had taste and sensibility enough to value and preserve the precious

Digitized by Google

memorials around her. She pointed out the stone table on which Arnauld wrote, and the closet in which Hamon compounded his medicines for the poor. What was then a dismantled hovel, had been once the study of Pascal; and in the yard was a well which bore his name, because he had invented the machinery and superintended its construction. From some moss-covered trees, planted by the learned D'Andilly, they ate a little of the fruit so celebrated for its size and flavour, that, when it was sent a present to Anne of Austria and Cardinal Mazarin, they used to call it "Fruit-beni."

What troops of thoughts crowd the mind while perusing these volumes! What consecration of soul was exhibited in that corrupt Church, when the Scriptures were made the rule of faith and practice! How is the soul enfranchised by their light! How precisely the same was the eminent piety of that distant age with that of our own day, resting as they do upon the same basis! The exhortations of Angélique St. Jean to the perfect and imperfect *religieux*, seems certainly to accord with the theology of our own Church; and the deep devotion of the Port Royalists, under the encumbrances and disadvantages of Roman Catholic ceremonies, may surely shame our fainter and less active faith. Why was Port Royal, which so long stood

> "A solitary spark,
> When all around with midnight gloom was dark,"

at length blotted and extinguished from the earth, and France deprived of her much-needed light? Her glory might have departed from her, and she, like her sister institutions, have stood with the form of godliness yet destitute of its power—Port Royal, but living Port Royal no more; "her strength, her power, her beauty fled;" no more guided by the unadulterated word, but a slave to vain traditions. Better, far better, to lie as she does, in splintered fragments, a holy shrine, a blessed memory, an immortal heritage, to the believing soul—

> "A place where leaf and flower
> Of that which dies not of the sovereign dead
> Shall be made holy things—where every weed
> Shall have its portion of the inspiring gift
> From buried greatness breathed."

Digitized by Google

Art. III.—VESTIGES OF CIVILIZATION.

Vestiges of Civilization; or, the Ætiology of History, Religious, Æsthetical, Political, and Philosophical. New-York: H. Baillière. 1851.

In accordance with a promise given in a former number of this Review,* we propose to return to the examination of the remarkable work named at the head of this article, and to devote to the estimation of its merits and its defects, its logic and its philosophy, a larger space and more minute attention than were at that time compatible with the occasion. At the outset of our remarks we deem it proper to state, that a fuller and more leisurely examination of the book affords no reason for materially modifying the commendation already bestowed upon its ability, except so far as there may be an apparent deduction of praise in the translation of the vagueness of general and rapid criticism into the precision and more nicely-graduated language of particular appreciation. We are not disposed to be chary of our admiration where the evidences of real talent and sincerity of purpose are clear and distinct, even if we do deem them to have been unhappily exercised in a wrong channel. The cause of truth is not served by depreciating her conscious or unconscious adversaries. As far as we ourselves are concerned, we have neither dread nor abhorrence for speculative error merely as such; we entertain an unwavering faith in the maxim, *magna est veritas et prævalebit.* The errors of men of original genius and of native strength of intellect are the forlorn hope of mental progress. They achieve more for the ultimate advancement of humanity, than all the stereotyped platitudes of those who do but repeat, from mouth to mouth, and from generation to generation, the undoubted and unchallenged truisms of universal acceptation.† Before the safe road, which is to lead our steps

* January, 1852, Art. viii, p. 142.

† It is so much the fashion to censure Aristotle for his neglect of his precursors—a fashion set by Bacon—that it affords us pleasure to exonerate him from the charge, at the same time that we confirm our own position by citing from his Metaphysics the following memorable passage:—

"*οὐ μόνον δὲ χάριν ἔχειν δίκαιον τούτοις ὧν ἂν τις κοινώσαιτο ταῖς δόξαις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐπιπολαιοτέρως ἀποφηναμένοις· καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι συνεβάλοντό τι. Τὴν γὰρ ἕξιν προήσκησαν ἡμῶν.* Metaph. i. Min., p. 993, b. 11. It would be hypercritical to deny the authenticity of this book. The idea is developed and prettily expressed by Alexander Aphrodisiensis. Schol. ad loc. p. 591: *ἡ γὰρ τῶν κατεβεβλημένων δοξῶν εὐπορία εὑρετικωτέρους ἡμᾶς τῆς ἀληθείας παρασκευάσει.*"

Digitized by Google

onward, is found, it must be sought: if sought, it can be discovered only by numerous tentatives, more or less successful; and the aberrations which precede the final determination of the true path are no less essential services to humanity than the prosecution of the true route which may be at length detected. The bold deviators from the beaten track of habitual speculation, are thus the real pioneers of all intellectual advancement: they encounter all the perils of the first assault, without sharing in the glory of the victory; they clear away the dense and thorny thickets of ancient and firmly-rooted delusion; they make the first breaches in the strong walls of established and fortified credulity; and, though they may themselves fail by their own imprudence, they leave a safe and comparatively easy task to the vast brigades of second-rate intellects which will follow whither they have pointed the way.

We freely repeat, then, our former assertion, that in the book before us there is much to admire, though we have also discovered much to condemn. We see brilliant glimpses of half-revealed truths breaking through the mists of fancy, and lighting up the clouds of error. We are assured that the author's eye seeks the polar-star of truth, although his footsteps may be betrayed into the tangled mazes of terrestrial delusion: and we notice throughout a singular vigour of thought and utterance, great powers of sustained reasoning, and a most enviable perspicuity in the manifestation of isolated conceptions. Thus any censure which we may deem it proper to pass upon the work, does not deny us the privilege of admiring its erratic brilliancy; and the determined opposition which we avow to its errors will not make us forgetful of either its claims upon our regard, or its author's title to our respect.

In the previous article, an analysis of the author's theory was given, and the frame-work of his system exhibited. These it may be necessary to repeat hereafter, in order to exhibit their application and development; but, wherever it can be avoided, we shall abstain from cumbering our pages with long extracts, or a detailed exposition of the views of the author, requesting our readers, in all cases which require further illustration, to refer to the book itself. Moreover, we are convinced that neither the relevancy nor the efficacy of our strictures could be intelligibly appreciated without a previous and adequate acquaintance, on the part of the few who may have the taste for such inquiries, with the original treatise itself.

Before proceeding to our main task, the examination of the new philosophy, we wish to premise a few observations on the style of the work and the tenor of its reasoning.

Digitized by Google

The first impression produced upon our mind by the perusal of the Vestiges was, that it was pervaded by great simplicity of thought, disguised under a quaint and foreign expression. But it was difficult to reconcile the actual existence of this simplicity with the necessity for close and constant attention which every sentence required, and with the haze of bewilderment which clouded the mind after any continued study of its pages. The coexistence of such discordant phenomena suggested a doubt as to the real character of the reasoning and expression; and the doubt tempted us to analyze its cause. We were aware that there might be simplicity of thought in what appeared to be the most intricate confusion; and that hopeless obscurity sometimes clothed itself with the semblance of transparent perspicuity and strict method. This author's systematic procedure, with his regular distribution and constant repetition of the triadic processes of derivation, belong evidently in his own estimation to the former category; but we have been strongly tempted to assign it to the latter, and to suppose that its simplicity was rather apparent than real. "The endless cycles within cycles,"* to use his own phrase, seem to form a geometrical mosaic, in which the outlines of the separate figures are sufficiently distinct, though their involutions and convolutions, and their interminable intertexture, knot them up into a labyrinth such as the eye cannot follow, and the reason can scarcely disentangle. The system might, indeed, have been suggested either by Ampère or Wronski, though its affinities to the latter are the more numerous and striking. The former is clear and methodical, though fanciful and tedious. The other leads us blindly on through a wilderness of mazes, which are fancied to be permeable, because the paths are carefully divided off on either hand by the clipped Dutch hedges of mathematical formulism. There is no method so unmethodical as a regularity produced by arbitrary fancies, no perspicuity so obscure as that which springs from the repetition of the same thing under divergent aspects, no simplicity so perplexing as that which rests upon a system whose symmetry is secured only by chimerical analogies; and yet we much fear that such is the character of both the simplicity and perspicuity of the Vestiges. The plan may be simple; it is but a triad of novenas continually recurring: and the novenas themselves are only a quadrature of the primitive triad of thought: but novenas and triads are so intertwined, so grafted and inoculated on each other, and varied by such a bewildering process of combinations and permutations, that the reader would gladly exchange a part of this simple regularity for a more satisfactory

* Vestiges, § 71, p. 229.

Digitized by Google

obscurity. If we could persuade the author to try a stronger dose of his own physic, we would invite him to attempt the perusal of M. Hoëné Wronski's Messianisme. In that work he would discover all the characteristics of his own in greater excess:* he might even find the indications of his own theory, and would certainly recognise a more complicated application of his own mathematical machinery; but we think he would acknowledge that even the uniformity of the separate members of a vast system, when the reason for the uniformity is uncertain or far-fetched, leaves behind it a dense cloud of unsatisfied mystery over the whole subject.

Our floating suspicion that the simplicity of the author's reasoning is apparent rather than real, is very materially strengthened by the characteristics of his style. In this there is the same singular union of perspicuity of parts and indistinctness of combination. Throughout there is a most licentious employment of trope and metaphor, which are so luxuriantly interwoven with the whole fabric of the expression, and so intricately entangled, that, however graphic and perspicuous the separate images and illustrations may be, if studied apart, they produce a dizzy perplexity by their general effect. The author is sufficiently precise in each isolated statement; but the aggregate forms a chaos of discordant figures, and produces a labyrinth through which it is almost impossible to travel with any assurance of security or comprehension.† Like the brilliant, but garish combinations of the kaleidoscope, in which symmetry of form and an apparent unity of idea are linked with the utmost confusion of the constituent parts, and the sharp angularity and precision of the outline encompass the most puzzling disorder of the elements of the pattern, while the little fragments of glass are by themselves distinct, and of clear and unmistakable hues, so the style of the Vestiges, by a peculiar literary jugglery, jumbles up the perspicuous atoms of its expression into a whole, which attains all the formal conditions of symmetry and regularity, of simplicity and precision, and yet results in an intellectual maze, producing

* The similarity of the Vestiges to the Messianisme is so striking, that it is strange it should be only accidental.

† It is a truth often recalled to the mind by the perusal of the Vestiges, that, "les figures mêmes de rhétorique passent en sophismes lorsqu'elles nous abusent." Leibnitz, Nouv. Ep. sur l'Entendement Humain, liv. ii, c. ix. There is an expression in the Avant-Propos to this work, which, by a slight transposition of the epithets, exactly describes the character of the style of the Vestiges. ° ° "ces images ° ° claires dans l'assemblage, mais confuses dans les parties." ° ° If in the spirit of a German list of errata, we say for claires read confuses, and for confuses read claires, we have the portraiture of the literary execution of the work under review.

Digitized by Google

by excess of light, and even by the dazzling brilliancy of the colours, a sense of irremediable confusion.

Nevertheless, the author's style has very striking merits. The literary execution of the work we consider to be, in many respects, exceedingly brilliant, and to surpass infinitely the philosophical aptitude of the style. The writer, notwithstanding his eccentricities and his unwarrantable employment of terms and metaphors, has unquestionably a wonderful mastery over language. He is strong, terse, and pointed in expression; he has wit of a high order; and his employment of irony and sarcasm, however illegitimate may be their application, is admirable in manner. His skill in shadowing distinctly forth the more delicate shades of his meaning, and following the intricate involutions of human thought by a corresponding pliability of language, displays many traits of great and original genius. However foreign his utterance may be, and with whatever Gallic affectations it may be incrusted over, it is as free from all suspicion of mere verbiage as from the sin of intentional obscurity. We have no hesitation in according to him the credit of remarkable literary powers, and just as little in acknowledging the masculine energy of thought, and the extensive range of miscellaneous information which he has brought to the support and illustration of his thesis. We do not, indeed, trace in his Vestiges the indications of mature judgment, sober reflection, or profound learning: we think that the formation of his conclusions and the conception of his theory must have been nearly as hasty as he confesses the composition of his work to have been: and he certainly furnishes abundant evidence that his erudition consists rather of the multifarious gleanings of a discursive reader than of the solid treasures of a patient scholar. What shall be said of the constant and disgraceful blemishes which occur in his orthography? Part of these may be doubtless referred to typographical inaccuracies, for the book is very negligently printed: but when we meet with such oft-recurring deformities as "Stageryte," "residium," "Ilyssus," "Tybur," "Theogeny," "Herogeny," "Trismagistus," "Aidoi," "apochryphal," "Ænead," "conjugual," "Tirtæus," "Archilocus," "necropoli," "Epicurians," we must acquit the printer and his devil of these blunders, and charge them, not upon the hasty composition, but the defective scholarship of the author.* But, despite these blotches, and even occasional lapses of grammar, the impression produced by the work justifies us

* Attention was called to these blunders in the January number, 1852. We have considered them with care. They cannot be attributed to haste; as the author is one "chorda qui semper oberrat eadem:" and the mistakes are such that they could not have been occasioned by the haste of a scholar.

Digitized by Google

in attributing to it very considerable merit: and when we consider it in its more purely intellectual characteristics, we shall be disposed to rate still more highly the author's vigour of mind, and even of expression; for it is not an easy task to embody in perspicuous language the mystical fantasies of the new system.

A vivid and idealizing mind, inspired and inflamed by the overmastering accession of a vague but sublime conception—impatient of sober and cautious speculation, and eager to proclaim its new discovery, without having fully apprehended its nature or estimated its value—more anxious to construct a vast and all-embracing theory than solicitous about the soundness, the sufficiency, or the propriety of its materials, has hastily gathered up from far divergent quarters the loose straws, which, during its wild wanderings, might have been attracted within the influence of its magnetic action, and mingling these with the half-kneaded clay of its own dreams, has built up, with these unburnt bricks of Babel, its own fancies, hypotheses, and anticipations, into a scheme believed to be fixed, and supposed to be demonstrated. Thus has been agglomerated an immense mass of alleged doctrines, in which the most discordant materials are aggregated rather than united together, and formed into the semblance of a system by the superinduction of an external appearance of method, rather than by the vital energy of an harmonious, reciprocal, and intimate correlation. The wild and oracular utterances of the author remind us of the frenzy and obscurity of the Cumæan Sibyl:—

> At Phœbi nondum patiens, immanis in antro
> Bacchatur vates, magnum si pectore possit
> Excussisse deum: tanto magis ille fatigat
> Os rabidum, fera corda domans, fingitque premendo.
> o o o o
> Talibus ex adyto dictis Cumæa Sibylla
> Horrendos canit ambages, antroque remugit
> Obscuris vera involvens.

We acknowledge by our quotation the existence of some latent truth in these Vestiges of Civilization, and yet we can scarcely promise to point out clearly the exact *quantum* and *quale* of the truth contained in them, so arduous will be the task of separating the wheat from the chaff. There is peculiar difficulty in criticising, and even in grappling with the argument of the book: but we will not abuse either it or its author for the tantalizing provocations which we are obliged to encounter. Notwithstanding the flagrant example of denouncing those who will not implicitly adopt his opinions which he has set us,* and notwithstanding the copious

* Vestiges, § 47, p. 186.

Digitized by Google

ifony and sarcasm which he pours out on dissidents or anticipated adversaries, we will not call his treatise stupid, absurd, nor even unintelligible, for we do not regard it as such, though it often sorely taxes our powers of attention and discrimination to discern, not so much what is the author's immediate meaning, as the thing meant with reference to the development of the theory. Much careful segregation of implicit ideas, unconsciously involved in his language, though not designed in his expression, is at all times requisite before we can reach the real pith of his argument. This is certainly objectionable, yet we will not object to what merely augments our own labours; for we are willing to crack the bone for the sake of the marrow.* But it is really a grave objection, if it be true, as we shrewdly suspect, and as may be confirmed by many passages in the work itself,† that this difficulty arises from the fact, that the writer is not fully and clearly master of his own meaning throughout; that he merely projects into language the nebulous forms of the unresolved ideas floating in his own mind, instead of only being guilty of indistinctly uttering views clearly and precisely apprehended. There was some truth, though scarcely half a truth, in the doctrine of Descartes, that perspicuity was of itself a criterion of truth: and surely by any such test the Vestiges would be stripped of all claim to philosophical discovery. But we are willing to waive this objection too. We will not complain of the contortions and lubricity of the hydra with which we have undertaken to grapple, (we mean no disrespect to the author,) but we will only use a greater effort to overcome the additional difficulty.

But when we divest the exposition of the system of those obscurities of expression which may be charitably supposed to arise from the difficulties and novelties of the attempt, and enter more deeply into the distinctive characteristics of the author's logical procedure, we may still find abundant cause for censure. The whole of his argument, or rather the synthesis of his theory, is erected upon mere analogies. Such a line of argumentation proves, in our opinion, that he has mistaken the characteristics of analogical reasoning, and the nature of the evidence which it affords. It may seem hazardous to attribute such a blunder to an author who prides himself on his strict logical habits of thought, and who is manifestly better versed in both technical and practical logic than is usual now-a-days among the compounders of books and the manufacturers of systems. Nevertheless, we venture to express our conviction that he has entirely misappre-

* Rabelais, liv. i, Prologe.

† Vestiges, § 25, p. 99; § 26, p. 107, note; § 47, p. 185.

Digitized by Google

hended the functions of analogical ratiocination. Analogies, unless they are as strict and precise as the data for induction, do not justify any positive conclusions; they only afford a provisional and presumptive defence against insufficient objections. And even that they may possess this authority, it is essential that they be carefully defined and limited, and not pressed a single line beyond the range of exact correspondence between the things assimilated. To those who have read the Vestiges with any care, we need hardly say that the procedure adopted is the very reverse of this. The method may, indeed, be loosely termed inductive, if we admit, as we undoubtedly ought to do, the justice of the author's acute censure of the Baconian induction, that it is only a species of the general type;* for, in this larger acceptation of the term, analogy is itself an inductive process, but bearing about the same relation to the strict formal procedure of scientific induction, that the tortuous and deceptive sorites does to a regular syllogistic scheme.† The only writer who has, in our opinion, confined analogy to its legitimate use, while making it the basis of his whole reasoning, is Bishop Butler, whose great work is even less remarkable as an apology for revealed religion, than as a singularly steady and sustained illustration of a difficult and seductive logical procedure. The author of the Vestiges refers to Butler on one occasion, and then in a tone of disparagement; but certainly he has failed to learn from him the legitimate application of that analogical reasoning which so peculiarly, but so diversely characterizes the method of both writers.

The multitudinous analogies of nature, which link together in intricate and indistinct, but admirable harmony, all the parts of creation, and establish a conformity, if not affinity, between the various provinces of mind and matter, certainly indicate a single and common reason as the governing principle of creation, the framer of its laws, and the regulator of its concordant processes. The maintenance of this position is all that was contemplated in Butler's immortal work. But, though the existence of the common original fountain is thus suggested, it cannot be established by any such argument alone: much less is any valid assistance for determining the particular cause or reason of the separate apparent affinities, or of explaining their range or their law. Yet the whole validity of the Vestiges rests upon the arbitrary presumption that

* Vestiges, § 30, p. 112.

† We cordially assent to the little-noticed and seldom-repeated criticism of Cicero on the employment of the sorites: "Soritas hoc vocant; qui acervum efficiunt uno addito grano; vitiosum sane et captiosum genus." Ac. Pr. ii, xvi, § 49. Again, c. xxviii, § 92: "lubricum sane et periculosum ᵒ ᵒ"

Digitized by Google

they do so. The chimerical scheme of the Preëstablished Harmony of Leibnitz should have warned the author of attempting to erect a system upon such a hypothetical basis—and yet the argument of Leibnitz is less unwarrantable than his own. The analogies on which he depends, speak to the fancy rather than to the judgment: they inspire poetry, but they supply a most dreamy and insecure foundation for philosophical speculation. They tempt susceptible and ductile minds to invade the realms of science with the conjuring rod of a lively imagination: they may seduce the man of science, if not thoroughly imbued with the scientific spirit, from the limits of his own domain, and entice him into the fairy and ideal wilderness of theoretic construction. But the little we know of the *substratum* of such analogies, the total absence of all accurate acquaintance with the connecting links which bind together the phenomena which are assimilated, must render them totally inefficient as the foundation of any sound philosophy, however vitally they may operate in quickening the perception of the more recondite laws of nature, or in inducing the recognition of the constant presence and unity of divine power. They are like the fairy tales which charm our dreamy childhood, and which may convey valuable instruction under the wildest garb of fancy, but rather as a sort of residual product, arrived at by unconscious sublimation, than as a legitimate consequence of their direct application.

Into the great error of mistaking the nature of the evidence and instruction afforded by the analogies of nature, the anonymous author has fallen, and fallen most grievously, because apparently unconscious of the danger. He is, however, by no means the only philosopher of the day who has been betrayed into this misconception. Even in this country there have been two would-be sages, with whom he would disdain to be compared, and to whom, indeed, he is far superior—Prof. Stallo and Edgar A. Poe—who have often pursued a strikingly similar line of argument; and numerous are the examples which recent foreign literature affords. This defect of our times has arisen from a feverish impatience to rend the veil of Isis, and by a violent and hasty process to pour the sunlight of open day over the mysteries of nature; but the defect and the impatience, we are sorry to say, are becoming alarmingly prevalent. We own that the anile mumbling of narrow scientific inquirers, who are afraid to look beyond observed facts to the principles they reveal, has afforded sufficient provocation for this adventurous course; but, notwithstanding the temptation, we must regard every effort of the kind as, in itself, merely a return to that unwarrantable process of theoretic construction which was censured and illustrated by Lord

Digitized by Google

Bacon's happy reference to the spider's web.* The whole scheme of the Vestiges of Civilization is the pure elaboration of the author's own intellect, conceived *a priori* from the loose suggestions of supposed resemblances in nature, not established by a patient comparison of facts: the results of recorded observation are employed only as the tesseræ of an arbitrary and fanciful mosaic, not as the regulating principles of scientific inquiry. It is true, he speaks of "the inductive verification of his theory,"† and fancies that he proceeds by legitimate induction. But, if he had done so—if, indeed, he had clearly recognised the true functions of induction itself,—he would never have spoken of inductive verification—would never have propounded a theory and resorted to induction for its confirmation, but he would have recognised this as the habitual fallacy of the Greek philosophers and the schoolmen; and, even if he had been determined to repudiate the maxim of Newton, "*hypotheses non fingo*," he would have known that his theory should have been established by induction from carefully observed facts, and verified by recourse to deduction and the observation of details. He has, however, just inverted the logical procedure, and recurred to that erroneous method which the *Novum Organon* of Bacon was designed to overthrow. It is singular that a reformer of modern science should thus, in his haste for premature reconstruction, revert to that crude mode of reasoning which has been justly regarded as the weakness of Greek and the folly of mediæval science. But, even in this nineteenth century, after reading the works of Poe, Stallo, Wronski, the Vestiges, &c., we may still say of recent times as was said of the earlier, "that it hath proceeded, that divers great learned men have been heretical," (in respect to science, of course,) "whilst they have sought to fly up to the secrets of the Deity by the waxen wings of the senses."‡ The truth is, that the very excess to which the Experimental Philosophy has been pushed, by those who never understood, or never accepted more than the least important half of the Baconian doctrines, has produced a reaction; and that the Baconian philosophy of the nineteenth century, now in the agonies of decay, is running into all the licences and vagaries of the scholastics, against whom Bacon struggled with triumphant success.

* De Augm. Sci., lib. i, vol. viii, p. 33. Adv. of Learning, vol. ii, p. 39. Ed. B. Montagu. This celebrated passage seems to have been suggested to Lord Bacon by Francis Balduinus, a distinguished jurist with whose writings Bacon appears to have been familiar, though he never mentions them. The idea occurs in an essay of Balduinus. Schol. Jur. Civ. Argent., 1555.

† Vestiges, &c., § 52, p. 190.

‡ Bacon, Adv. of Learning, b. i, vol. ii, p. 12.

Digitized by Google

In bringing this accusation against the Vestiges of Civilization, we may be supposed by the author to have unconsciously conceded one of his own leading postulates—(for a principle merely illustrated, and not proved, we must regard as a postulate)—that every great intellectual advancement is achieved by an introversion—it would have been more correct to have said, an introsusception or subsumption—of former processes. We have no apprehensions of any such concession. The truth contained in the principle, so magnified by this author, is one which has a very different bearing from what he has imagined, and in no respect justifies or sustains his theory. It is rather the characteristic of each new tentative towards advancement, than of the advancement itself, that it traces backwards the lines and steps of former progression. It is the concomitant of the doubting, unsettled, wavering spirit, which is in the act of renouncing effete formulas, and which, being denied the clear prospect of a definitely expanding future, is compelled, in its revolt from the present, to recur to the past, and endeavour to reconstruct a new scheme out of the crumbling ruins of former systems. It is a resilience from old error—a reaction against decomposition—not of itself a forward movement. True it is, that with the obliquity and one-sidedness which spring from human frailty, there is in each successive period an alternating movement, an anticlinal inclination. But the principle contemplated by the Vestiges is, in its essence, the type of a transition, and not of an advancing age—the symbol of a negative, and not of a creative era; and so far as it does project its own hues more and more faintly over succeeding developments, it is chiefly inasmuch as all progress implies accretion to former acquisitions and their absorption, not their negation.

We object, however, not merely to the employment of analogical reasoning in the manner in which it is used in these Vestiges, but we conceive it to be a still stronger objection that these analogies are for the most part pure fancies. We make this allegation not having the fear of the author's denunciation before our eyes, although he does say, "I trust the cant about 'fanciful analogies,' 'plausible reasoning,' 'ingenious hypotheses,' &c., &c., is what no serious reader of the foregoing pages will have the face to even mutter—that is, indeed, if he has behind it a brain above a monkey's."* Such language may be thought remarkably rational by some, and highly indecorous by others—it certainly indicates neither the tone nor

* Vestiges, § 47, p. 186. This intemperate and unbecoming denunciation of all who may hereafter differ from the views of the Vestiges is perfectly accordant with the course of Hoëné Wronski. Messianisme, tome ii, p. 505. But this is the least important point of agreement between the two works.

Digitized by Google

the temper of an impartial lover of truth; but, in whatever light it may be regarded, we are not to be deterred by such foregone censure from both considering his work to be a constant exemplification of all three, and from deeming such outbursts a sign that he is himself sorely conscious of the weakness and invalidity of his mode of reasoning. "The galled jade winces."

We do consider his analogies to be *eminently* fanciful. A glaring example of his habit of drawing an induction from a mere *capriccio* is found in his explanation of the institution of inheritance by reference to the supposed prevalence of a pagan belief in the continued similarity of the condition of the dead to their mundane existence. "As to the principle of inheritance, it was originally of the nature of a power of attorney, or rather an assignment in trust to the heirs from the absent owner of the property."* It will be noticed, in the first instance, that this induction as stated rests upon a *possibilitas*, or rather *probabilitas remotissima*, as a mere matter of conjecture; and it may be observed, in the second place, that the alleged explanation is at variance with the whole history of property and inheritance. But this is only an incidental and disconnected illustration of the fanciful character of the author's speculations and analogies. We will furnish another which interpenetrates the whole work, constitutes one of its most essential features, forms almost the whole basis of the system, and is, notwithstanding, in great measure a pure imagination.

The Triads and Trinities, which play such an important part in the theory, are in themselves singular, but are, for the most part, either accidental, or are coincidences depending so entirely upon an unknown cause—or, to employ language less objectionable to the author, they are co-relations so completely without obvious interdependence or discernible connexion—that, for all purposes of argumentation, they must be treated as accidental. The number of such triads might have been indefinitely augmented by the consultation of Cudworth's Intellectual System of the Universe, or of a remarkable romance written by a Scotch Jacobite in France, the Chevalier Ramsay, at a time when a sort of semi-classical fiction had been rendered popular. We are far from being disposed to cite the Chevalier Ramsay as valid authority for anything, or from referring to Cudworth as a great philosopher; but the facts collected by both in regard to this matter of a heathen trinity of gods, and an all-pervading tri-unity in creation, show how easy it is to discover, invent, or multiply such ternary harmonies, and how artificial are the links of resemblance by which they are arranged. They have been exhibited in all periods,

* Vestiges, § 134. p. 336.

Digitized by Google

and in connexion with the most divergent systems; and are more significantly developed in the Enneads of Plotinus, and in the reveries of the Alexandrian school, than in the Vestiges of Civilization. They can neither prove nor establish the validity of a philosophic scheme: all that they can do is to suggest the delivery of a partial and primitive revelation, which has been transmitted to all succeeding generations in a travestied and mutilated form by a fluctuating and uncertain tradition. Yet even this is perhaps stretching their significance too far; for when gathered up, arranged, and combined, as in the present work, they exhibit a purely arbitrary division of the phenomena of nature, as recognised by sense, or as elaborated by intellect, and have no claims to precedence over any other arbitrary distribution, such as the binary classification of the objects of science, proposed by Ampère. If, like Plato, we attempt to build up the universe by a new intellectual evolution, to re-compound creation with numbers, and to make numerical analogies, like those devised by the Pythagoreans, the types and symbols of creation and of vital or mental development, although a preference may, perhaps, be claimed, on the score of the number of witnesses, for the Platonic triads, yet the Pythagorean tetractys, or the Hebrew number seven,* or, indeed, any other of the elementary numbers, might contest the claim, and it would be ultimately decided by accident rather than evidence; unless the verdict were given in favour of the ternaries of the Vestiges, on the principle of the old rule—"*numerantur testes, non ponderantur.*"

To a mind capable of preserving its equipoise amid the present jar of conflicting systems, which arise from the dead like the dry bones in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, and carry on a bloodless and spectral warfare with each other, this resurrection of Platonic or Pythagorean doctrines—this body-snatching of the old carcass of forgotten symbolism and mysticism, which has been attempted both by the present author and by a still more profound and erratic writer, Höené Wronski, is assuredly one of the most singular manifestations of the day.

If the same caution had been exercised in the Vestiges in employing these triads which was shown even in the fanciful system of Ampère in the binary and quaternary distribution of knowledge, we should scarcely have made an objection. The imperfections and the future expansibilities of science render a natural classification of the branches of knowledge a perpetual impossibility, certainly a present one. The classification must, therefore, be in a great measure arbi-

* M. Wronski's Seven Orders of Creation indicate a desire to unite the Hebrew with the Platonic numeration.

Digitized by Google

trary, and all that art can do is to render it comprehensive, simple, and complete; while it is the part of self-deluding artifice to make it appear natural by the coercion of predetermined harmony, and by the concealment of its arbitrary character. As long as this character is avowed, it is a mere matter of comparative expediency whether we adopt a binary, a ternary, a quaternary, or a quinary arrangement; but when we assume this artificial and arbitrary methodism as a proof of a subsistent natural distribution and uniformity, as is done by the Vestiges, and by it pushed in to the most remote ramifications of nature and knowledge, of fact and science, as if it was the plastic force preordaining the evolutions of both correlatives, we then plunge into the bottomless abysses of fancy, and mistake the illusion of our own dreams for the secret operations of the creative power. The appearance of truth, the plausibilities of demonstration, are assumed by this procedure because its regularity only is noticed, while its arbitrary complexion is overlooked—it is a revival of the preëstablished harmony of Leibnitz, only the preordaining agency is transferred from the will and power of God to the mind and imagination of man. We object, then, not to the adoption of the ternary scale, but to the oblivion of its character—not to the particular distribution of the objects and modes of knowledge, but to the supposition that this division rests upon inherent distinctions, is exclusive of all others, and reveals the latent processes of creative or historical development. It is in this aspect that we characterize these triadic analogies as pure fancies.

But the other analogies of the Vestiges are not merely occasionally or accidentally fanciful; they are, from their general complexion, systematically and almost necessarily so. They are, in the main, etymological, and consequently the inferences can rarely establish much more than verbal resemblances. The frenzy of derivation is strikingly exhibited in the Cratylus of Plato, which has consequently become the laughing-stock of the moderns; but there are wilder flights of fiction in the Vestiges than even Plato ever ventured to indulge. We are not disposed to undervalue the assistance which may be rendered by etymology in the way of indication or suggestion; but we are unwilling that it should be assumed as evidence of real affinities until carefully and closely scrutinized. But in all etymological deductions there is a great danger, into which this writer continually falls, of assuming imaginary affinities, and of explaining the origination of words and their significance by the application of their latest derivative meanings. He thus exactly reverses the legitimate procedure. The poetic instinct, which first inspired the use of the radical term, is the genetic cause of its signification, and the

Digitized by Google

sole source of its original usages: the gradual abstractions, tropes, generalizations, and limitations of progressive necessity and progressive reason eliminate the greater portion of the primitive poetic symbolization, and just leave the hard, precise denotation of a later day to indicate growing precision of human thought and the gradual advancement of human civilization. There is frequently no more resemblance between the earlier and later signification of words, or between the meaning of the radix and its derivatives, than there is between the oak and the acorn from which it grew. Thus, if a later sense be applied to words in their inceptive or intermediate stages, the whole service to be expected from the historical mutations of their meanings is lost, and we are betrayed into the heinous error stigmatized by the author himself,* of judging the earlier by the later world. Thus the science of a civilized community is made the measure, the test, and the interpreter of the conceptions of a barbarous epoch.

An illustration of this licentious reference to etymology is supplied by the author's unnecessary attempt to justify the coinage of the term taxonomy, (taxinomy,) by dwelling upon the signification of the terms *νόμος*, *λόγος*, and *γράφω*.† The only remark, in connexion with this topic, which is not fanciful, is that "all three terminations are becoming more regular according as we advance along the scale of science, and must end with being completely systematized."‡ This observation should have unsealed his eyes to the recognition of all that was truly imported by his supposed etymological analogies. They are the result of a later and conscious effort of systematization, not the spontaneous product of original instincts, or the exhibition of primary relations. The application of *νόμος* to law, of *λόγος* to theory, principle, or anything like it, and of *γραφή* to description, was a late and derivative procedure in the employment of these terms. For proof of this we content ourselves with referring to that useful but neglected book—the Lexicon. But we cannot be content to abandon this topic without informing the author that the introduction of the designation of astronomy belonged to a period when that science formed a subordinate branch of music, and *νόμος* was more properly applied to the harmony of musical notes than to the regularity of law; thus upsetting all the supposed distinctions on which his criticism is founded.

Another form of this frenzy of etymological ingenuity draws its

* Vestiges, Introd., § 2, p. 12. † Vestiges, § 33, p. 126.

‡ Ibid. We do not distinctly recollect whether the author ever refers to Ampère's Classification of the Sciences; we are under the impression he does; and we think, perhaps, he may have been misled into this play upon words by the whimsical caprices of that able but fanciful work.

Digitized by Google

inferences by mistaking the trivial and casual resemblances of words for natural and logical affiliations, and is revealed in his ostensible deduction of architecture, as one of the fine arts, from the discovery of the arch.* Now the art was known, practised, named, and commented on, long before the arch was thought of, and in an entirely different region. There is no actual etymological connexion between the two words. Arch is derived from the Latin *arcus*, a bow. Archi-tecture is from the Greek, and signifies the art of the master-builder; being from ἀρχή, which denotes, especially in composition, the chief or superior.

For further proof of the employment of merely etymological analogies, and of etymologies arbitrary and imaginary, and conjectured ingeniously from fancied similitudes, rather than suggested by sober comparison, we may allege the supposed satisfactory explanation of the determining reason—the instinctive principle—for the classification of the genders.† The author remarks that this is "a division of class or kind," not of sex; and that the sexual distinction of nouns, if we may use the phrase, is a subsequent innovation. He has been apparently led to this inference from regarding the idea of genus as anterior to that of gender. Unfortunately for this novel theory, any supposed basis on which it might rest is removed by historical as well as etymological considerations. The very idea of genus, as of kind, is a deduction from the idea of generation, as is illustrated by the line of Shakspeare:—

"A little less than kin, and more than kind."

This is conclusively proved by the history of the word *genus*, and of all equivalent or correlative terms. The deduction and explanation of genus and species by Porphyry and the scholiasts on the Organon of Aristotle will exhibit this in the clearest manner. Is the author cognizant of the period when the term genus was first employed? So far as we can discover, it is first used in its logical sense by Plato; but in the sense of a family or race its usage was much earlier. And, assuredly, the idea of gender, as a distinction of sex, was long anterior to this, and was so manifested in language. Indeed, the notion of gender exists amongst uncultivated barbarians, that of genus only amongst highly-civilized and metaphysical races. Hence the recognition of a genetic distinction must necessarily have preceded the supposition of a generic difference, and the author of the Vestiges has mistaken a fancied etymological deduction for a predetermining cause. But this violates his own historical development, and especially his evolution of the intellectual world, according

* Vestiges, § 92, p. 274. † Vestiges, § 60, pp. 208–9.

Digitized by Google

to the progression of the increasing complication of ideas. The only shadow of a foundation for his inference is afforded by the fact, that the same word in Greek signifies both genus and gender; though the introduction of these meanings took place at dates widely separated from each other. He disregards the chronology of facts and ideas, and transfers the metaphysics of the Socratic school to the incunabula of the Greek language, and this in confirmation of a scheme which is proposed as the chronological explication of the development of human civilization.

Before abandoning this topic we deem it but just to add that there is a germ of latent truth in this novel view, and to explain the exact amount of that truth. We think that it accounts satisfactorily for some of the anomalies of grammar, and for the irregular manner in which the genders of nouns have been assigned to them; it may indicate how it has happened that, without any apparent rule of procedure, they have been classed under one gender or the other; how, after the genders had been formed, with regard to the distinction of sex, this principle was apparently disregarded in the determination of the genders of later words; and how this anomaly may have extended itself throughout the various ramifications of successive languages. This we may esteem a most important indication towards the establishment of a valid philosophy of grammar; but we regard this as the sum total of the truth contained in the new doctrine. And observe that, except for the purpose of maintaining the systematic uniformity of the author's theory, the principle thus limited explains all the anomalies of gender, and expends its whole availability just as fully as if we should give full credence to the dicta of the Vestiges on the subject.

We are not yet quite done with these etymological fancies: they form so prominent a feature in the book, while the charge of fanciful conjecture is so widely disavowed by the author, that we are desirous of pointing out instances where his ingenuity in the invention of verbal analogies betrays itself. As the primitive rocks, which form the basis of the earth's crust, frequently crop out and reveal at the surface the nature of the *substratum* on which the more familiar ingredients of our globe are superimposed, and as this usually happens in the more rugged and intractable countries, so when the author of the Vestiges finds himself on peculiarly rocky ground, and is unable otherwise to lead his cohort of analogies through a precipitous defile, he exhibits in its bare and naked form the etymological legerdemain, the feverish frenzy of verbal similitudes, which constitute the presiding spirit of his work. What can be a more striking indication of the weakness and invalidity of his procedure

Digitized by Google

than his illustration of the contrast between the Theological and Heroic Epics, as he terms them, by the opposition of the epithets clerical and lay,* because the latter name was given to some mediæval romaunts? The *lay-man*† was opposed to the clericus, or clerk, as one belonging to the people, one of the multitude, in contradistinction to the man of religion, who was separated from the mass, and raised to a higher class by his sacred functions and the imposition of hands. The *lay* of the poets was so termed from the German "Lied," a song, and the *lai* of the French, of probably the same origin; for, so far as we can discover, it is not strictly Provençal. There is scarcely any possibility that these dissimilar terms, whose resemblance appears only fortuitous, could have come from the same source; but if they did, they descended by very divergent routes, and retained no connexion with each other.‡

Our allegations, then, against the character of the reasoning by which the theory of the Vestiges of Civilization is supported, are that the argument proceeds by analogy, and that employed in an illegitimate manner; that the analogies are strained and fanciful, and are necessarily so, as being principally sustained by etymology; and that these etymologies are themselves both imaginary and incorrect. This is certainly an ingenious reduplication of errors. If these objections be just, as we believe them to be, there is ample cause to render us suspicious of any theory which looks to such demonstration for its establishment, and we might leave the further characterization of the argument, and the system itself without further comment, convinced that a scheme so crudely conglomerated must be destitute of any intrinsic solidity. But there are other, and even greater, defects in the work, and we cannot consent to bid adieu even to those already indicated until we have explained how it could happen that an author, possessing, in many respects, such logical acumen, could have been betrayed into such an erroneous and invalid line of argumentation. We shall not merely do this, but hope also to show how, with his objects and postulates, he was necessarily beguiled into it. When we shall have furnished both the exposition of the error and the explication of its necessity, we might, perhaps, rightfully claim that the author should cease to follow after strange gods and to build up new Babels, and should devote his unquestionably high talents to the more tedious but more certain prosecution of truth by legitimate routes, forsaking his brilliant, compendious

* Vestiges, § 74, p. 235.

† From the Greek λαός, λαϊκός, belonging to the people.

‡ Another example of like etymological confusion occurs § 129, p. 328, in regard to the word *holy*.

Digitized by Google

processes. This, however, would be expecting too much from any enthusiastic designer of new systems, and especially of such a complete comprehensive theory, as he believes, "comprising all principles, and comprised in all experience," and capable, as he humorously supposes, of being "made evident and irresistible to the plainest understanding." *

The author of the Vestiges has started from a wrong point in the establishment of his thesis. Instead of commencing, like the Frenchman, with the commencement, he has begun at the conclusion, and worked backwards, and it is this erroneous direction which has vitiated his whole procedure. In the mere distribution of the contents of the work, there is the appearance of a double movement; first, analytical, in determining the constituent factors of civilization, so far as the mind of man is concerned; and, secondly, synthetical, in applying these factors to the actual development of human history. But a close examination will show that the first as well as the second part of the Vestiges is in reality synthetical, though the synthesis is in the former instance applied to the abstract elements of intellectual evolution, in the latter to the more concrete manifestations of human advancement.† In both cases, however, he has in truth assumed his system, and endeavoured to demonstrate its verity by illustration and analogy—the only course available for the establishment of predetermined results in accordance with predetermined postulates. This is the secret cause, the instinctive reason, of his recurrence to the analogical reasoning which he misapplies:—

Postulat, ut capiat, quæ non intelligit, arma.‡

This, as already intimated, is the offence of the ancient and mediæval theorists; and there is a striking parallelism in the means employed by them and in the Vestiges; among these we may mention the recourse to etymologies, which may be illustrated by the dialogues of Plato, and by the *opus majus* of Roger Bacon, though in a much less degree than in the writings of most of his precursors and contemporaries. When a man of quick perception sits down with the determination of seeing in the immense treasury of recorded facts

* Vestiges, § 1, p. 11.

† In this remark we have ventured to diverge from the opinion previously expressed, when more attention was paid to the author's professions, than to the intrinsic character of his procedure, the object then being a mere outline of his system. What little analysis is exhibited in the Vestiges predominates in the second part, but, wherever employed, it is always in the discharge of a subsidiary function.

‡ Ovid. Met., lib. xiii, v. 295, which we may translate, "He *postulates*, that he may apply the arms he cannot rightly handle."

Digitized by Google

only the confirmation of a preconceived theory, it will rarely happen that he will fail to obtain such evidence as may satisfy his own easy belief or beguile loose readers who are equally startled and overpowered by the force of singular coincidences, whether these arise from accident, design, or interdependent correlation. For either party the merest show of evidence is sufficient, and is believed to be conclusive; though a strict examination would in almost every case reveal the fallacy of the proof relied on. As the theory itself is only an arbitrary assumption until proved, so the method of proof by which it is to be sustained partakes of the same arbitrary and fanciful character. If history can be taken as a guide, we may always expect verbal inferences to supplant in such cases veritable deductions, and etymological fantasies to usurp the place of induction. Something, indeed, may be attributed to different idiosyncrasies. The tastes of the author of the Vestiges seem inclined towards etymological amusements, and he consequently displays a constant appetency for etymological analogies. M. Hoëné Wronski, on the other hand, has a partiality for mathematics, transcending even the regard of the investigator for his mathematical processes, and he undertakes a similar journey, and is conveyed over his route by mathematical theorems and the abracadabra of a sublimated system of algebraic formulas, such as Lacroix and Arago have declared their inability to comprehend. But, in both cases, the reasoning proceeds from the accidents of conception, not from the realities of either the facts or the phenomena; and hence necessitates the employment of accidental analogies, whether numerical or etymological. Indeed, when both the principles and the conclusions are virtually fixed in advance, and it is merely proposed to get over the intermediate space by the most direct line, it will be always practicable, and frequently expedient, to leave the established roads, and gallop across the country, as if riding a steeple-chase. And such, let us say, are the characteristics of this author's mode of reasoning.

The grievous error of renouncing the method of Baconian induction in favour of the loose and licentious procedure of the scholastic ages, lies at the root of all the blunders into which the author has fallen. This charge of reverting to the ante-Baconian methods is not supported on light suspicion; it is indicated by the whole tenor of the Vestiges, and is virtually confessed, when the writer complains that the people have hitherto been asked to study the tree of knowledge through the branches, but never through the supreme simplification of the trunk.* They have not been exactly

* Vestiges, § 1, p. 10.

Digitized by Google

directed to study through the branches, but through the fruits which hang upon the branches: nor would any one dream of studying through the trunk—the wild hallucination of a *philosophia prima*—unless he conceived omniscience attainable by man, or desired to perform the miracles of omniscience without its possession.

Notwithstanding such objections, perhaps partly in consequence of the very defects objected to, the Vestiges of Civilization are equally well calculated to delude the author and to deceive the reader with respect to the validity of the argumentation. The facts are, for the most part, true, acutely selected, and judiciously arranged; the inferences often correct, as well as ingenious, but only partial, and by no means adequate for the complete explanation designed; but the colligation of facts for the purpose of bolstering up the theory is both arbitrary and erroneous. The same array of facts will admit equally well of half a dozen other explanations, each as plausible and more general. But this is exactly the point to which attention is least apt to be directed. M. Comte, Vico, and many others, have given to a similar succession of corresponding facts a very different interpretation. It is one of the necessary consequences of the author's unscientific method of procedure—of marshalling his special instances in support of foregone conclusions—that his explication should be only one of many possible explanations, and utterly devoid of ability to establish its claims to preference over the others.

The author has never suspected the radical fallacy of his general line of argument. An interpretation of the phenomena of the universe, showing how some or even all of the observed results might possibly have been produced, or that they do accord with the conditions of a given theory, is by no means necessarily either a true or an adequate exhibition of the mode in which they were actually produced. This would be to mistake accident for law, and ingenious conjecture for the processes of nature. If we concede to the Vestiges of Civilization that its premises are correct, and its deductions just, it by no means ensues that it affords a correct interpretation of human development, unless we also concede that the premises are adequate and coextensive with the subject. But it is far otherwise. The concentrics and eccentrics, the cycles and epicycles of the Alexandrian school—no greater maze than the triplicating triplicities of this triadic scheme—certainly manifested a closer correspondence with the phenomena of the universe than can be claimed for the Vestiges; yet the astronomy of Ptolemy has been abandoned as a fiction. A well-constructed orrery may exhibit the various revolutions, mutations, and motions of the heavenly bodies, preserving

Digitized by Google

a correct representation of their proportionate magnitudes and periods, yet we know that the celestial orbs revolve through space without the aid of the intricate wheels and clumsy machinery which regulate the phases of a *planetarium*. When the definite results of observation or of scientific induction are the data of the problem, and the task is to reason back from these premises to the modes of their generation, a most delusive semblance of the true theory of causation may be elaborated by any skilful scheme which the fancy may conjecture, provided its symmetry be artificially preserved, and its separate links be made to osculate with the intermediate phenomena. Yet this only indicates what by possibility might have been one mode of development out of innumerable others, not the one which has been really operative.

The process is a very different one, though the dissimilarity is rarely suspected, of deducing theoretically from data, assumed or established, conclusions already settled by previous investigation, which the author very frequently appears to do, thus giving a deceptive efficacy to his argument, and discovering these conclusions by a gradual process of ascending generalizations. Even if the starting-point in the former case is hypothetically assumed, the goal, the route, and the stations along the line, are all determined and erected in advance, and a very short and arbitrary passage, whose character is unnoticed or forgotten, conveys the speculator to the route already constructed. It is the difference between leaving one's own house on foot or in a private vehicle for the depot of a railroad, and thence pursuing the journey by predetermined and prefurnished agencies along a preconstructed road to an ascertained and determinate point, and the task of locating the said road through the wilderness, putting down the station-posts, regulating and establishing the grade, building the roadway, inventing, making, and supplying the machinery, and discovering and applying the various laws of nature which concur in the production of the result. In the latter case everything is to be done, the point of departure alone being given; in the former everything is determined, except the point of departure, and it is indifferent where that may be, so that it is within reasonable distance of the line. In the former case all is unknown, has to be discovered, invented, and provided; in the latter the road and the conveyance are already constructed, and they will not only convey the passenger safely to his destination, but also his baggage, whether theories or trunks. We are not assured that our metaphorical parallel is very distinct or intelligible—the author of the Vestiges can forgive us much on both scores—but such is the difference between discovering and establishing the facts

Digitized by Google

which enter into the composition of a theory of science, and explaining, as is done in the Vestiges, those facts, already demonstrated and received by a novel theory. Under the latter circumstances, however fallacious the theory may be in itself, the correspondence with the facts, especially if a little violence be employed, will always be sufficiently striking to produce the supposition of a natural and not an artificial conformity between them and the doctrine; while the acknowledged truth of the facts themselves will reflect back the apparent light of their own truth upon the scheme by which they are feigned to be proved. And this appears to be the correct criticism to be employed in estimating the Vestiges of Civilization, the Vestiges of Creation, the Eureka of Edgar A. Poe, the Philosophy of Nature of Stallo, and the divers other works of like character which have been recently issued from the press, in which there is the semblance of an *a priori* or deductive demonstration of the system of the Universe, while in reality the argument is only ostensibly a demonstration, the line of reasoning being truly determined in advance *ex vi termini* and *ex ratione viæ*. By this procedure nothing can be in reality established; it is merely the fanciful recreation of a lively imagination.

The examination of the mode of reasoning adopted by the vestiges of civilization would thus appear to show that it is merely a capricious *rifaccimento* of the results of past progress and present science, worked up into an ideal synthesis by imagination intertwining therewith loose analogies and looser etymologies. With the exception of this frenzy of fancy there is no real construction. The system is throughout the ashes of the past, fanned into a fitful, flickering, and uncertain glow by a laborious expenditure of breath, and a display of ingenuity which, if properly applied, might have advanced the frontier of any of the sciences. As it is, there is no real addition to our knowledge—no solid advancement of philosophy or science, which can only appear in the first instance as the germ of truth which the future may develop, not as a compact, complete, and symmetrical system. It may serve to show, by the junction of the hope of success with such a lawless procedure, that the past is effete, and has attained its limits; it may reveal the urgent need and aspiration for fresh reconstruction and for the reëxamination of the conditions and compass of human thought; but it only indicates the more strikingly on that account the anarchical, confused, and chaotic character of the intellect of an age, when such reveries could be conceived to be valid.

The remark of the mathematician, that he could not perceive what was proved by Milton's Paradise Lost, might be singularly

Digitized by Google

mal-à-propos as a criticism of a poem; but it is certainly a legitimate criterion in judging of a work of metaphysical speculation, pretending to reform the whole range of science, and to furnish a rational development of both the material and intellectual universe. What, then, is proved by these Vestiges of Civilization? Supposing the argumentation to be valid, to what net result would the conclusions bring us? Assuredly not to the point anticipated by the author—not to the recognition of either the truth or sufficiency of his system. All that we can discover to be demonstrable by the work, even after the concession of our objections, is, that there is an analogy which runs through and harmonizes all parts of nature, and that this analogy proceeds upon the basis of a triple difference and a triple resemblance. *Voilà tout.* It might establish a triadic similitude between all the forms of human development, but would it uphold the thesis that this was any complete explanation of the process? Does it not rather apply a law arbitrarily assumed, than evince the validity of the law, its right to be regarded as adequate and exclusive, or its reason?

We have thus run over the most characteristic defects of the author's reasoning, and, having exposed the invalidity of his logic, we might with propriety turn to the estimation of his thesis. The presumption certainly is strongly against the possibility of a system so sustained being either trustworthy or available, for the vice of the procedure must vitiate the results. But still the Vestiges may be regarded in two different points of view, either with respect to the scheme proposed, or with respect to the manner of its proposal; and each may apparently demand a separate inquiry. The one point only have we examined hitherto, and it was our deliberate intention to have proceeded duly and patiently to the consideration of the former; but our remarks have already run to such an uncontemplated length, that, though the easier task remains, we must dispense with its prosecution, and confine our further comments to a few general observations which may reveal the weakness of the system, and the impropriety of its aims.

The work consists of two parts, essentially distinct: the theory, and its application to human development. It is the second part which more peculiarly justifies the title which has been assumed, for herein an effort is made to trace the footsteps of advancing humanity, and to rearrange the Vestiges of progressive civilization. With reference to this purpose the name is happily chosen, though, so far as the accomplishment of this aim is concerned, the scheme of the work dwindles into a mere philosophy of history, and enters into competition with the many other treatises, written with the view

Digitized by Google

of discovering the law of past progress. But to detect that law it is necessary first to construct the general theory of human development, and hence the scope of the work is enlarged, and the first part is devoted to the creation of a theory which may furnish the clue to the Vestiges of Civilization, and which naturally attempts the solution of the mysteries of the intellectual and material universe, as history exhibits the combined product of all the faculties of man operating in concert with all the varied agencies of nature. Thus, both the partition of the book and the order of its parts may admit of explanation; and this predetermining cause seems to be recognised by the author himself in his Introduction, when he says:—

"But to construct this scientific scale, (to wit, of the conditions of progressive civilization,) of which the theorem had long since been attempted by Vico, and quite recently established by Comte, who is the greater Newton, succeeding the great Kepler, of social and universal science; to verify the abstract theory by a general induction of human history, and verified, to apply it to the explanation of civilization, (even as Laplace explained the physical counterpart by the law of gravitation,) this double task appears to be the grand achievement which time has kept in store for the positive method of Francis Bacon and the mental manhood of the nineteenth century."*

We have cited this passage not merely for the purpose of indicating the agreement of the author's views or instincts with the interpretation of his plan, which we have given, but because almost every member of this brief sentence is open to objection, and reveals the existence of a separate error. We would observe that it recognises the necessity of first constructing the theory or science of civilization, or, what is the same thing, of history, since civilization is only the ultimate product of history—the *summum genus* of science,† to use metaphorically the phrase which the author employs seriously, and that it then asserts the necessity of verifying this theory by an induction from history. We have already commented upon the misapplication of inductive reasoning to the general purpose of verifying a theory, and would only note here that the theory to be proved is much ampler than the proof which is offered, and that the two processes of the task proposed, as of the book itself, stand reciprocally to each other in the relation of both evidence and conclusion. The first part, or the general theory, is verified by the second part, or the special induction; and the second part, or philosophy of history, is established by the first, or the science of universal development. The conclusions of the first part become the premises of the second, and the conclusions of the second constitute the verification of the first. This procedure is certainly guilty of all the vices of arguing in a circle, of which fallacy it is

* Vestiges of Civilization, § 5, pp. 26, 27. † Vestiges, § 46, p. 174.

Digitized by Google

only a disguised example. Thus, the whole interest of the work centres in the first part, which gives the philosophy; and the Vestiges of Civilization, instead of being examined as a scientific interpretation of history, can only claim to be estimated as a theoretical exposition of creative development. This change of venue certainly enlarges the range of view, but the limits of the argument are diminished by the necessity of confining the attention to the premises alone, as the verification of the theory by the conformity of its conclusions with the alleged inductions of the second part must be entirely rejected. If the premises are true, they receive no confirmation from the application of the theory to human history; but are either truly assumed, or must be established by other evidence.

Before we proceed to the discussion of these premises, let us notice the singular misapprehension of conceiving the method of Bacon to be positive, in the sense of any supposed agreement with the narrow and exclusive system of Comte, and the further and still grosser blunder of supposing himself and his system to be in the same line of progress with the Baconian Instauration, whereas, as we have shown in an earlier passage, his procedure evidently reverts to the ante-Baconian method. The error in regard to Comte has been elsewhere exposed by us, the blunder in regard to himself is too obvious to be overlooked, and can only be equalled by the mockery with which he speaks of the mental manhood of the nineteenth century, when his whole essay, warp and woof, is interwoven with his sneers and denunciations at the pedantry, the stolidity, and the ignorance of the age.

We have said that the whole question with regard to the Vestiges might be legitimately narrowed down to a consideration of its premises. And first, we notice the general division of the subject.

"Of Civilization . . . the total evolution presents three different phases, proceeds upon three distinct bases, is performed in three principal cycles progressively. It operates first upon the physical world of nature; next, upon the moral world of man; finally, upon the logical world of Relation—the relations subsisting really between these two collective substances."[a] . . . "The distinctive epithets . . . will be the words mythological, metaphysical, and scientific. For description's sake, the cycles will also be referred to occasionally by certain other series of corresponding terms: such as, respec-

[a] Vestiges, § 8, p. 33. This position is only a mutilation of the idea so much more lucidly and philosophically expressed by M. Comte, Cours de Phil. Pos., quarantième leçon, tome iii, p. 269: "L'étude de l'homme et celle du monde extérieur constituent nécessairement le double et éternel sujet de toutes nos conceptions philosophiques. Chacun de ces deux ordres de spéculations peut être appliqué à l'autre, et lui servir même de point de départ. De là résultent deux manières de philosopher entièrement différentes, et même radicalement opposées," &c., &c.

Digitized by Google

tively, the Physical, the Ethical, the Philosophical; or the Objective, the Subjective, and the Systematic.

"This arrangement, I may be allowed to say, has something still more to recommend it than being thus spontaneously natural and methodically convenient. It is, in fact, a compound and necessary result, in the first place, of the logical organization of the mind conceiving; secondly, of the cosmical order among the things to be conceived; thirdly, of the consequent modes of the conception. In more familiar terms, it flows conjointly from the constitution of the human intellect, the composition of the external world, and the natural position of the one towards the other. The explanation of these three fundamental factors of the problem will therefore demand a preliminary department of the work; and, together with one to each of the cyclical divisions, will make in all the four parts into which it is accordingly distributed."

It depends, of course, upon the execution of the work, whether this general division of the subject, prefixed to the elaboration of the system, is to be regarded in the light of the thesis to be proved, or as merely the indication of the line of proof. In the present instance we have no hesitation in declaring our conviction that it is intended as the latter, but is employed as the former; it is exhibited as a general chart of the course to be pursued, in which respect it is free from objection; it is used as the general enunciation of the problem, and thus becomes part of the argument, though, from its more obvious character, the relation of all that follows and its relevancy as demonstration are overlooked, because the issue is disguised. When we consider the statement we have quoted in the light of the thesis of the work, we perceive, from what has been previously remarked, that it derives no confirmation from the development of the theory; but what is certainly singular, is, that the author is himself completely deluded by his own fallacious procedure, and virtually confesses his sophistry by alleging that the preliminary department of the book will be devoted to the explanation of the three fundamental factors of the problem. Explanation is not what is requisite to sustain a novel system; it is of avail merely for the purpose of elucidating what is obscure, or of developing what is conceded, and cannot subserve the functions of proof. The very idea, therefore, of merely presenting an explanation of the three fundamental factors, indicates a latent consciousness that the factors themselves are assumed, and that the system is merely educed from them, and its mode of evolution explained in a manner which might possibly be true if the premises were themselves true; but it also admits that no demonstration of the truth of either system or premises is attempted.

As the enunciation of the plan is to be received as the thesis, and the factors considered as data, it is of importance to estimate the value of both. In speaking of M. Comte's Philosophy on a previous occasion, we have shown the fallacy of the distribution of the periods of history into the three eras proposed—for in this

Digitized by Google

respect the Vestiges are indebted to M. Comte—and we have also alleged strong reasons for regarding this ternary division of the processes of civilization as a large lump of arbitrary fiction worked up with a very minute leaven of truth. It is here that the author of the Vestiges, in receiving M. Comte's distribution of human progress, looks at it from a very different point of view. He is a dogmatic, and not a positive philosopher; he reasons not by the process of induction, but by that ante-Baconian method of Analogy which unites the forms of imperfect induction with the essence of illegitimate deduction; he does not stop at the phenomena, but proposes to reveal the law of their production by a theory constructed *a priori;* he is not content with the indications of the facts in nature, but endeavours to subordinate them to a purely ideal theory. He thus falls into the vulgar error* of mistaking the subjective processes of his own fancy for the laws of the universe; and thus, although more frequently indebted to M. Comte than he supposes, yet he is entirely severed from his school, and contemplates in a very different light every position which he borrows from him. Thus, although the three eras of history are derived from the Positive Philosophy, they are contemplated in a somewhat different manner in the Vestiges, and enter into that system of complicate triplicities which, without being wholly original, are so eminently characteristic of the work. We will not repeat the exposure of this division which we formerly gave, but will only remark that the three processes to which they are linked in the Vestiges, are, in plain language, divested of the appearance of mystery and profundity with which they have been clothed, nothing more than action, reaction, and combination, constituting thus a natural and almost necessary procedure, but one which is neither distinctive, nor characteristic, nor peculiar.†

It deserves to be noted that the series of terms, supposed to be equivalent in the extract made above, reveals by no means that identity or accordance which would permit their indiscriminate substitution for each other. Nor is the arrangement "spontaneously natural" or "methodically convenient," except so far as it may be natural; for it can hardly be supposed to have been spontaneous to the author of the Vestiges, and convenient merely for the purposes of his own preconceived method. All that follows in regard to the logical organization of the mind conceiving, with the changes which are rung upon that tune, signifies simply that knowledge results from the agency of a mind capable of knowing, and the existence of ob-

* So characterized by Mill. Logic, book v, § 3, p. 459.

† Hence he falls into all the fallacies resulting from erroneous and defective classification.

Digitized by Google

jects capable of being known. Surely the truism, so disguised, so quaintly bedecked, so elaborately and variously expressed, as if almost beyond the reach of ordinary comprehension, is not so strange or so incompatible with the various other expositions of the intelligible universe, that it can become the foundation of a novel or exclusive system. So much for the statement of the thesis.

But let us proceed with the subject that we may escape from this bed of thorns, *ut omnes istos aculeos et tortuosum genus disputandi relinquamus:* let us examine the premise, postulate, inference, induction or fact, which forms the corner-stone of the explanation of the theory of the Vestiges. As the object of the work is to develop the whole phenomena of civilization and creation by the uniform operation of a single law, and as the character of this law is assumed to be the triple distinction, the threefold evolution, and the ternary complication—(we can play on the triangle too)—of the same fundamental principle, thus revealing the triune harmony and progression which pervade all the phenomena of the universe, and constitute the essence of the system, the first step to be taken is to establish the point of departure, the unit or atom from which all these methodical harmonies are to proceed. The task, it will be recognised, is similar to that proposed to himself, but not completed by Schelling, though pursued in a very different spirit and by dissimilar means. If the purpose had been to construct a system by legitimate induction, to arrive at the ultimate unity of the laws of nature by progressive generalizations, the diversities of external phenomena and the reciprocal affinities of physical laws must have been the first objects of attention, and this was the procedure of Comte, though without entertaining any such transcendental ideas. But as the method to which the temper of the author's mind inclined him was the process of theoretic construction, it was necessary to begin at the other end of the line, and hence we arrive at another reason, recognised or instinctive, for the order in which the parts of the Vestiges are arranged. Thus the work naturally commences with the loose examination of the mind, which is to constitute the type, and furnish the law for all ulterior developments. The triune character of the mind must be first established, or its unity asserted, and any arbitrary distinction will afterwards supply the triple complication desired. The unity needed is found by the reduction of all the intellectual faculties to one "sole intellectual faculty"—perception—"so to speak, the monad of mind, and consequently the common denominator of civilization."* We might ask why

* Vestiges, § 13, p. 42.

Digitized by Google

"consequently?" and why "the common denominator?" but we will not stop to make these inquiries.

If we examine the *exposé* of the Vestiges, we shall find that the reduction of all the faculties of the mind to one, and to this particular one especially, and the limitation of all its various modes to a single specific type, is neither accurate in itself, nor capable of affording the advantages sought from it. In the first place, it proceeds upon an entire misconception of the nature and meaning of a faculty which is not a distinct entity, but simply a difference of form in the operation. The author's etymological tastes might have rendered him some service here. In the next place, the unity of the intellect has never been denied, so far as we are aware, except by such men as Paracelsus and Van Helmont; and the author's process merely substitutes the term Perception for Intellect, the specific manifestation for the acting cause, thus unwarrantably producing a needless multiplication of equivalent terms. Moreover, the alleged varieties of Perception are just as truly diversities of thought as the faculties which he has attempted to cashier: his argument thus leads him to the same conclusion which it was designed to subvert. It is, too, a very forced construction of the term Perception to require it to subserve the new functions assigned to it. It is true that the word is, with the possible exception of the term Idea, the most slippery and intractable in the whole vocabulary of metaphysics; but this is no recommendation for its new employment. The acute criticism of Sir William Hamilton has nearly succeeded in banishing it from the metaphysical nomenclature as a useless and officious go-between, which, like all intermeddlers, was only calculated to produce embarrassment and misunderstanding. Yet this very phrase, so illusory in its vague and multitudinous usages, so unnecessary in all but the most restricted acceptation, is now recalled as a maid-of-all-work, and is dilated, amplified, and mystified by this author, until the indefinite latitude of its new signification is utterly at variance with its ordinary meaning, and it is converted into an exact synonym with mind. It is only by the consolidation of all the clouds of meaning, which float like a hazy halo around the central idea involved in the term, and by a most untechnical and unauthorized employment of it, that it can be applied in any such way; and then, instead of introducing simplification, it carries its own misty vagueness into the whole realm which it is designed to regulate, systematize, and rule. Yet, notwithstanding this characteristic nebulosity, and with all its advantages for confused speculation, and its inaptitude for accurate reasoning, it is actually employed as the attenuation of the idea of sensation, furnishing the *substratum* for a shadowy creed, for which sensation

Digitized by Google

is too metaphysical, as representing an apparent entity or function of an entity. It is intended, at the same time that it usurps the throne of mind, to be also a sublimation—a vaporization—of the notion of sensation, and to represent the mere phenomenal act of relation between the thing knowing and the thing known, which is coarsely designated by materialistic and other philosophers as the act of sensation. In the mental manhood of the nineteenth century has the intellect dwindled into this mere shadow of itself? The human mind, according to the French philosophers, had been regarded as a too mystical entity, a too fiery particle, and was by them degraded into mere animalized sensation. It is now evaporated into the simple phenomenon of sensation—the mere relation between the thing knowing and the thing known, thus showing how the mysticism of idealism may be transmuted into the mysticism of empiricism; so closely analogous to the earlier excess, both in form and appearance, as to be spectral in both extremes. Thus the vestiges of former errors are revived as the land-marks of succeeding generations; and the resemblance of the two might excite surprise, if we did not know that the diminution of gravitation was equal at equal distances on both sides of the centre of gravity; and that negative and positive distances, or distances measured in opposite directions, were identically the same.

Such is the unity which is received as the corner-stone of the Vestiges. When we note the manner in which the author attempts to establish it,* we shall discover that the argument is as invalid and unwarrantable as the result. There is throughout an entire *ignoratio elenchi*. The identity of the agent is assumed as proof of the identity of its actions; the unity of the mind regarded as evidence of the unity of its processes. By this mode of reasoning the leaf, the flower, and the fruit would be demonstrated to be the same, because produced by one and the same vital energy.

The Perception thus inducted as the original germ and unit of the whole contemplated series, by its very looseness and vagueness lends itself readily to the scheme of the author; and by an easy selection of a certain definite number of mental operations, and their reference to perception as a type, a table of triads is promptly drawn up, and the first round in the ladder of the theory is secured. In the words of this writer—

"Perception passes progressively, and in consequence of the constant effort to simplify the phenomenal world into harmony with its own unity, through—

1st (series,)	Sensation:	Memory:	Imagination.
2d	Reflection:	Abstraction:	Generalization.
3d	Reasoning:	Comparison:	Method." †

* Vestiges, § 9, pp. 35, 36. † Vestiges, § 3, p. 47.

Digitized by Google

According to the Vestiges, Perception is the sole faculty of the mind, hence the equivalent of the mind; and the signification of the above declaration is, that the mind, in its endeavour to harmonize the diversities of nature with its own unity, passes through the series indicated; or, in other words, constructs this scheme for the gratification of its own caprices, or the satisfaction of its own desires. The asseveration then simply amounts to this, that the scheme is an ideal one—a mere cobweb of the brain, efficient to catch flies, but not potent enough to fetter the universe. The table itself is open to its own objections. What sort of affinity is there between Perception and the act or faculty of Abstraction, or between Perception and the process of Reasoning? Why may we not add another term to each of these series—to the first, Conception; to the second, Judgment; to the third, Comprehension?—or interpose this triad in the list as a new series? The table is evidently incomplete; it does not furnish the full catalogue of mental processes; it classifies and distributes them erroneously, as in making Comparison a step beyond Reasoning, of which it is one of the principal elements. In fact, the scheme is a mere artifice, presenting by its apparent regularity the presumption of validity, but in no respect comporting with either the conditions of truth, or the actual necessities of the problem. It is just such a piece of verbal miracle-mongering as might amuse an idle audience, but could hardly beguile a reflecting man, not misled by the seductions of a theory.

We have no intention to advance further in the consideration of this novel system, although it would be as easy to destroy the fantastic edifice as it was easy to construct it. In both cases *ce n'est que le premier pas qui coûte.* In consideration of his reverence for French, we give the author the benefit of the French proverb. But it is not our purpose to examine the scheme, simply because we have not the time, and do not deem it requisite. We have shown the invalidity of the author's logic, the fallacy of his premises and procedure, the entire absence of anything having the character of proof as of anything entitled to be considered as evidence of the special thesis proclaimed; and if we refuse to attack the system itself, thus left entirely without support, the fortress is not the less effectually reduced because we decline to draw the plough over the lines of its crumbling walls.

We will only say of the theory, as of the reasoning by which it is maintained, that it is a strange and hybrid production—a curious cross between the Transcendentalism of Schelling and the Positivism of Comte. The aim is derived from Comte, the spirit is an

Digitized by Google

emanation from the German school; the form belongs to the type of the ideal philosophies of nature, but occasional suggestions, details, and principles are derived from the *Cours de Philosophie Positive*. It is singular, again, that the Messianisme of Hoëné Wronski is never once mentioned by this author—singular in more respects than one. The system of the Vestiges is, indeed, rather analogous to the Messianisme than identical with it, inasmuch as the latter contemplates the reëdification and sublimation of Christianity, the former its extinction; but both presuppose as implicit principles the proposed results of their doctrines, and the line of the argument, the style of the reasoning, and the convolutions of the scheme in accordance with the triplicities of a mathematical law, are strikingly similar. There is the same triadic progression of apparently identical processes; the same recognition of mathematics not merely as the most certain science, but as the one science—the type, instrument, creator, and embodiment of all the sciences*—and the same design to construct through its agency the one absolute and universal science.† If, under these circumstances,—and the parallelism might be much extended,—if the author of the Vestiges has not studied M. Wronski's speculations, as we are disposed to believe from all appearances that he has not done, this spontaneous and unconscious coincidence in systematic error is certainly remarkable. It may, however, with the corresponding theories of Poe and Stallo, reveal the licentious tendencies of modern intellectual speculation, and prove that the recurrence to the ante-Baconian processes must result in the resurrection of the dreams of the Scholastics. If, as we do not suspect, the author of the Vestiges has pondered over the mathematical abysms and inextricable confusion of the *Philosophie Absolue*, his failure to mention the triumph of his penetration in mastering the intricate uniformity and systematic perplexity of the Messianisme would be even more surprising. In either case, there is nothing half so miraculous in the affinities of Telesio and Campanella as in the agreement of the Investigator and Hoëné Wronski.

The contrast between the purposes of these authors is as remarkable as their analogies. M. Wronski proposes that each individual should philosophically evolve his own Paraclete and effectuate his own salvation; the author of the Vestiges indulges the hope that every rational man will disown scientifically "the traditional dictates of a farrago of nursery-tales imagined two or three thousand years ago by a handful of scrofulous barbarians, the refuse of the ancient and

* Vestiges, § 31, p. 116. † Vestiges, § 34, p. 130; § 54, p. 194.

Digitized by Google

the ridicule of the modern world."* It would be an easy office to us to censure in stronger, because more appropriate and legitimate, language, such glaring improprieties of thought and expression, but we refrain from doing so for reasons which we shall soon state; and, if an author of such high talent and such vigour of intellect condescends to defile his work by substituting Billingsgate for argument, and by mistaking blasphemy for profundity, we will let it pass without rebuke—it shall surely have its own reward. But we were noticing the contrast between the Messianisme and the Vestiges, a contrast which produces a notable result. M. Wronski undertakes to generate from human reason a God: the author of the Vestiges to construct from human experience a new organism. M. Comte had endeavoured to elaborate and introduce a new religion—the worship of Humanity—and to elevate Humanity to divine honours—"*le véritable Grand-Etre*"—"*le nouvel Etre Suprême.*" The Vestiges, herein following in the footsteps of the Positive Philosophy, but deviating slightly from its course, converts the shadowy Jupiter, the phenomenal divinity of Positivism, into a reality, and recognises in the same humanity, or aggregate collection of all men, a new, separate, and individual existence†—thus taking his stand at the pole opposite to M. Wronski. The error of both the Vestiges and the Positive System is virtually identical with the ancient delusion of endowing the universe with an *anima mundi*, and regarding the earth as an animated mass; and arises in both instances from the same disposition to hypostatize generalizations and abstractions, though the burthen of the complaint with M. Comte and this anonymous writer is directed against this fallacy.

"But half of our solemn task is done," and yet we hasten to a close. We have left the system of the Vestiges entirely untouched: we have exhibited but a slight portion of the general and characteristic defects of the work; and we have certainly not attempted to gather even the tithe of the errors, the mistakes, the fallacies, or the fantasies which distinguish the details. Yet our censure has run to such a length, and has hurried over so many and such grave topics, that some explanation seems requisite to justify the praise which we have at times bestowed upon the treatise, and the eulogy and respect with which we have always spoken of the author.

Glancing through the mists and clouds of this untenable speculation, steal every now and then brilliant glimpses of a brighter, clearer, purer heaven of thought beyond, where the mind of the author is

* Vestiges, § 144, p. 353. Such unworthy indecorum—to say no more—is of constant recurrence.

† Vestiges, § 47, p. 184.

Digitized by Google

no infrequent visitant, though lost and bewildered in the fogs amongst which he has proposed to fix his abode. Sincere confidence in human progress, earnest aspirations for the greater perfection of man, a high-toned morality, and a chivalrous purity of sentiment, though sadly dashed with impropriety in the expression, break strangely across the gloom in which he has chosen to invest himself, and form quaint but favourable contrasts with his system. Such traits justify the belief, that however far he may have wandered from the truth, the light which led his steps astray was light from heaven. Moreover, there is a constant, though not continuous, display of genius of no common order: a singular perspicacity in seizing and unravelling the smaller knots and tangles which fetter the intellect: much original observation and valuable suggestion in points incidental; and a critical acumen, with a depth of comprehension, not often rivalled. His criticisms on the great authors of this and former ages, and on their positions, are eminently acute and, in the main, just, and afford the best evidence with which he has furnished us of his genuine ability and real powers. His comments upon Aristotle, Bacon, Comte, Mill, &c., reveal a higher order of talent than the whole elaboration of his system. We have read and reread them with care and profit; and we cannot refuse to accord to their author, however erratic, singular vigour of intellect, although we protest against his heretical opinions and reject his chimerical scheme.

Of the tendency of that scheme and those opinions we have said nothing; it may be easily understood. We have, in some measure, avoided speaking on the subject as it is so intimately connected with the undiluted infidelity of the work, to which we have so far barely alluded, and which we were reluctant to discuss. The Vestiges of Civilization is deliberately and conspicuously infidel, but it is negatively and inferentially rather than positively and dogmatically so. It does not formally attack Christianity and religion, but it continually sneers at both, and implicitly assumes or boldly asserts throughout that they are the follies and puerilities of a bygone age, which are virtually cashiered among all reflecting men. In our reply we have endeavoured neither to assert nor assume the opposite—not from any indifference or lukewarmness on this subject, not from the fear of assailing a fallacy and presumption weaker even than the system by which they were supposed to be sustained, and more untenable than the logic by which the theory was developed, but for very different reasons. In the first place, we would not stoop to reply to ridicule or irony: if the author so far forgot himself as to deal in sneers, we would not lower our own dignity and self-respect so

Digitized by Google

far as to refute them. But our forbearance has been chiefly due to the conviction that the dereligionized philosophy of the day, which is becoming almost universal, must be encountered and overthrown on its own chosen field of battle, and principally, if not entirely, by the assistance of that metaphysical and scientific reason which is the weapon of offence. To grapple fairly with it, and secure a candid judgment, we must fight with equal arms, denying ourselves the use of that celestial armour, which, while impenetrable in reality itself, might render us invulnerable, and, like the divine armour of ancient fiction, might be asserted by our adversaries to render us intangible and invisible also. There is, in reality, no common measure of truth between the Christian philosophers and the scientific sceptics of the day, unless the former lay aside for a while their panoply of religious faith in the discussion. The two parties stand in different and not even intersecting planes, and thus, while vigorously making passes and dealing trenchant blows at each other, they actually do nothing more than fruitlessly beat the air with the savage acrimony and blood-thirsty ardour of theatrical combatants. As our assailants cannot ascend to our level, we must descend to theirs. Moreover, we confess that they have some right to ask this at our hands, for any argument which rests mainly on a Christian or religious basis is, so far as it is a reply to these antagonists, unfair or inoperative. Such an argument is addressed merely to those who already entertain a fixed belief in Christianity, and therefore presupposes without examination the validity and exclusive sufficiency of the Christian proof, and by a like prejudgment is conceived to establish the falsehood and deception of the antagonistic doctrine. It thus becomes at once an *argumentum ad hominem* and an *argumentum ad verecundiam*, and is tainted with the fallacious consequences incident to both. Moreover, it meets with consideration and credence only from those already within the Christian camp, and then not from any appreciation of its real strength, but from its accordance with inherent and unanalyzed convictions, and from repugnance to contradictory views. But it cannot for one moment secure the attention, or invite the candid examination of either the leaders or the partisans of opposing schools, and has no tenacious hold on the large class that may be indifferent to religion, may enjoy its embarrassments, or even discomfiture, and may be inclined by the natural downward tendency to sink into the more terrestrial sphere of the enemies of religion. For these reasons, which have regulated our conduct on former occasions, we have been anxious to eliminate as completely as possible the religious aspects of the controversy, and to leave these to be determined rather by way of

Digitized by Google

inference from the general tenor and results of our reasoning, than by either positive demonstration or implication in its data or development. Let us add, too, for the admission is just and required by candour, that as the validity of the Christian faith is the point ultimately and virtually in issue in the whole discussion, however chary either party may be of stating this as the proposed *exitus* of the question, it is a grave logical offence, being no less than a *petitio principii* of the coarsest character, to use the assumption of Christian truth or its demonstration *aliunde* in any of the preliminary discussions, before the merits of the great pending controversies may be settled on their own distinctive principles, philosophical or scientific. For these reasons we have been willing to meet the assaults of human reason with its own weapons, without hurling back either ecclesiastical censures or theological anathemas.

We firmly believe that, even within the domain of human science and philosophy, all the attacks of the enemies of the Christian religion may be successfully met and repelled, and overwhelming proof may be produced that those attacks spring not from the strength, but from the weakness of human reason; not from the abundance of knowledge, but from its imperfections. Such a defence must, on their own principles, be considered, received, and acknowledged by our adversaries, while we escape the peril and, perhaps, the sacrilege of laying an unhallowed hand upon the ark itself. A victory thus obtained, and entitled to be admitted by our antagonists themselves, must be more satisfactory to all parties than a doubtful triumph, clamorously proclaimed by one and strenuously denied by the other.

Art. IV.—GEOGRAPHICAL AND STATISTICAL SCIENCE.

Bulletin of the American Geographical and Statistical Society. Volume I, Number 1. Published for the Society by George P. Putnam. New-York.

It is matter of surprise, if not of reproach, to the intelligence of New-York, that the place should have remained so long vacant in the circle of our literary and scientific institutions which the Society now under consideration proposes to occupy. With the bold spirit of our navigators, vexing every sea, and the flag of our commerce waving in every port of the known world; with our Exploring Expedition at the expense of the government, and our Arctic Expedition, set on foot by private munificence; with our Coast Survey, our National Observatory, and our Smithsonian

Digitized by Google

Institution; with our hundred Colleges, and our Military and Naval Academies, and our hundred Foreign Missionaries; with our fifteen Quarterly Reviews, and our scores of Monthly Magazines, and our thousand newspapers, it is only within the present year that the kindred sciences of Geography and Statistics have a National Society and a Bulletin to promote their cultivation and extend the knowledge of their achievements.

Geography is the science of the earth, as the abode of man. Statistics is the science of the life of man developed upon the earth. Such is the comprehensive field which lies before the new Society. Whatever inquiries or discussions, whatever new information or new conclusions, may relate to these subjects or come within these limits—all this knowledge comes fairly within its scope, and may increase the interest of its labours, and the value of its results, and the honour of its future career. The Royal Geographical Society of London is one of the most distinguished in the great circle of scientific associations which enrich and adorn that great metropolis. The Geographical Society of Paris is famous for the variety and the value of its publications. The Imperial Geographical Society of St. Petersburgh, the similar societies in nearly every European capital, the Geographical and Statistical Society of Mexico, ought long ago to have aroused the savans of New-York to the importance of systematic efforts to promote sciences so interesting, and to diffuse knowledge so necessary; but as it may be never too late to do well, we wish to welcome the new Society, and to speak a word of encouragement to its promoters. They have a noble field for their labours; the materials already available are ample, and there are abundant opportunities to extend their inquiries, to gather knowledge in new regions, or to complete the surveys of what is already partially known. And nothing but their own lack of diligence or perseverance, of intelligence or industry, of learning or sagacity, can prevent them from winning their Society a place in the front rank among our public institutions. Hitherto, the scientific study of geography among us has been left in a great degree to the compilers of school-books, and that of statistics to the almanac-makers. We trust the new Society will be able to enlist a multitude of inquisitive and cultivated minds in the cultivation of branches of knowledge, whose value, we regret to say, is still but imperfectly appreciated in our country. Indeed, we may say that we know not of any sciences, of equal interest and value, which have been so little cultivated among us.

Geography is the science of the homes of all mankind; and statistics is the science of the mode and means of human life, and

Digitized by Google

its results. The cultivation of these sciences is essential to the consummation of human brotherhood. We meet men in the street and in the market-place, and we know them as human beings; but we can hardly recognise them as acquaintances, or esteem them as friends, unless we have seen them at home, and know where and how they live—their geography and statistics. The same is true of nations. It is wonderful to consider how different an interest we feel in the case of those nations with whose country and habits we are tolerably familiar, as England or France, and those of which we know but very little, as Japan or Madagascar.

We have all learned something of geography in our school-days, but we find in after life that this knowledge is extremely superficial. Let any country become, for the time, as nearly every known country in fact becomes in its turn the theatre of important events, and we soon find how superficially we understand the details of its geography. We then need new helps to make our knowledge of its topography and other geographical incidents specific and available for the understanding of passing events.

It is generally supposed that the period of geographical discovery is past, and that the geography of the world is all settled. But this is not so. There are large portions of the earth that are yet wholly unknown and unvisited by civilized men, as the interior of the continents of Africa and New-Holland; and considerable portions of the great islands of the East, as well as parts of both Americas. How many important discoveries in geography have been made within the last twenty years? And who shall solve the riddle of the North-West Passage, or of the sources of the Nile?

But without dwelling on this view, there is yet a vast work for geography to do, in making our acquaintance with countries accurate and familiar. Let it be borne in mind that the running of the boundary line between the territories of the United States and Mexico has been rendered totally impossible by a blunder in the treaty, based on a blunder in what was supposed by the negotiators to be the most authentic map extant. Even our own Empire State has never been surveyed, or measured, or mapped, with any reliable accuracy. A topographical map of New-York, grounded on a trigonometrical survey and measurement, is a great desideratum. We may venture to affirm that no skill or study, with plots and field-books, would suffice to lay down all the farms in the State according to their recorded boundaries; but the titles would be found to overlap here and there, making fat jobs for the lawyers in carrying forward that most ruinous species of litigation which concerns the boundaries of estates. A thorough survey and a

Digitized by Google

reliable map concerns the interest of every landholder in the State—saying nothing of the advantages to roads, mill-sites, and all public improvements, or the minute topographical knowledge which might be gathered during the prosecution of such a survey. The Society before us will well justify its formation, if it can help to stir up the legislature to make provision for the commencement of this survey. New-York owes it to her position and her resources, and the intelligence and enterprise of her people, to take measures for a survey and map which shall surpass in accuracy and completeness those of any other state or country.

Of how few countries do the materials exist for a full description or an accurate delineation! The list of places is by no means large, of which the latitude and longitude has been ascertained with sufficient precision for the higher purposes of astronomy. Only a very small part of the earth's surface has been subjected to the primary trigonometrical survey. To explore the still unknown, and to complete our knowledge of the partially known, presents a great work to be done before the world can even be mapped with reasonable accuracy.

But it is a most inadequate conception of the science of geography, to limit it to a knowledge of the surface of the earth, as it may be explored by a surveyor and delineated on a map. Geography, in its higher sense, takes the most perfect map as but the ground-plan, on which it constructs a delineation of all the physical qualities that affect the condition of mankind, the vegetable and animal growth, the races and characteristics of the people, and the political institutions and social arrangements of nations. Its high aim is the improvement of man's moral nature, by enlarging his knowledge of the homes and lives of his fellow-men. The new Society has a right to expect the countenance and favour of every friend of humanity and every friend of science, and to receive the coöperation of all those classes who enjoy special opportunities of observation, or possess special qualifications for generalization or description.

The science of statistics is almost unbroken ground among the great body of our intelligent citizens. Look among the legislators of the nation, and those of the several States, and see how few there are of them who are able to arrange into a statistical table any considerable number of the facts which they are called to act upon in regard to a given subject, or to judge of the value of an argument based on statistical tables, so as to detect the latent fallacy, or to feel a mathematical certainty in the conclusion. Experienced statists compare all quantities and numbers by centesimals; that is, the

Digitized by Google

increase or decrease is so much per cent., or one number is so much per cent. of another. And this centesimal proportion comes by use to convey as definite ideas as are derived by a statement and comparison in the ordinary weights or measures, by pounds, yards, or gallons. Instead of saying that 48 is four-fifths of 60, the statist says it is 80 per cent. If you add 9 to 45, making 54, it is an increase of 20 per cent.; but if you take 9 from 54, leaving 45, it is a decrease of 16.6 per cent. That is, you divide the difference, decimal-wise, by the number which you reckon *from*. An increase of 100 per cent. makes the number double; while a decrease of 100 per cent. takes away the whole. Yet we have seen well-educated men puzzled inextricably in making the simplest calculations, and never knowing certainly whether their results are reliable or not. Again, we see numbers or quantities compared in this way—the two are in the proportion of 217 to 448, which leaves a very indistinct idea, when you get a much clearer impression by saying that one is 44 per cent. of the other.

The crudities and inaccuracies of the United States census of 1840 have long been a source of mortification to scholars, and of mistakes to politicians and legislators. For instance, the footings of the census presented a monstrous disproportion of idiots and insane persons among the free coloured population of the northern States; and some pathetic conclusions were drawn therefrom in regard to the deplorable condition of those people, with profound disquisitions concerning the causes of so sad calamities. The importance of the results led some gentlemen to reëxamine the data; and, on tracing the population tables back to their elements, it was found that the whole apparent excess was caused by the blunders of clerks in transferring figures to the wrong columns, by which it was made to appear that in some instances there were more blacks insane and idiotic than the whole number in the section. And yet we have seen, within a year or two, respectable journals and periodicals reproducing the same awful statistics and reaffirming the same sad conclusions, just as if the blunders had never been exposed.

Although it must be admitted that considerable advancement has been made, during the intervening ten years, in the cultivation of statistical knowledge, it is plain that the present condition of the census of 1850 affords us nothing to boast of. It is not our province to decide where the blame or discredit ought to rest; but the fact that, after the lapse of two years and a half, and the expenditure of vast sums of money, the public can only obtain a few of the alleged general results, without any knowledge of the data

Digitized by Google

on which they are based, proves that there must be either great neglect or gross incompetency somewhere. One thing is very plain to our judgment, to wit, that the general government, in undertaking to procure complete statistical returns, has attempted more than its machinery is fitted to accomplish. Hereafter we hope that Congress will confine its inquiries to the census of population, leaving the statistics of industry and property to the care of the State legislatures, whose functions better admit of these minute inquisitions. If the labours of the new Society shall be successful in extending a love for statistical inquiries, by setting examples of their usefulness, and furnishing materials for the prosecution of such studies, it will render a good service in promoting the diffusion of useful knowledge.

Too long have we been contented with general impressions, that this or that thing is a great deal bigger than another, and that events of one class are more frequent than others. Let us learn to know what we know; so that we can answer the questions, how many? how much? how long? how far? how often? and make an exact comparison of causes and results, in regard to all the modes and means of human life and action.

A scholar of the last age called "geography and chronology the two eyes of history;" but we submit that, for the philosophical study of history, for the comparison of events, their causes and consequences, the help of chronology is far inferior in value to that of statistics. The mere time when an event took place is of much less moment than the number and resources of the people among whom it occurred, and the position and extent of the theatre on which they acted. Take, for instance, the history of the middle ages; and how much light is thrown upon it by a clear idea of political geography and its changes in those times. And what a vast interest is added to the study of physical geography by the lectures of Professor Guyot, in comparing and classifying the physical structure of countries, and thus accounting for the characters and destinies of the people who inhabit them.

In a word, we fully endorse the seasonableness of this new movement, at least so far as to say that it is high time it was made, and it is a wonder it had not been made before. Looking at the list of managers, with our national historian, George Bancroft, at their head, we are sure they do not lack either competency or fidelity for the discharge of their duties. We hope they will succeed, through the resident foreign consuls among us, in securing for their library the most important geographical and statistical documents of other governments; and, through the proper officers at home, all the

Digitized by Google

important publications of our own National and State governments. We hope they will receive the ready coöperation of our literary men, travellers, and foreign missionaries, in making the Society the *medium* of publication of their new discoveries, their important information, their expanded commercial, philanthropic, or scientific views, on subjects german to the objects of the Society. We hope they will receive, when they need it, a liberal patronage from the merchant-princes of the land, in the means of procuring all such maps, globes, books of reference, and other apparatus of investigation and illustration, as may be needful to secure the highest efficiency of their labours.

The first number of the Society's Bulletin, now before us, is well arranged and handsomely printed, well filled, and affords a fair pledge of future success. We are struck with the evidence it affords of the prospective value of the Society's labours in promoting both the commercial interests of the country and the general advancement of humanity and religion. The article of Mr. Hopkins on Paraguay, delivered in this city last January, before the fall of the tyrant Rosas was known in this country, was largely prophetic of results and developments in regard to the opening of that river to foreign commerce, which are now history. The second Bulletin is to be made up of the elaborate and truly valuable Memoir on the Geography and Statistics of the Republic of New-Granada, presented to the Society by General Mosquera, the distinguished ex-president of that country. In listening, for three successive meetings, to that important paper, we could hardly tell which impressed us most: the ability and value of the production itself, as a contribution to the objects of the Society; or the extraordinary fact that a man of arms, whose best years had been spent in the military service of his country, should have found time to collect such a store of knowledge, so scientifically digested, in regard to every branch of his subject; or the spectacle of the ex-president of a neighbouring Spanish republic labouring with so pure and wise a patriotism to advance the best interests of his own country, by drawing to it new and multiplied sympathies from ours.

We earnestly bid the Society Godspeed on its course. Science is of no nation, of no sect, of no party. The welfare of all peoples is advanced by their knowing each other more perfectly. Let our friends be encouraged to lay their plans on a large scale, as building for mankind and for future ages.

Digitized by Google

Art. V.—M'CULLOH ON THE SCRIPTURES.

Analytical Investigations concerning the Credibility of the Scriptures, and of the Religious System inculcated in them; together with a Historical Exhibition of Human Conduct during the several dispensations under which mankind have been placed by their Creator. By J. H. M'Culloh, M. D. 2 vols., 8vo. Baltimore, 1852.

Since the days of our Lord's personal ministry, his disciples have altered the shibboleth of Christianity. The test question is not now, "*Simon Peter, lovest thou me?*" but, "*Simon Peter, thinkest thou as I do?*" Unless the answer be clearly and decidedly affirmative, there is but cold welcome to the Master's vineyard—no excellence of piety is a sufficient offset to variant opinions, even about things the most abstruse and difficult of determination. No superiority of understanding compensates, in its admirable conclusions, for unlawful speculations upon subjects concerning which men have done little else than speculate from the beginnings of thought. "Venerable Bede," says John Newton, "after giving a high character of some contemporary, adds, '*But, unhappy man, he did not keep Easter our way.*'"

Dr. M'Culloh must expect similar treatment to that which has ever been meted out to men of his kind. None who read his book can doubt his piety, or his honest, earnest purpose to accomplish what he conscientiously believes to be the work which is given him to do. The book displays upon every page the single-mindedness of a Christian man, devoting uncommon intellectual powers to the attainment and dissemination of the truth. Yet the results of his investigations, as he has determined them, as a whole, are not in full accordance with the entire views of any one of the many Christian denominations, and consequently, whatever these may think of one another, they all will agree that our author is a heretic; for to be a heretic, is but to differ from themselves. It may be expected that clergymen, regularly trained in schools of divinity, will superciliously glance over the index, and pronounce the presumptuous layman a dangerous intermeddler with theological science; and that many good people, responding to the pastoral warning, will cry out "Simon Magus" as lustily as though they could comprehend the matter, or could of their own knowledge give a consistent statement of the plan of salvation, or any valid reason for their faith in the Scriptures.

To say the truth, the author of this work has given mortal offence

Digitized by Google

to a host of stalwart antagonists, in whom the *odium theologicum* is far from being impaired by time, or tempered by the vaunted liberality of the age. The Papists will curse him by their gods for his masterly exposure of the rottenness which underlies all the gilding and varnish of a thousand years of decoration. Episcopalians will pour upon him whatever of bitterness frequent discharges may have left in their capacious receptacles of gall; for no man has so pitilessly and effectually swung the axe to the root of hierarchical pretensions, or so complacently torn away the antique silver veil from the face of the ecclesiastical Mokanna, so long venerated as Holy Catholic Church. Calvinists will never forgive his assaults upon their fundamental and precious dogma of damning original sin, nor Arminians forget his impatience of preventing grace. Trinitarians will be shy of the companionship of the unruly spirit that declines the use of their favourite phrase, and Unitarians will curl the lip in scorn at his fervent faith in the redemption through the blood of Jesus. Each will fear to commend what he approves, lest he be suspected of allowing what he condemns; and all will be satisfied to sacrifice the good which is common to others, if they may prevent the evil special to themselves. A book must have a more than feline vitality to maintain its existence when its enemies are all eager to destroy, and its friends all afraid to deliver.

We are Methodists. After all our reading and hearing and thinking, we have found no form of doctrine more acceptable to our understanding than that delivered to us by John Wesley. Not that we suppose him to have found a solvent for all previous insolubles, and crystallized out of his solution a pure and determinate truth, accurate in all its angles and smooth upon all its facets. Himself has taught us better. The boldest and sincerest of evangelical eclectics, he followed truth, without regard to the beaten paths of orthodoxy; and died at last far in advance of his creed, striving in vain to stretch the elastic symbols of the Church of England over the ground he had won from error and superstition. The temper of his mind may be inferred from a single golden precept, which should be treasured in the memory of every thinking man:— "Although every man necessarily believes that every particular opinion which he holds is true, (for to believe any opinion is not true is the same thing as not to hold it,) yet can no man be assured that all his own opinions, taken together, are true. Nay, every thinking man is assured they are not, seeing, *humanum est errare et nescire*, to be ignorant of many things and to mistake in some is the necessary condition of humanity. This, therefore, he is sensible is his own case. He knows, in general, that he himself is mistaken,

Digitized by Google

although in what particulars he mistakes he does not, perhaps he cannot, know."

If such be the case, (and who can doubt it, except the presumptuous man who, by doubting, proves himself a subject of the rule?) why should we form for ourselves a cast-iron theology, in which we must lie without the least liberty of motion, however pressed by its narrowness and galled by its inequalities? and why should we furiously resist the approaches of those who, whether able to do so or not, propose to make our bed more tolerable? God forbid that we should suppose it possible for us to be mistaken as to what He requires of men in order to their salvation, or that we should extend the hand of Christian fellowship to any one who may presume to teach things contrary to the positive declarations of Jehovah! There are precious doctrines too clearly revealed, and too essential to saving action, to be regarded as proper subjects for investigation. They are not *opinions*, more than the laws written upon tables of stone by the finger of God were the opinions of Moses and the Jews. They are elementary, essential truths, forever separated from the domain of *opinion*, and authoritatively declared by the Almighty. God's word is ultimate truth. As with the diamond, to analyze is to decompose and destroy it.

But connected with these few absolute teachings are many inferences and extended applications and conjectural speculations and philosophical explications more or less important, but the notions of which need not interfere between a man and his God—may not impede repentance, nor faith, nor holiness. About these we hold *opinions*, but we hold them modestly, under the advice of Mr. Wesley, that "as a whole they must be incomplete and erroneous;"—we hold them subject to instruction. We will reason about them, not quarrel for them. We are glad to compare them with the opinions of others, to correct them if we can, to make them a means of correction if we may, keeping always in view as a corrective to intemperate zeal another saying of Mr. Wesley: "Without *holiness* no man shall see the Lord; but I dare not add, *without clear ideas*."

Unfortunately it is precisely of these *opinions* that we are apt to be most tenacious, valuing them in proportion to the difficulty we have in defending and retaining them. It was so with the Jews of old, and there was a great deal of human nature in the Jews. They are an example to us, not as the children of Abraham, but as the children of Adam. The generation is far from being extinct of those who tithe mint and anise and neglect the weightier matters of the law, or whose system of theology makes the less certain the greater—the philosophy of man to comprehend and enclose the

Digitized by Google

religion of God. While we trust that we are as far from latitudinarianism as we pray God to keep us from bigotry, we feel that every man who loves the Lord with sincerity is our blood kin in Christ Jesus, and we will not deal harshly here with those with whom we hope to dwell happily hereafter. In such spirit we now proceed, as space will permit, to examine the work before us. The author's good temper shall be an example for our own, and his honesty will demand no apology for ours.

The first part of the work consists of an elaborate disquisition upon the fundamental subject in all Christian Theology, the credibility of the Scripture writers. Probably many will suppose this essay supererogatory. The divine authority of the Holy Books is now seldom openly attacked. By tacit consent the great multitude of people, learned and unlearned, who speak the English language, seem to have come to the conclusion that the Scriptures are true, and on the part of those whose feelings or offices cause them to watch over the orthodoxy of the multitude there is frequently considerable impatience of any discussion which may impel them to examine the grounds of their faith. Nor can it be concealed that this indisposition to excite the public mind to such examination is founded upon a correct knowledge of the baseless fabric of that faith which is almost universally a mere passive assent to the dogmas of tradition—in very few cases a rational conviction of the truth. Why, it is asked, shall we disturb the happy simplicity of that reliance which answers all the practical purposes of belief, and engender suspicion in order to beget faith? If people are satisfied that the Scriptures are true, what matters it whether the grounds of their satisfaction are well chosen or tenable?

The spirit which dictates these and similar expressions is one of fearful ignorance of the real condition of the public mind upon this all-important matter. There is a wide difference in the practical activity of a truth passively acquiesced in, and one attained by a process of inquiry and reflection. The hold of the former upon the understanding and the heart is feeble and fitful compared with the tenure of that which is valued as the result of toil, the achievement of the understanding, the happy settlement of vexed questions whose agitation has roused every faculty of the mind, and stirred every feeling of the heart. The great multitude, who assent to the authority of Scripture because they know no reason to the contrary, remain, as we see every day, to a most lamentable extent uninfluenced by its teachings, utterly heedless of its solemn declarations. But when did a man become a Christian from investigation of the claims of Christianity without bowing his mind and soul to its authority?

Digitized by Google

Under the uniform appearance of assent there is in reality much doubt and perplexity, and that, too, in the minds of truly pious men and women. Some persons must think; it is a law of their intellectual nature, and they cannot always stifle a doubt in ejaculatory prayer, or avoid inquiry by fleeing it as temptation. Their minds are a continual battle-ground for the maintenance of the fundamental principles upon which they are labouring to build a secure superstructure. Like the Jews of old, they are compelled to toil at the walls of Jerusalem with a weapon in one hand and a tool in the other. Again, to what but this defect of intelligent faith among the people can we attribute the amazing facility with which even the pious are deluded by the absurd religions and clumsy trickeries which seem, from time to time, to be thrown out upon the earth by the Arch-mocker, as satanic comments upon the sagacity and piety of the age? How is it that the apostles of Mormonism and Swedenborg and Mesmer, and even the mountebanks who call themselves spiritual rappers, are so frequently successful over the faith of Christians? Simply, because that faith had no root in the mind. It had merely been placed upon the understanding—it had never penetrated it.

We consider this part of the work before us as well timed, and certainly it is very ably executed. The author has fully vindicated the sagacity of a late British writer, who declared that no satisfactory work upon this subject could be written, except in the United States. He argues the credibility of the Scriptures upon the only sure principles, and we cannot anticipate that any honest man will read this argument and refuse to acknowledge the logical distinctions of the author. We only regret that the bulk of the work and the distasteful speculations it contains will always prevent its being read by the many to whom it would prove an intelligible and satisfactory argument.

The author commences by showing what the Scriptures profess to be, and what is the theory upon which they have been constructed. He contends that no investigation concerning their truth or falsehood can be rationally undertaken but by discussing them according to their own theory. The importance of this position is briefly shown by the absurd reasoning of Atheists and Deists, who have condemned the Scriptures upon abstract considerations, founded upon the supposition that the revelations made in them are contrary to the moral perfections and omnipotence of God.

Our author finds, in the simple circumstance that God has placed man in a probationary state, a satisfactory solution of the difficulties which philosophers and theologians have found in the application of God's nature to his government of mankind. Furnished with

Digitized by Google

this probationary key, Dr. M'Culloh thinks we may unlock all those fetters of the understanding, which, under the name of *original evil*, God's foreknowledge and permissive providence, have so long galled the restless minds of men, all the perplexity upon these subjects being due to defective comprehension of the nature and necessities of a probationary state. Upon this theory the Scriptures must be examined. Upon this they may fairly be interrogated, and upon this their replies are always triumphantly consistent. If man be in a state of probation, it is evident that all the phenomena exhibited in the physical, moral, intellectual, and social condition of mankind must be harmonious with such a probation. Even the position of the Deity towards the human race must be ascertained in view of this fundamental fact; for it is plain that if God should exercise the abstract excellencies of his perfection and providence towards them, they could by no possibility exert a free agency, and the conditions of the probationary state could not be fulfilled.

To correct what he considers a common mistake in the theory of probation, our author endeavours to show that this condition of man must not be regarded as at all operative upon the mind of the Deity. In the Doctor's view it amounts to nothing more than the simple fact, that, instead of making men perfect at once, God, for an ulterior purpose, has so constituted them, as intellectual and moral free agents, that he has left them to act as they may choose; at the same time announcing to them that those who will perfect themselves in righteousness, through the divine assistance freely offered to all, shall be made inheritors of an everlasting kingdom of righteousness and peace, while those who will not thus prepare themselves shall be cut off with an everlasting destruction. That mankind are free agents in the fullest sense, our author thinks to be involved in the fact that God has proposed a reward for the righteous, and declared a corresponding condemnation upon the wicked. In pursuing this subject he comes suddenly upon the Calvinists, whose theological see-saw he unceremoniously upsets, claiming them as actual believers in free agency whatever inconsistency there may be between their belief and their creed.

In connexion with this subject we find in the appendix an admirable article on the Nature of Motives, to which we would call the particular attention of those of our readers whose minds may have been perplexed by the subtilties of theologians upon this subject. We are free to confess that we have no disposition to pursue the study of truth beyond the limits of phenomenal exhibition. Of the possibility of a science of essences we are utter sceptics.

Digitized by Google

and therefore are never troubled to explain the ultimate modes of intellectual and spiritual life. Following up the phenomena of moral action, we arrive at a point where we must recognise an independent governing principle, an elementary will, not compounded of moral conditions, nor merely representing the intellectual circumstances of the man. This will is plainly recognised by the Almighty, and beyond it and above it He recognises nothing. The ingenious arguments against this independence of will are to us mere sophistries. Dr. M'Culloh has done good service by exposing the fallacy of the Necessitarians upon the subject of motives. We extract a few paragraphs of his article upon this subject:—

"But here I shall be told, by the advocates of the doctrine of necessity, that the will has no such liberty, whether in choosing its animal or intellectual gratifications; but that we are impelled by motives to take a particular course, which is always determined by the *strongest motive*, not by any free will or choice of our own.

"Now, however plausible this argument may seem, there cannot be the least difficulty in showing that it is a simple sophism, whose force consists in the equivocal meaning given to the term, *strongest motive*. Does it imply the wisest, the most prudent, most judicious, or most conscientious inducement for action? It does not imply any such meaning. The *strongest motive* of the Necessitarians implies that it is the *prevailing motive*, no matter whether it be good or bad, wise or foolish, beneficial or injurious. Since men are, undeniably, influenced by motives to act in some manner or other, so it does not signify what the character of the motive may be, *that* motive the Necessitarians assert is the strongest. But why strongest? Because it prevails. *Strongest motive*, then, is clearly synonymous with *prevailing motive*.

"The use of the word *strongest* is, then, a begging of the question, and its force, as an argument with the Necessitarians against the doctrine of free agency, lies in the equivocation of implying *prevailing*. As every action of man is induced by some motive or other, so some motive or other must *prevail* over other motives. This we all admit must be the case. The advocates of liberty insist the motive prevails according to the intelligent estimation we make on the subject, whether as a matter of gratification, advantage, or duty. The advocates of necessity say the motive prevails because it is the strongest. Now if they will define *strongest* to imply any other meaning than *prevailing*, it can be proved against them on all sides that men do not follow the strongest motive; and if they merely give it the significance of *prevailing*, then their argument amounts to this, that a man will follow whatever he will follow—that he will do whatever he will do; which is a conclusion that no one can deny, but which it would be absurd in the last degree to consider as justifying the doctrine of necessity.

"But we have a further objection to urge against this doctrine of the Necessitarians as respects the signification to be attached to the term *motive*, for their assumption as to its meaning is a palpable *petitio principii* that covers the whole ground of controversy. Thus the celebrated Jonathan Edwards, the most renowned advocate of the doctrine, says, in his 'Discourse on the Will,' that he means by the term *motive* 'the whole of that which moves, excites, or invites the mind to volition, whether that be one thing singly or many things conjointly.' The definition constitutes the radical fallacy of his whole work, for he uses the term as comprehending a variety of particulars that are not motives at all, as we now proceed to show."

Digitized by Google

We would gladly quote, for the gratification of our readers, the admirable argument which follows; but our limits will not permit us to do so. The exposition of the subject by Dr. M'Culloh is plain, logical, and satisfactory. He shows conclusively that human liberty is not the liberty of the slave,—

"Trusted with a muzzle, and enfranchised with a clog,"—

but a *bona fide* freedom, independent and responsible.

The probationary theory of the Scriptures being established, our author proceeds to inquire whether they are a revelation from Jehovah, or a fraudulent imposition upon mankind. Preparatory to this investigation, he exhibits the necessity of understanding the value or truth of the principles by which it is to be conducted. He utterly denies the propriety of the common assumptions upon which the origin and authority of the Holy Scriptures have hitherto been tested. Of these the most prominent is the postulate of the Deists, that God is absolutely excellent and perfect in certain attributes. To suffer them to assume this is to permit them to use the fundamental truths of revelation as truths, while with them they assail the very revelation upon whose validity they rest. For whether God exists in such perfections is exclusively a Scriptural dogma. It never has been and never can be ascertained by inspection of the external world, or observation of God's moral government. Whether God exists in such moral perfections and omnipotent power is a question which depends for answer upon the previous one of the credibility of the Scriptures, and cannot, therefore, be assumed by either party to the present controversy. If the Deists need this basis for an argument against revelation they must find it outside of revelation. The question is between the God of nature and the God of the Bible. Let Deists array *their* God in his own ascertained attributes, but not in the glory and majesty of *ours*.

Our author most ably vindicates our right to this position by an examination of Natural Theology, Natural Religion, and the Theory of Moral Distinctions, showing that we can learn nothing from these sources concerning the nature, attributes, or government of God. These views he has largely sustained by an examination of the speculations of the heathen philosophers, making it appear that every system of philosophy or metaphysics, whether ancient or modern, which has attempted the elucidation of moral phenomena upon merely human principles and natural knowledge, has universally terminated in scepticism or utter doubtfulness as to what men ought to believe concerning God, nature, providence, or mankind. In short, that a Natural Theology is an impossibility.

Digitized by Google

After showing that we can learn nothing of God from Natural Theology, nor from any external exhibition the Deity has made in the world, our author proceeds to investigate the credibility of the Scriptures, which claim to furnish that important information desired by all, but neither procured nor procurable from any other source.

In order to this examination, Dr. M'Culloh waives as illogical and unsatisfactory the ordinary arguments used by the defenders of Revelation, and assumes that the only just plan of procedure is to examine the credibility of the Scripture writers in precisely the same manner in which we would ascertain the credibility of written human testimony upon any other subject.

This is a most important position. That any of the able controversialists, who have from time to time undertaken to vindicate the credibility of Scripture, should have overlooked the apparently obvious truth that the question is simply one of human testimony, is truly unaccountable. Yet the fact itself is plain and palpable. Can we establish the credibility of the Scripture writers upon the fulfilment of prophecy? Even if we could show, independently of the sacred record, that certain predictions have been verified, how shall we ascertain the character and nature of the Superhuman Being by whom they were uttered? That prophecies have been accomplished, is evidence that they were uttered by a Prescient Being; but it does not follow that the Prescient Being is the one God of the Bible. Can we establish the credibility of Scripture upon miracles? How, without Scripture, can we show that these miracles were wrought, and wrought by the power of the specific Being to whom we attribute them? That it is perfectly possible to resist this evidence when most vividly presented is plain from the fact that men who saw them did come to adverse conclusions in the matter, admitting the miracles, but denying the direction of their attestation. But if we can procure the admission of the divine authority of the prophets and apostles, how shall we compel men to acknowledge the faithfulness of the divine messengers to their mission, and the entire purity of the doctrines they delivered? Nor can we find impregnable refuge in the morality of the Scriptures, heavenly as it is, for the moral teaching of Christianity is but half its revelation. Where is the guarantee that the ethical system which approves itself to our understanding is necessarily connected with that mysterious doctrine of the atonement which bewilders our reason?

It is evident that all inferences and collateral arguments, however strong as secondary and corroboratory supports to faith, are not firm enough to furnish its foundation. The credibility of the Scripture writers rests upon the results of a fair and logical examination of

Digitized by Google

their knowledge of the matters they relate, and their honesty in proclaiming them. By this examination they must stand or fall; and by this the Bible can be vindicated, with a power altogether irresistible.

We know that men, who have long given habitual assent to the Scriptures as a whole, commonly find no difficulty in proving any of its doctrines to their satisfaction without reference to the question of the credibility of the writer whose statements they may be defending. They first assume the truth, then reason from it. It is amusing to observe with what complacency men will argue around a circle upon such occasions. Take, for an instance, the Easter Sermon, familiar as eating eggs, in which the happy preacher, sure of a successful argument, demonstrates the fact of the resurrection of our Lord. One would suppose that it would be plain enough that whether this great event did take place is to be determined only by ascertaining the credibility of the witness who testifies of it. But the preacher, taking the statement for truth as he finds it, proceeds to show that the counter-evidence of the Roman guards, as there narrated, is absurd, and he has a clear field of it. For if they were asleep they had no testimony to give, and if they were not they evidently lied. But then how do we know that they ever made such a statement? "Because the Evangelist says so." The Evangelist also says that Jesus rose; and if his statements be assumed as true, what is the use of any argument upon the matter?

The method pursued by Dr. M'Culloh is most conclusive and satisfactory. The result cannot be gainsayed without overturning all historical truth and stultifying mankind, who have in all ages found satisfaction in the consequences of the same principles applied to similar investigations.

There are but two methods by which we can be made certain of the authenticity of a divine communication. We must either receive it ourselves in such a way as to make error with regard to it impossible, or we must take it upon the testimony of others. The Almighty has not seen fit to make his revelation separately to every individual born into the world, for reasons which must be vividly apparent to any who think upon the matter. All but a selected few must then depend for the fact and purity of Revelation upon human testimony, and the truth of this testimony admits but of one form of demonstration. Direct evidence is out of the question; for should many testify to the same divine appearance, or message, or miraculous attestations, they by such testimony immediately become principals in the controversy, and must have their own credibility sustained. In fact, direct testimony is never satisfactory in itself.

Digitized by Google

In doubtful matters it is never relied upon; for what is called direct evidence is valuable or not, entirely upon the judgment which has to be formed upon the intelligence and veracity of the witness, and these are determined upon the consideration of various *circumstances* affecting his character and conduct. If direct evidence could be conclusive in itself, the testimony of one man would be as decisive as that of another. That it is not so we all know. The word of one man is often entirely satisfactory when the oath of another is utterly disbelieved. Why is this? Because the *circumstances* attending the evidence of the one are such as to demonstrate his veracity. His well-known principles of conduct, his previous life, his *character*, in short, give demonstration of his truthfulness.

When we place the credibility of the Scriptures upon the certainty of circumstantial testimony, we place it upon the only sure and certain ground of demonstration, and the only one possible in such inquiries. The method we pursue is even strictly mathematical. It is a legitimate process of reasoning, even in geometrical demonstrations, to state a fact positively and to show its truth by the impossibility of the negative. It is true that many are in the habit of disposing summarily of this question by appealing to the consciousness of believers, who know from the effects of the gospel the truth of its teachings. Far from undervaluing this testimony, we must remember, however, that it is not available in a controversy with unbelievers, nor satisfactory to the Christian himself in many conditions of mind to which he is subject in his warfare. The soul shaken by temptation cannot be steadied by taking hold upon itself; it must have external support.

Moses was either what he claimed to be, or he was something else. Let us suppose him to have been anything else, and test him by his doctrines and his conduct, and the absurdity of the supposition can be made so glaring that the hypothesis must be abandoned. His pretensions have been before the world for thousands of years. If he was anything else than he assumed to be, there has been abundant time and opportunity to have discovered the hypothesis by which the facts concerning him can be explained. Such an hypothesis has never been framed, and we may well conclude the negative impossible. In fact, the plausible assumptions possible in such a case are very few. Moses was either a politician, who desired the good of his people and assumed the divine legation as a benevolent fraud to insure compliance with wise economical regulations; or he was a selfish man, actuated by a paramount desire for power, or wealth, or sensual gratifications, or for perpetuating a dominant family—in short, by some such considerations as are purely human;

Digitized by Google

or he was a mixed character, at once patriotic and ambitious, benevolent and selfish; or he was a man of priestly caste, possessed by the *esprit du corps*, and aiming to establish an impregnable sacerdotal authority over the Jewish nation. Tested upon any of these hypotheses, his conduct is utterly inexplicable and incomprehensible. The amount of irreducible absurdity which presents itself to be harmonized upon any of these suppositions is amazing even to believers in the truth. Dr. M'Culloh has briefly recapitulated a number of them, and we would gladly quote from his exposition but for the impropriety of weakening the argument by presenting only fragments of it.

There is one fact which the author has not enumerated which we would respectfully ask some impugner of Moses to explain upon any possible theory of his character but his own.* After having led the Israelitish nation out of bondage, and succeeded in preserving their confidence for more than forty years; after having brought them to the boundaries of Canaan, and to the verge of the accomplishment of all his promises to them, he felt that he must die, and took a solemn farewell of his people. Why was it that he chose to invent a lie in order to convince the whole nation that his death was *punitory*—that he was not to depart through the inevitable necessities of worn-out nature, nor to be translated to heaven as a reward for his goodness, but to be cut off as a punishment for sin? Why did he employ his last moments and exhaust his invention in devising a means of lessening his own fame and traducing his own character?

That a patriotic and wise lawgiver should enjoin upon the whole nation to abstain from cultivating the soil every seventh year, under the delusive promise of periodical and supernatural superabundance; that he should oblige all the males of a defenceless country, surrounded by hostile nations, to assemble at Jerusalem at stated periods, under the assurance of divine protection to their homes during their absence; that an ambitious man should assume no political rank nor distinction for himself and family and immediate friends; that a selfish man should acquire no property as a natural reward for his eminent services, nor ask any kindness for his descendants; that a man actuated by merely human principles should represent himself as dying under the frown of the God whose oracle and administration he had so long professed to be, and that he should not even have provided for his body a funeral and a grave; that a zealous ecclesiastic should have established a system in which ecclesiastics

* This circumstance is cursorily alluded to by Horne in his argument for the credibility of Moses.

Digitized by Google

only were forbidden to hold real estate, and must commence their residence in the promised land by a formal renunciation of their fair share of the soil they had equally acquired; that their provision should amount to nothing more than the fruits of their surrendered inheritance, and that this tithe should be a voluntary payment, secured by no statute of collection nor any ecclesiastical penalty; that their persons should not be protected by any sacredness, and that their office should be endowed with no political power; above all, that access to the Almighty should not be through them but open to every man—these are some of the paradoxes which the impugners of the sacred Scriptures must solve before they can discredit Moses. We thank Dr. M'Culloh for letting us know the extent and availability of our means of defence.

Our author makes great use of the fact, that though the Deity frequently made communications to the Jews, he very rarely did so through the priests, but commonly through laymen of various characters and conditions, holding no official relation to the ecclesiastical establishment. These communications were often most offensive to kings and priests. Sometimes the prophet was a child, sometimes a woman; generally they were rude and obscure men. What ecclesiastical or political establishment, based upon merely human considerations, could have endured such authoritative interference as this, much less distinctly recognised it? What sort of kingcraft and priestcraft is exhibited in the picture of the monarch and the high-priest of Judah applying for heavenly counsel through Huldah, the female keeper of the royal wardrobe?

Pursuing the same method of examination, our author demonstrates the credibility of the apostles of our Lord, whom he shows to have been merely the same class of men as the Old Testament prophets, an identity of the utmost importance in his subsequent inquiry into the constitution of the Christian Church.

Having established the credibility of the Scripture writers, our author proceeds to an investigation of the canon of Scripture, the integrity and inspiration of the text, &c., in which we find nothing entirely new, and therefore we do not think it necessary to occupy our little remaining space by comments upon it.

The author then undertakes an interpretation of the Scriptures, which he effects by means of four historical investigations:—1st. Concerning the Paradisaical condition of Adam and Eve; 2d. The Patriarchal Dispensation; 3d. The Jewish Dispensation: 4th. The Christian Dispensation. As these "investigations" are essentially historical expositions, carried out to very considerable extent, it would be impossible for us to follow the

Digitized by Google

author through his details. The substantial result, as estimated by him, is to establish the leading fact of his work, that mankind are in a probationary state, as intellectual and moral free agents, who have been left by their Creator to act as they see proper in this life, subject ultimately to the rigid scrutiny of the day of judgment, when all things shall be brought to the appointed consummation.

But as the conclusions to which Dr. M'Culloh arrives upon certain particulars involved in the Scriptural history of God's proceedings with mankind are very different from prevailing theological opinions, we do not feel at liberty to pass the principal points of disagreement without notice.

In the exposition of the Paradisaical state of Adam and Eve, our author avows his strong dissent from the doctrine of original sin, which he thinks to be entirely inconsistent both with Scripture and with facts. We have neither space nor inclination to engage in the interminable and unprofitable discussion of the several theories by which ingenious men have endeavoured to solve the inexplicable riddle of the existence of universal evil in the dominions of an omnipotent Being who is himself universally good, and to reconcile man's strict accountability with his natural depravity. So far as the Scriptures enlighten us upon the subject we are content to walk by faith, and beyond this we have no hope in speculations. That God's dealings to his creatures cannot be reconciled to our notions of propriety upon barely human reasoning is certain. Even if we, upon our theory, and Dr. M'Culloh upon his, find full satisfaction in contemplating our heavenly Father's conduct towards men, we have but overcome one difficulty to encounter another; for we must next examine His dealings to the brute creation, who, without any moral delinquency of their federal head, or any probationary imperfection, are subject to bodily evils similar to our own, while their instincts compel them to worry and destroy one another—the principle of love being almost, if not altogether, excluded from the system under which they are made to live; their condition allowing of conduct analogous only to the wickedness, never to the virtues of man. The truth seems to us to be that, inasmuch as man fell by presumptuously preferring the tree of knowledge to the tree of life, intellectual power to moral good, God has so constructed his plan of redemption that this proud intellectualism shall be prostrated in the dust before him. He treats it with profound indifference. He dictates his commands to us as a God, and claims our obedience because he is God. He never deigns to explain the rationale of his government nor his salvation. He states to us clearly our duty, our privileges, and the

Digitized by Google

consequences of our life. So far as is necessary to a clear comprehension of these, and to a proper appreciation of them, he has enlightened us; but no further. His revelation is entirely practical; it is intended to save men from sin, and prepare them for heaven; beyond this purpose it is mute. Men may draw inferences and found speculations upon the Scriptures at will; but whether they be right or wrong, the Deity vouchsafes no decision. To all these inquiries the unvarying answer comes forth from God, "Strive to enter in at the strait gate."

That all men are sinners, is a truth clearly taught in the Bible, and verified by every day's observation. If all men do sin, have sinned, and always will sin, then we say it is their nature to sin—that is, that the necessity of sinning is a law of their life, depending upon their physical and moral constitution. Dr. M'Culloh does not deny the universal sinfulness of men; on the contrary, he expressly admits it, but he contends that this sinfulness is the result of their natural imperfection, and not of any pravity entailed upon them by Adam's fall. He insists, however, upon the absolute necessity of God's grace and the atonement of our Lord Jesus Christ for the salvation of men, and does not appear to differ at all as to practical teachings from the most earnest advocates of "original sin." The question, then, between us and our author, if we comprehend his meaning, is simply the abstract one, How man came into a given state of sin? We contend, solely upon the ground of what we believe to be the teaching of revelation, that men are in some mysterious way morally implicated in the fall of our first parents. That upon principles of government, to us unintelligible, God has so connected us with his retributions upon Adam and Eve, that our physical and moral state have been altered thereby, in such way that the one has become naturally subject to disease and dissolution, and the other to sin and death. Dr. M'Culloh, on the contrary, supposes that while man's body was implicated in Adam's fall, his soul was not so, except that the condition of its probation was thenceforth changed. Nevertheless, being imperfect in order to probation, coming into the world ignorant of God, without mature judgment or the light of experience, pervaded with strong animal impulses, men must necessarily sin, and having sinned can only be saved by the means God has appointed—redemption by Jesus Christ, and sanctification by the Holy Ghost.

The issue thus made is obviously not a practical one. Two physicians meet to consult upon the case of a patient. The disease is plain enough and bad enough. The man is evidently about to perish unless some remedy be administered to him. The doctors

Digitized by Google

agree entirely as to the nature of the disease, and its consequences, and each advises the same specific remedy, both asserting it to be infallible. But, beginning to theorize about the matter, one insists that the poor man inherited the disease from his father, while the other contends that he engendered it in his own constitution as the inevitable result of the circumstances under which he lived. The question is evidently not practical. The counsel to the patient is not based upon the doctrine of inheritance, nor spontaneity, nor at all influenced by the theories of the advisers, but is administered upon sure knowledge of its efficacy. The question would, indeed, be one of life and death, should one of the physicians propose a different course of treatment founded upon his theory. Our author represents one of the physicians in the first part of the illustration, and we think, with all respect, that he has unnecessarily encumbered his work with his speculations upon this subject. We cannot perceive that his exposition of the matter helps us out of our difficulties. Every objection to the implication of man's soul in the fall is equally applicable to the implication of his body; for an unjust principle cannot be made just by a more limited or less important application of it. At the most the author can only consider himself to have got one foot out of the morass, while the other is fixed immovably in it. We prefer not to enter it at all, even with his guidance. We consider the whole matter inexplicable; and we receive the teaching of the Scriptures upon it, so far as we comprehend it, with implicit faith.

We agree with Dr. M'Culloh, that in the matter of original sin the Calvinistic divines have gone greatly too far. Indeed, we believe that they have thrown out their kedge farther than they have ever been able to warp up their faith, for we doubt whether any man ever really believed to the full extent and universal application the dogma that children are born into the world "*utterly indisposed, disabled, and made opposite to all good, and wholly inclined to all evil.*" Let any man, for a few moments, consider what the consequences of such a state would be—what a brood of demons every family of children! What a *pandemonium* every nursery, if the little human beings, full of hate and cruelty, loving all wickedness because it is wicked, hating all good because it is good, as yet uncontrolled by fear, could come into contact and collision with each other! How could Jesus say of these, Of such is the kingdom of heaven? How could they be patterns of humility, when in reality they were by nature "utterly indisposed and disabled," and made opposite to that virtue, and wholly inclined to pride and rebellion? And how would it accelerate an entrance into the kingdom of heaven "to become as

Digitized by Google

little children," that is, "opposite to all good, and inclined to all evil?" The fact is, the definition given by the Westminster divines of *man* would be full and complete if applied to a *devil*. Nothing worse can possibly be said of Satan than that he is "utterly indisposed, disabled, and opposite to all good, and wholly inclined to all evil."

If we press these views upon a Calvinist the universal reply is that we urge the doctrine to extremes; which, in view of the palpable fact that the definition is as extreme as words can make it, merely means that it is too extreme for practical application, and in reality too extreme to be believed.

That men are born aliens from God, without that communion of his Spirit necessary to a spiritual life, is true. That until reunited to God they must be wholly incompetent to perform the duties and accomplish the benevolent purposes of their probationary state, and that in the eyes of God their conduct as to himself must, when viewed in the light of a perfect law, be wholly sinful, is, we think, clearly taught us in the Scriptures. That man's moral condition at the fall was changed through the privation of the Holy Spirit in the power with which He originally dwelt in man, and not by the infusion into him by his Creator of an evil principle, is, we think, clearly inferable from Scripture and facts. But that men are naturally human devils, hating good and loving evil, in the fullest sense of abstract principles, we do not believe; and neither, we think, does any one else.

With regard to the essential inherent nature of our Lord, Dr. M'Culloh professes to be without any opinion. He considers that we have no clear revelation upon the subject; and that, therefore, the subject, being without revelation, utterly incomprehensible, has nothing whatever to do with Christian faith. All that has been distinctly communicated to us, is that in virtue of his humiliation, personal suffering and death, he became the author or basis of our salvation, and evermore exists as our Saviour, Mediator, or High-Priest before Jehovah, through whom only we can obtain the forgiveness of our sins and everlasting acceptance hereafter in the kingdom of heaven." "Whether the apostles themselves possessed any knowledge concerning the inherent nature of Jesus Christ, or of the theory by which the salvation of mankind was accomplished, I altogether doubt; for why should they forbear to communicate it when their great business was to convince and convert the world? . . . They have made no communication to mankind on these particulars, &c., &c." Notwithstanding the "absolute incomprehensibility of the inherent nature, or personality of Jesus Christ," the author thinks, "It is abundantly clear from the New Testament writers that Jesus Christ

Digitized by Google

died for our sins; that he is our *High-Priest, Mediator* and *Advocate before God;* and that he shall at the last day, *as our Judge, determine our future and eternal condition.*"

Dr. M'Culloh argues this proposition (the incomprehensibility of the inherent nature of Jesus) from the considerations: 1st. That it has not been clearly revealed; and 2d. That our Saviour himself cut short all inquiry upon the subject by the declaration (Luke x, 22): "*No one knoweth who the Son is but the Father.*"

In showing that no doctrine upon this subject has been revealed, our author urges as conclusive the fact that the Christian world has always been divided in opinion about it. (Page 358, Vol. I.) But surely this argument would apply to the doctrine of the atonement quite as irresistibly. The author asserts that the fact that the great majority of Christians have adopted the Trinitarian hypothesis is no evidence of its truth, as majorities are by no means necessarily right, and in matters of religion have often been egregiously wrong. There is a very subtile sophism, however, in his reasoning upon this matter; for while repudiating the authority of the majority to decide the question in the affirmative, he actually permits the minority to decide it in the negative. For his syllogism amounts to this: —No doctrine can be clearly revealed which has always been disputed by a large minority of Christians; but the doctrine of the Trinity has been always thus disputed; therefore the doctrine of the Trinity is not true. Here we have a most important example of the *negative pregnant with an affirmative;* for by denying the Trinitarian hypothesis in this instance, the author makes us, by an evident extension of the procedure, affirm the "incomprehensible one," which is as much an hypothesis as the other.

Our author proves very clearly, by an array of Scripture texts, that the apostles commonly offered Jesus simply as the promised Messiah of the Jews and the Redeemer of men; but he takes no notice of other passages which seem to us to be most positive declarations of the Divinity of our Lord. We can afford to surrender to the Arians, (among whom we by no means intend to include Dr. M'Culloh,) all the texts upon the authenticity of which they have been able to cast a doubt. We can abandon 1 John v, 7, "There are three that bear record, &c.," which we believe to be spurious, and submit to the Arian interpretation of 1 Tim. iii, 16: "*God manifest in the flesh,*" &c., of which passage, however, Dr. M'Culloh has been misled in saying, "All the ancient manuscripts are against the reading of our printed Bibles!" The contrary is the case: for (see Bloomfield, Greek Testament, note on this place) only four manuscripts support the reading of Griesbach,

Digitized by Google

which Dr. M'Culloh adopts. He perhaps intended "*versions*" instead of manuscripts.

Yet, without these passages, the testimony of the New Testament to the essential Divinity of Christ is to our apprehension abundantly satisfactory. The introduction to the Gospel of John, the authenticity of which is confessedly impregnable, is alone sufficient to prove the inherent Divinity of Him who "in the beginning was with God, and was God."*

Then we have our Lord's declaration to Philip; Thomas's permitted and commended homage, "My Lord and my God," † (John xx, 28;) the many strong passages in the apostolic writings, such as Colossians i, 16, 17: "For by Him were all things created that are in heaven and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers: all things were created by Him and for Him: and He is before all things, and by Him all things consist;" and that of John: "This is the true God and Eternal Life!" The whole book of Revelation is also positive upon this point.

Dr. M'Culloh lays great stress upon the words of our Lord, Luke x, 22: *No man knoweth the Son but the Father.* He cites this passage repeatedly, and puts it in capitals, as decisive of the presumption of all who profess to hold any opinions upon the inherent nature of our Lord. But he should have quoted the whole passage of which the part in question is but a dislocated fragment. The text reads: "All things are delivered to me of my Father; and no man knoweth who the Son is but the Father; and *who the Father is but the Son*, and he to whom the Son will reveal him." If this passage proves that men are excluded from believing in the inherent Divinity of the Son, it does so also of the Father, unless we suppose that the true revelation of the Father was subsequently made by the Son, of which we have no evidence whatsoever. That the passage teaches that the comprehension of the mystery of the Godhead and incarnation of Jesus are possible only to God, we admit; but Dr. M'Culloh seems to have confounded the incomprehensible with the incredible.

* The reader who may be curious to see the effect of this passage upon the mind of a determined Socinian, will be gratified by consulting Kenrick's exposition. He makes two trials at interpretation opposite to each other, and *gives the reader his choice.* If this be *exposition*, it is easy work.

† Of this passage Kenrick says: "These words are no more than an exclamation of the apostle, the effect of sudden surprise and astonishment;" so that to make Thomas a Socinian he represents him as a profane man, who, when surprised or astonished, took the name of God in vain, even in the presence of the Messiah.

Digitized by Google

Certainly we can believe in an eternal, omnipresent, and omniscient Being, without comprehending anything of his nature; and so we can believe in the Divinity of Jesus, although his nature, too, is utterly beyond our comprehension.

Though to receive Jesus as the Messiah is the only condition of salvation by him, yet we are helped greatly thus to receive him by a sure confidence in his Divinity. Indeed, to occupy the position chosen by Dr. M'Culloh would to most persons prove an impossible intellectual feat. "It would be like sitting on the ridge of a house without inclining either way." To receive Jesus as the Messiah, we find it necessary to regard him as higher than all created intelligences, and when we have imagined a Being prior to, and necessary to, and unaffected by, all created things, we have imagined God. Dr. M'Culloh himself, we doubt not, believes in the Divinity of our Lord. He has shrunk from the bewildering inquiry into the mode of Divine Being, and shut up his mind against all conclusion upon the subject; but we think it will not be difficult for him to trace his sure confidence in Jesus to the certainty that the "Word was God."

With regard to the resurrection of the dead, Dr. M'Culloh adopts the views of Mr. Locke, which seem also to have been acceptable to Archbishop Whately. The doctrine is, that by the resurrection of *the dead* is not meant of the *dead body*, but only the revivification of dead persons, who remain in unconsciousness until the great and terrible day of the Lord. The argument as presented by our author contains a very full examination of the many passages of Scripture bearing upon this interesting point. It is, of course, impossible that we should follow him through his exposition. We will only comment upon one Greek criticism upon which the case mainly rests.

Dr. M'Culloh says:—

"The Scriptures say expressly, *The dead* shall be raised; but nowhere, that the *dead bodies* of men shall be raised. These terms are entirely different, and the distinction is clearly expressed in the Greek of the New Testament. . . . The Greek word for *the dead* is *νεκρός*, an adjective or part of speech which every one, acquainted even with English grammar, knows to be a word expressing a *quality, state* or *condition*. It is not a noun substantive, and as such by no propriety could be used as implying a *dead body*."

It would be enough, perhaps, to say in reply to this, that the *original* use of the word *νεκρός* was its substantive use, to denote *a dead body, a corpse*, (see Liddell & Scott, or Robinson, *sub voce*,) and that it was only in Attic and later usage that it was, in fact, to any extent, employed adjectively. But even admitting that the Scripture writers commonly speak of the resurrection of "the dead," using *νεκρός*

Digitized by Google

adjectively, the expression seems to us perfectly natural and consistent with our present usage. We do not speak of the resurrection of *corpses* or of mere *animal remains*, (σώματα,) but of *the dead*, because we do not believe that the body is to be revivified without reunion with the spirit and entire restoration of the person deceased. Had the apostles taught the resurrection of the "σῶμα," they would have left it in doubt whether the hope of the resurrection is confined to the human race, or is common to all the creatures subject to death. They would also have left it uncertain whether the reanimation of the body is to be merely a restoration to it of animal life, or a reunion with it of the moral and intellectual nature. We think they used the right word, and are well satisfied with the ordinary interpretation of it.

Dr. M'Culloh is always strongest where he is most original. The valuable parts of his work are his own, the errors are commonly opinions and arguments adopted from others. Modestly confessing the imperfection of his classical learning, which however is very respectable, the doctor has confided too fully in the pretensions of great men. However, one can hardly lose much reputation by erring with John Locke.

Dr. M'Culloh declares his decided approbation of the views of Macknight and others, that, after the final decisions of the judgment, the wicked will be utterly destroyed by a dreadful visitation of Almighty wrath. This question is to be determined in no other way than by the interpretation of the texts of Scripture which bear upon it. We have no right to argue it upon its consistency with the divine character on the one hand, nor the evil consequences which may be expected to follow its affirmation upon the other. It is a simple question of, What saith the Lord? and the answer must be found in the critical examination of the Greek text of the New Testament. Through such an examination it is impossible to follow our author. He offers no new argument in favour of his hypothesis, and we refer our readers for its refutation to the many writings upon the subject. There are several other points on which our author maintains opinions contrary to those commonly received; but we cannot find space to comment upon them. Our silence, however, must not be construed as assent.

On the constitution and organization of Christian Churches, Dr. M'Culloh has given us a remarkable essay, original in its views, and exhibiting much bold and patient investigation, and a very commendable independence in the conclusions which it offers to the Christian world. We regret exceedingly that we cannot review this part of the work as fully as its importance and excellence de-

Digitized by Google

serve; but we can do little more than notice the author's conclusions, and must refer the reader to the work for his arguments.

Dr. M'Culloh shows that our Lord never constituted a body of clergy as an ecclesiastical corporation, and consequently that there can, by no possibility, be any succession of ecclesiastical corporate rights or official relationship to God and man as are claimed by the clergy of the Catholic and Episcopal Churches, and more modestly by all who regard Presbyterial ordination as anything more than a mere form by which a body of Christians acknowledge their acceptance of a preacher or pastor. That the apostles were merely such divine agents as the prophets of old, acting in an individual capacity, and utterly incapable of transferring or transmitting their authority or office, either as individuals, or through the intervention of a corporate or collegiate embodiment, Dr. M'Culloh has shown beyond the possibility of successful contradiction. The theory of apostolical descent is, therefore, obviously absurd; and that of Presbyterial ordination, if we claim for it any validity or importance on account of presumed transmission, is not a whit more tenable.

Dr. M'Culloh's views of the constitution of the primitive Church we give in his own words:—

"The result of my investigation is as follows: *First*, when any number of Christian believers were sufficiently numerous in any locality to form a society or congregation, their theory of organization was either substantially like that of an ordinary prayer meeting, such as is held by devout laymen among us at the present day; or *secondly*, when a body of converts to Christianity had been made by the preaching of an apostle, it would seem that he ordinarily at least selected certain persons to watch over them and to instruct them, essentially in a manner analogous to what is done by the *class leaders* in the society of Methodists. In an ensuing age, after the decease of the apostles, the members of these several associations or congregations, however originally formed, henceforth selected their leaders by some formal expression of their own approbation.

"But that there may be no misapprehension as to the application of my argument hereafter, I must first state what is to be understood by a prayer or class meeting, as illustrating the views advanced above concerning the organization of the primitive Church.

"The prayer meeting that I recognise as an illustration is the one where devout laymen, without any clergyman, meet together for purposes of mutual religious edification. They have no formal constitution, nor by-laws; yet it will be found, after the lapse of a few weeks, that the association has acquired a consistency of form, and that certain individuals among them have become prominent in the association as those who commonly make the public prayer, read the Scripture, or exhort and instruct the members, as well as make any address to the association on any extrinsic subject interesting to them. These persons thus become leaders or officers in the society only through the tacit approbation of the other members, and not by any formal election. Their number is necessarily indefinite from the theory of their union, that presupposes that whenever any member is able to say anything to the edification of his associates, he either will do so from the instigation of his own feelings, or else

Digitized by Google

will be invited to do so by those who are aware of his ability. A society thus organized may continue to exist in a similar manner for centuries, as individuals will be found continually coming forward among the new members, to supply vacancies occurring among the leaders, whether from death or from any other causes.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * *

"The leaders in such assemblies the primitive Christians designated according to their own idiom, as being *zokenim*, elders, which means nothing more than is signified by our terms, directors or superintendents. . . . . .

"It is to the class meeting in its peculiar feature as being under the direction of a leader *who is a simple layman*, not selected by themselves, that I find an analogy to the organization established by the apostles among their disciples in certain instances, and which was more especially the case with those converted from the Gentiles. In other words, the apostles in these instances designated the leaders or superintendents, which ordinarily with the Jewish disciples arose from the tacit approbation of the members of the societies.

"The various Churches of the primitive Christians were thus organized, whether according to the principle of the prayer or class meeting, and their respective leaders or elders from their mere position exercised all those functions which are now restricted to the clergy, such as exhorting, preaching, praying, administering baptism, or in commemorating the Lord's supper. They had no exclusive authority to perform such functions, yet (it was) just as it is in a prayer meeting, where, though any one of the association has a right either to exhort or pray in public, yet the majority never claim to exercise the right.

"At the same time that the zokenim, elders or presbyters, thus performed those services which are now specially arrogated by the clergy to themselves, the more humble services necessary in the association were performed by those who, in the Greek language, were termed *deacons*, i. e. ministers or servants. The function of deacon in the first instance, under the influence of oriental customs, required two classes of persons, viz., *males* for services among men *females* for those among women. These were to visit, comfort, instruct, or relieve the wants or afflictions of the several members.

"That such simple forms of organization as the prayer or class meetings were amply sufficient for Christian edification or instruction may be distinctly inferred from the fact that the religious system promulgated in the New Testament requires no theological or speculative teaching. There are no esoteric doctrines to be communicated to the people, and the simple requirements of the gospel, as being perfectly intelligible to the plainest capacities, are there merely announced to mankind for moral or religious observance. It is our duty to carry them out into practice, and it is not our duty to speculate upon them as theological subtilties."

With regard to the nature of *ordination*, which is made to play so important a part in modern ecclesiastical controversies, our author shows that it was not properly a Christian institution, but a mere continuance of a familiar Jewish practice. Among the Jews it was originally a civil rite, by which men were formally inducted into office of any kind. It was also used in the recognition of rabbis, being nothing more than the public acknowledgment on the part of one or more doctors of the law that the individual ordained was fully instructed in and competent to teach the Old Testament Scriptures. The early Christians founded their infant Churches upon the basis of the synagogue, and introduced into their new arrangements its

Digitized by Google

offices, and names, and usages. As in the synagogue system there was no ecclesiastical body or clergy analogous to those now recognised in the Christian Churches, so there was no such class of persons in the primitive Church. The term *clergy* originally merely designated persons officially employed in Christian congregations, in contradistinction to those who exercised no such functions. It included "women (deaconesses), readers, porters, door-keepers, and even the grave-diggers."

Dr. M'Culloh shows most lucidly how this simple organization became corrupted; how the word *clergy* became restricted, and how the clergy thus technically admitted shifted their traditionary derivation from the synagogue to the temple, and claimed their descent from the Aaronic priesthood and the Levites. In this gradual, long-continued, and successful attempt to establish the foundations of the Christian Church upon the temple instead of the synagogue lies the secret of the corruptions which have for centuries so disfigured and perverted Christianity. It is this error which of all others it should be the effect of Protestants to overthrow, and Dr. M'Culloh, by his clear, manly, and irrefragable exposition of this subject, has done a service to the cause of truth and to the welfare of the world which can hardly be appreciated too highly.

In his chapters upon the Developments of Christianity, our author has shown how this pestilent notion finally reached its theoretical maturity in the admission of the existence of a *concrete* Holy Catholic Church, as an article of faith:—

> "At the same time that the innovations were taking place by which the elders of Christian congregations were gradually converted into priests, there was another principle developing itself among all Christian communities which not only tended to the establishment of the assumed priestly character of the elders or ministers of the gospel, but which actually confirmed them as such by bringing all Christendom under the entire control of the clergy as legislators for the whole body of Christian believers. This principle was the gradual rise and ultimately full recognition of the doctrine of a *Holy Catholic Church*. This term, originally an *abstract* one, meaning, as now among Protestants properly so called, the whole body of believers, now became *concrete*, and designated the majority of Christians, acting and speaking through their clergy. The immense importance of this change can only be fully understood by examining its consequences, as frightfully developed and yet developing in both civil and ecclesiastical affairs. We fully agree with our author that "it is of the utmost importance that the reader should distinctly comprehend the vast change that was introduced into the Christian religion by the insensible process of converting the abstract term, *Church of Christ*, into the concrete term Holy Catholic Church; for the oversight of this matter has been the cause of great perplexity to all readers of ecclesiastical history, and especially so to those who have been engaged in controversies with the Roman Catholic Church."

We cannot follow Dr. M'Culloh through his admirable exposition of the progress of the error above noticed, and the other mistakes

Digitized by Google

of early Christians, as developed under the Roman empire. His essay upon this subject is a most valuable contribution to Protestant literature. It lays the axe to the root of the hierarchical pretensions of the clergy of the Roman Catholic and Episcopal Churches, and prostrates that gigantic upas which has for so many ages thrown its poisonous shade over the most highly civilized and intelligent nations of the earth.

Of the chapter which treats of the Developments of Christianity since the Reformation, we have no space to express a critical opinion. It is well worth the serious attention of devout and thoughtful men, and to them we commend it. Upon the subject of the mode of worship, however, Dr. M'Culloh expresses some views, so excellent and so pertinent to the present circumstances of the Church, that we cannot refrain from quoting from him, briefly:—

"I am the more strongly impelled to call the serious attention of my readers to the subject of church edifices from the circumstance that many of the churches built in the United States during the past few years have been constructed upon architectural models that involve not only an unjustifiable expenditure of money, but are also expressly contemplated for promoting superstitious feelings in those who it is supposed will assemble in such buildings.

"This is especially the case with Gothic churches, the invention of the darkest and most superstitious time the Christian world has ever seen, when nearly all spirituality of religion being unknown, the mere imagination was excited by the fanciful proprieties of an ecclesiastical opera-house, that substantially only represented religious melodramas.

"Instead therefore of entering a church under intellectual considerations that they are about, on their own theory, to hold communion with the Sovereign of the universe, from whom they are to implore pardon for sin, and the sanctification of their nature by the renewing of the Holy Spirit, these most unthinking Protestants have erected churches, whose gloomy decorations, stained glass windows, solemn strains of music from organs and well-drilled musical choirs, lead them away from all intellectual perceptions of the condescension of their Creator, and plunge them into the gross delusion of supposing that they are worshipping God when they are merely gratifying their own eyes and ears. . . . The decay of spiritual apprehensions concerning their religious condition, or the right exercise of their privileges, I think may be estimated in a congregation according to their proceeding on such subjects, as distinctly as the growth of a worldly spirit is indicated by the actions of an individual. As I believe, the establishment of a choir is one exhibition of the decrease of the true principles of Christianity in a congregation, the addition of an organ or other musical instruments manifests a still greater amount of spiritual insensibility to divine things. If to these be added the building of an expensively decorated church, and above all a Gothic church, I know not where their absurd will-worship will carry them. To expect that the Spirit of Jehovah will continue to abide among a community who have adopted practices so wholly unsustained by any approbation of prophets or apostles, and so contrary in their character to the intellectual genius of Christianity, is to expect directly contrary to what Jehovah has announced in the Scriptures, as well as what he has already exhibited in his providential dealings towards mankind."

Digitized by Google

We heartily thank Dr. M'Culloh for this plain and fearless declaration of unfashionable and unwelcome truth. Like him, we think we see the three stages of declension manifested in choirs, organs, and Gothic churches. They mark the successive transfers of the kingdom of God from within to without us—the regular stages of progression in a scheme of piety by substitution. Praise by proxy, solemnity by mechanics, and an outward temple of stone for the inward temple of the Holy Ghost, these are the tendencies of this carnal generation. Even Methodism is infected with this evil spirit of sensualism. Alas! for us, we have to a great extent abandoned the beautiful and spiritual melodies, the heart-music of former days, with which the early Methodists sang the gospel throughout the land, making hills and valleys echo with the name of Jesus. Since we have been deprived of the privilege of praising God in the congregations of his people, the memory of the olden time is "sweet and mournful to our soul."

We here close our imperfect review of this, in many respects, remarkable work. If any shall be disposed to censure us for undue lenity towards an author who advocates so many opinions different from our own, we reply in the language of John Milton:—"Heresy is the will and choice professedly against Scripture; error is against the will—a misunderstanding the Scripture, after all sincere endeavour to understand it rightly. Hence it was said by one of the ancients, 'Err I may, but a heretic I will not be.' It is a human frailty to err, and no man is infallible here on earth. But so long as all of them profess to set the word of God only before them as the rule of faith and obedience, and use all diligence and sincerity of heart, by reading, by learning, by study, by prayer for the illumination of the Holy Spirit to understand the rule, and obey it, they have done what men can do. God will assuredly pardon them as he did the friends of Job, good and pious men, though much mistaken, as there it appears, in some points of doctrine."—*Milton, "Of True Religion."*

Digitized by Google

Art. VI.—JAPAN AND THE JAPANESE.

Japan: an account, Geographical and Historical, from the earliest period at which the islands composing this empire were known to Europeans down to the present time, and the Expedition fitted out in the United States, &c. By Charles Mac Farlane, Esq., Author of "British India," "Life of Wellington," &c., &c. 12mo. New York: George P. Putnam & Co.

Until the year 1542, although the nautical enterprise of the Portuguese had planted their colonies and their faith along the shores of India and China, no European had visited Japan. Marco Polo, who travelled through China in the latter part of the thirteenth century, had gathered some hints respecting the Island Empire; but the since-verified narratives of the celebrated Venetian, respecting a civilization in many respects beyond that of his own age in Europe, found but little credit. At the date above mentioned a Portuguese ship, driven from her course by storms, came at length to anchor at the Island of Kinsju. The tempest-tost mariners were received with respect and kindness, and, although vigilantly watched, were allowed free intercourse with the people. Struck by the apparent wealth and civilization of the country, they obtained permission to send a ship annually. Seven years afterwards a young Japanese found his way to the Portuguese settlement at Goa, and, having been converted from idolatry, was baptized into the Church of Rome. He showed the merchants how extensive and profitable a market was offered in Japan for European and Indian commodities, and in his zeal for the new faith urged the Jesuits to the easy task of Christianizing his countrymen. The enterprising traders resolved at once to occupy the new field; and although fearful dangers hung around the path of those early navigators along stormy and barbarous coasts, yet the spirit of the apostolic Xavier, which had electrified the shores of India by its fiery zeal, disdained that charity should falter where avarice could press on. He himself, with a band of devoted followers, sailed in a ship laden with rich presents and valuable merchandise, and arrived safely at the port of Bungo. The Islanders gave them all a hearty welcome. They travelled throughout the country and visited the various ports. The nobles of the country vied with each other in sumptuous hospitality. The goods sold for double their value, and the exports taken in return brought rare profits again at home. It is not surprising, therefore, that commercial intercourse rapidly increased, and the Portuguese residents became very numerous, more especially as the general toleration

Digitized by Google

which prevailed, and a singular coincidence between some traditional notions and the facts of the Christian Scriptures, facilitated the conversion of the natives. At first, when the impatient missionaries attempted to procure translations of their written sermons from unpractised interpreters, the effort to read homilies in bad Japanese, written in Latin characters, afforded much amusement; but when longer intercourse had made them familiar with the language and character of the people, their success was astonishing. Xavier, with the preternatural quickness of a mind strung to its highest tension by one absorbing idea, mastered the language in a few weeks. Leaving his fellow-labourers on the coast, and among those whose commercial relations inclined them most favourably towards the strangers, he penetrated the interior of the country. Driven from one city by the angry mob whose voluptuousness he denounced, and from another by the violence of a besieging rebel faction, he plunged through forests heaped with snow-drifts, and climbed over mountains of barren rock, unmurmuring and without a groan; until, attended only by a native convert, who followed with astonished and mechanical devotedness, he reached the capital, his eye still gleaming from his emaciated countenance with the fire of a heavenly mission. Such heroic energy betokening his personal conviction of the truths he asserted, such an evident vision of eternal realities above the sensual life which he rebuked, gave to his appeals to the slumbering conscience of the nation a resistless power. His humble colleagues at the sea-ports were visiting the sick and relieving the poor, with all that constancy of self-denying piety which marked the early years of the successive monastic orders. Thousands were converted and baptized. Three of the hereditary nobility made an open profession of Christianity. Xavier even had a public disputation with the champions of the Buddhist sects in the presence of the emperor, who strongly favoured the missionaries. An embassy of Japanese converts was sent to bear the homage of the rising Church to the feet of His Holiness at Rome; and although Xavier had left Japan and died on the shore of China before they returned with the blessings and honours of the Supreme Pontiff, the progress of the faith was so rapid that his successor, who died in 1570, is said to have founded fifty Churches, and to have baptized with his own hands thirty thousand converts. The Jesuits, after giving a careful education to a number of promising young native converts, admitted them into their order. The irritated priesthood of the ancient religion at length extorted from the court a proclamation that no native should be baptized or profess Christianity under pain of death. It was, however, seldom enforced in a country

Digitized by Google

where the toleration of indifference had long prevailed, and where, as yet, Romanism had not affected any political interest. When the bonzes of all the sects concurred in a petition to the emperor Nobunanga, that he would expel the Jesuits and all Romish monks from Japan, that prince, annoyed by their importunities, inquired how many different religions there were in Japan. "Thirty-five," said the bonzes. "Well," said the emperor, "where thirty-five religions can be tolerated, we can easily bear with thirty-six: leave the strangers in peace." The event proved his mistake. But meanwhile the Portuguese increased in numbers, and gained a stronger hold on the affections of the people. Many of them married ladies, baptized of course, from the first families in Japan; and traces of their civilization, then the highest in Europe excepting the Italian, still linger, blended with the forms of oriental culture.

About this time Holland began to acquire that maritime power in the East, before which the ascendency of Spain and Portugal gradually waned. In the year 1598 a fleet of five vessels sailed from the Texel to attempt the unfrequented passage of Cape Horn, with no definite port in contemplation, but for the purpose of extending trade and national influence. Disease, shipwreck, and the cruelty of savages and cannibals left but one lonely vessel to struggle on through strange oceans, until, after two years wandering, the pilot and his diminished crew reached the harbour of Bungo. They were at once boarded by the junks which filled the bay, and the emaciated forms and listless eyes of the unfortunate voyagers gave free license to the covetousness that robs the weak. Soon, however, soldiers came on board to protect the property, and the sick mariners were assigned a comfortable house on shore, and their wants well supplied. Some Portuguese friars, coming from Nangasaki, visited them and almost wrought their destruction. The Papal and Protestant countries of Europe had long waged bitter warfare, and cherished religious and national animosities. The Pope had, a century before, delegated to Spain and Portugal exclusive right of empire over what proved to be two-thirds of the globe, and thus a shadow of just resistance to an invasion of sacred rights sanctified the selfish hatred of rival traders. The Dutch sometimes retaliated fearfully when their vessels, always armed, could conquer a galleon from the peninsula; so the Portuguese priests represented the strangers as pirates, and roused the hatred of the native converts by terming them heretics and blasphemers. But, fortunately, the case was carried before the imperial court, and the emperor commanded Adams the pilot, and one sailor, to be brought before him.

This Adams was a fine specimen of the honest, straight-forward,

Digitized by Google

manly English sailor, and his shrewdness and simplicity commended him to the king. With no barbaric contemptuousness or insult, but with a nice curiosity and consideration, the prince questioned him in regard to his native land and Holland, and all the natural characteristics and the political and artistic progress of the Western world. In repeated interviews, during a long confinement, the pilot answered the royal questioner, and showed him on a chart their passage through the Straits of Magellan. "At length the emperor gave the Jesuits and Portuguese this answer: 'That as yet we had done no hurt or damage to him, nor to any of his land, and that therefore it was against justice or reason to put us to death; and if our countries and theirs had wars one with the other, that was no cause that he should put us to death.' The emperor answering them thus, they were quite out of heart that their cruel pretence failed; for the which, God be praised forever and ever!" Adams was released; but the emperor, unwilling to tempt a further intercourse with these powerful nations, or esteeming Adams too valuable a man to be lost, dismantled the ship and forbade him to leave the empire. To the sailors he gave a liberal pension, but Adams enjoyed every honour and luxury accessible to any but the native nobility. At the emperor's command he superintended the building of a ship of eighty tons, on the European model, the Japanese shipwrights being admirable workmen and requiring only his general direction; and some time after he built one of a hundred and twenty tons burthen. He taught the king "geometry and the mathematics," and became the medium through whom even the Portuguese sought to gain imperial favours. Through his influence, also, two Holland ships, which arrived in 1609, were kindly received; and the officers, after being well entertained at court, received permission to trade on favourable terms. During the next ten years they succeeded, amid much opposition from the Portuguese, in establishing a factory at Firando.

We now approach that melancholy period from which Christianity has been a loathed and persecuted thing in the scenes of its former triumphs, and the once welcomed nations of Europe have been driven from these shores.

Persecution had commenced before the arrival of William Adams, and appears to have been hastened by the dissensions which sprung up between the rival monastic orders. The blind zeal of the old fraternities who poured in from India and the Philippines, could not abide the cautious policy of the Jesuits, but persisted in fanatical denunciations, and in public processions, and even in the erection of a church in the Holy City, contrary to an express edict. It is asserted that the faithful protest of the Church against the

Digitized by Google

licentiousness of the nation provoked the revenge; but the general testimony is, that the arrogance of the Romish hierarchy became insensible of the duties of common civility to even the nobility. It was the pride that goeth before a fall. The Japanese had not been tutored to brook the spirit of Hildebrand. In 1597 twenty-six professing Christians were executed on the cross, the churches were razed, the schools closed, and the faith declared infamous and subversive of civil authority.

This persecution raged with varying intensity during thirty years. Tortures, terrible as those which tried the integrity of the early Church, illustrated the sincerity and constancy of multitudes of Japanese converts; but at length an event occurred which at once determined the immediate extermination of all Christians, and the rigid exclusion of foreigners. Treasonable letters, written by a principal Japanese convert to the Portuguese, were intercepted. These papers disclosed a widely-organized conspiracy between the priests, Portuguese residents, and native converts, to secure assistance from Europe, and, after overthrowing the ancient rule of the empire, to establish a Christian government consecrated by the Pope's benediction. The agency of the Jesuits was clearly proven. The scheme was plausible, and perfectly in accordance with the political morality of a Church which acknowledges no rights that would impede her progress, and whose settled policy it is to secure the control of the secular power, and so compel submission to her dictates. The indignant emperor immediately issued a proclamation, decreeing,

"'That the whole race of the Portuguese, with their mothers, nurses, and whatever belongs to them, shall be banished forever; that no Japanese ship, or boat, or any native of Japan, should henceforth presume to quit the country, under pain of forfeiture and death; that any Japanese returning from a foreign country should be put to death; that no nobleman or soldier should be suffered to purchase anything of a foreigner; that any person presuming to bring a letter from abroad, or to return to Japan after he had been banished, should die, with all his family, and that whosoever presumed to intercede for such offenders should be put to death, &c.; that all persons who propagated the doctrines of the Christians, or bore that scandalous name, should be seized and immured in the common jail,' &c. A reward was offered for the discovery of every padre or priest, and a smaller reward for the discovery of every native Christian."

Such was the ordinance of 1637—an indignant precaution against the treachery of wolves in sheep's clothing, which has been in effect ever since. Its provisions in regard to the Portuguese were at once enforced. The native converts, although bereft of their accustomed teachers, nobly refused to abjure their faith, and, roused by despair, gathered in open rebellion in the city of Simabara. The imperial

Digitized by Google

troops drew around the devoted spot; the Dutch admiral, fearful of losing his new commercial monopoly, or palliating the act, as warfare only against the allies of Portugal and Antichrist, obeyed the command to bombard the town; and after a heroic resistance, the captured multitude, men, women and children, the entire Christian Church of Japan, was butchered as a hecatomb to Vengeance. "Over the common grave of the martyrs was set up this impious inscription: 'So long as the Sun shall warm the Earth, let no Christian be so bold as to come to Japan; and let all know that the King of Spain himself, or the Christian's God, or the great God of all, if he violate this command, shall pay for it with his head.'"

Since this period no foreign intercourse has been tolerated, except a limited trade with China at one or two ports, and the annual arrival of two Dutch vessels. The few Dutch residents are confined to a little island in the harbour, and are subjected to the most irksome and humiliating restrictions. On the regular arrival of the ships, they are dismantled and searched; all munitions of war are taken from them, and every article of merchandise inventoried. The resident director is expected to make a journey, formerly annual, but now quadrennial, to the imperial city, with rich presents for the emperor, and most humiliating ceremonies were imposed. Until 1822, not the slightest intercourse was allowed with the natives on the road; and all the expenses of the journey, including that of the special police, were charged to the Dutch. Since then more liberty of intercourse and observation has been accorded to the embassy, but the harbour regulations are unmitigated. Russia especially, whose territories are contiguous, has persevered in fruitless attempts to open an intercourse. England, during the life-time and influence of Adams at the Japanese court, secured a treaty of astonishing liberality, granting not only the privileges of Japanese citizens, but the immunities and forms of British law, to resident Englishmen. But the East India Company having been unsuccessful, through some miscalculation, in their first mercantile ventures to Japan, neglected their privileges, until the edict of 1637 rescinded them. Of late years, the field of the whale fisheries has been narrowed from the breadth of the Pacific Ocean to the seas lying along the Asiatic continent, and running northward to the Aleutian straits. Our vessels are frequently in distress for provisions and water, or are even wrecked upon those rocky shores. The Japanese policy has denied the sufferers all that relief and protection guarantied by international law among all maritime nations. It is to solicit, or insist upon, the recognition of these natural rights of our unfortunate seamen, that the American expedition is sent out. It is a

Digitized by Google

secondary, although important object to secure to our steam navigation on the Pacific a supply of coal, with which Japan abounds, and which is in extensive use throughout the empire.

Referring to the map for an accurate idea of the relative position of these islands and their future commercial importance, we may remark that the four largest islands, Niphon, Kiewsew, Sitkokf, and Jesso, are respectively equal to Great Britain, Sardinia, Corsica, and Ireland. The soil is fertile and well tilled. There is an agricultural law, by which whosoever leaves his grounds uncultivated for the term of one year forfeits the possession. Tobacco, cotton, and silk are extensively raised and manufactured. The mineral wealth of the country is remarkable, and the arts requisite to its development have long been practised. Swords, that rival the boast of Toledo or Damascus; ornamental silver and gold; luxuries of the richest designs, and even telescopes, barometers, thermometers and similar instruments, at first imported, are now made by native artisans. The policy of the government represses labor-saving inventions, as prejudicial to the interests of the poorer classes.

The coasting and inland trade is immense, proportioned to the density of the population. Cities, or, as they are there deemed, villages, of thousands of inhabitants have grown into each other, until you may travel for miles along the main roads and only know, from the varying names of localities, that all is not one large city. By the best authorities, the population of the capital exceeds that of London, and other cities are peopled in the same ratio. The palaces and public buildings are of great magnificence, many being built of brown stone; but the ordinary material employed in building is timber and bamboo. In the interior of these dwellings cleanliness and order is always insisted upon, and the same regard for purity and elegance marks their personal appearance and general demeanour. The position of woman in Japan is far different from that of the sex in China and other oriental countries, and approaches the freedom and privilege of European manners. Permitted to enjoy unrestrained access to general society, and presiding at home over the hospitalities of her mansion, the Japanese lady passes beneath the tuition of a professional instructor, like the dancing master of our hemisphere, who imparts the science of graceful and accurate preparation of the tea, and its presentation to the guests. The females, moreover, are educated, as well as the other sex.

"From the highest down to the very lowest, every Japanese is sent to school. It is said that there are more schools in the empire than in any other country in the world, and that all the peasants and poor people can, at least, read. This is surely a noticeable fact, and a most honourable distinction. The minds of the women are as carefully cultivated as those of the men. Hence, in the

Digitized by Google

array of the most admired poets, historians, and other authors, are found very many females."

"The wide diffusion of education, which has been more than once mentioned, is of no recent date. The first of all the missionaries who visited the country, found schools established wherever they went. The sainted Xavier mentions the existence of four 'Academies' in the vicinity of Miako, at each of which education was afforded to between three and four thousand pupils; adding, that considerable as these numbers were, they were quite insignificant in comparison with the numbers instructed at an institution near Bandone, and that such institutions were universal throughout the empire."—P. 311.

"Our officers, who visited the country as late as the year 1845, ascertained that there existed a college at Nangasaki, in which, additionally to the routine of native acquirements, foreign languages were taught." "These people possess works of all kinds—historical compositions, geographical and other scientific treatises, books on natural history, voyages and travels, moral philosophy, cyclopædias, dramas, romances, poems, and every component part of a very polite literature."—P. 311.

"The Japanese printers keep the market well supplied with cheap, easy books, intended for the instruction of children, or people of the poorer classes. Most of these books are illustrated and explained with frequent wood-cuts, which are engraved on the same wood-blocks with the type. Like the Chinese, they print only on one side of their thin paper. An imperial cyclopædia, printed at Miako, in the spiritual emperor's palace, is copiously embellished with cuts." "Good almanacs, including the calculation of eclipses, are annually published by the colleges of Jeddo and Miako. It is quite clear that they are skilled in trigonometry and in some of the best principles of civil engineering."

Paper was introduced into Japan as early as the seventh century, and the art of printing was imported from China ten hundred and fifty years before its discovery in Europe. The alphabet has forty-eight letters, written in two forms, corresponding somewhat to our printed and written forms. The lines of letters run, like the Chinese, from top to bottom of the page; and an affectation of using Chinese words and characters is rapidly obscuring the clearer Japanese pages.

The traditions of the Japanese, like those of most ancient nations, trace their ancestry to the gods; but, from the ordinary indications relied upon in ethnological investigations, they appear to have been one of the primitive colonies of the old Mongol race, emigrating along the northern border of China Proper, and passing from the peninsula of Corea, from island to island, until they settled in Niphon. That they are not of the same race with the Chinese, is shown not only by the difference of their written character, but by the peculiar structure of the language; and the absence in either language of consonants found in the other, creates sounds so different, that they seem to require a different structure of the organs of speech. The purity of the Japanese tongue seems to indicate further that they were the first who traversed the northern Asiatic wilderness, across which they immigrated; or at least that they remained too

Digitized by Google

short a time in contact with any tribes through which they passed to acquire even a few of their idioms. For the same reason, although Japanese historians confess that in early days the Chinese came over in small colonies, and with their learned men introduced their literature and their arts, yet it could not have been before the native language and literature had acquired an independent strength, which could appropriate foreign suggestions without being denationalized.

Emerging from the shadowy realm of fable, the first historical personage in Japanese annals is Syn-Mu, who, binding the barbaric clans under one government, became the foundation at once of the kingly and priestly authority of the empire. Into this new realm he introduced chronology, and the division of the time into years and months, and established the laws and government of the country. He died after a life of a hundred and fifty-six years, a mere infancy compared with the chronicled ages of the celestial emperors in previous and more etherial times. Little is chronicled, except of civil war and various natural phenomena, until the year 78 B. C., when the people appear to have passed more decidedly from the shepherd and hunting life into agricultural pursuits; since then first they planted rice-fields, and fenced them in with ditches, and made fish-ponds in the interior of the islands. It was about this time, also, or nearly contemporary with the advent of our Lord, that the chronicle notes the first building of merchant ships and ships of war.

These emperor-priests, or Mikados, ruling as direct vicegerents of the gods, theoretically absolute, and adored with servile reverence to their persons, and even to their raiment and table-service, were yet, by a strange retribution for their assumption, resulting incidentally, or through the craft of their nobility, gradually shut in from exposure at the head of armies, and finally from all direct and important influence on any but spiritual affairs. To this day, his lineal descendant, confined in his palace from his birth, lives and dies in luxurious imprisonment. The secluded emperors encouraged arts and sciences, and many of them beguiled the loneliness of the royal prison by authorship and literary patronage. A growing distaste for the increasingly irksome honours and confinement of the palace, manifested itself by frequent abdications and retirement to religious contemplation; but still there were candidates enough for the untried honours, and sanguinary massacres of defeated factions secured the throne to victorious rivals. But as the country became civilized, and early superstition less controlling, the feudal chieftains neglected the ancient claims of the emperors, and banded together for their independence. Against their conspiracy the court had no

Digitized by Google

resource, but to entrust the entire command of its military forces to one promising young soldier, with the title of ziogun. Joritomo was the Pepin of Japan. He took advantage of the weakness which superstition forced upon his master, as the European usurper of the imbecility of the Merovingian kings. Only leaving the daïri a control over the spiritual concerns of the empire, he absorbed the entire secular control. Since then the dignity of the ancient line of emperors has degenerated into a mere honorary headship over religious worship, while, amid the luxuries of his palace, his actual power is checked by the surveillance of officers from the secular court.

In the thirteenth century the Japanese empire was threatened with subjugation by the haughty Kublai-Khan, who had just overrun China; but the Providence that guards insular independence shattered the immense armada of several thousand sail, and but three men only of the vast host were spared, and that only to bear to the khan the humiliating tidings. The event is important as having first given rise to that national policy which for nearly two hundred years prohibited all intercourse with foreigners. The authority of the emperors was more and more absorbed by the zioguns, and successive abdications witness the conscious humiliation of the station. The feudal chiefs rebelled against Nobunanga, the reigning ziogun, and the general who defeated the faction upon his return to the capital found the throne occupied by a mere youth. It was a favourable moment. The nobility were divided into factions, each aiming at the regency or the throne itself. Taiku-Sama, sweeping from a distance upon the rival parties, crushed them both, and installed himself the successor of Nobunanga. He sent the restless spirits who could not be broken to die in a foreign war. He it was who first assumed the title as well as the authority of Kobœ, or lay-emperor, and who, according to Romish historians, confounding the Japanese Christians with one of the political factions, crushed it together with them. The wise energy of this great man is still felt through every part of the machinery of the empire, and for three hundred years the government he moulded has directed and controlled the progressive civilization of a people as eneregtic as the Saxon races with as much ease as it has the stationary civilization of the Chinese. So firmly is the State compacted, and its various interests interlaced, that the Dutch writers, who have had best opportunity of observation, doubt whether any disruption can occur without a quarrel between the lay and spiritual emperors. There is little likelihood of such an occasion, which would arouse the religious fanaticism of the people, so long as the present indifferency is

Digitized by Google

cultivated, amid systems which have no hold upon the heart. It is painful to reflect, that while the former persecutions were hastened, and aggravated, by an insolence and political intrigue foreign to the whole spirit of Christianity, yet the gospel must necessarily array against its uncompromising, though kind aggression, the whole force of legalized superstition. What the worldliness of Romanism, outrunning its first policy, accomplished, that the severer virtues and morals of evangelical religion must effect. Christianity has never established itself peacefully in any civilized and unsubjugated nation. Christendom has grown up from barbarism beneath the nurture of a religion that strengthened in the Roman empire amid perpetual conflicts, until the civil power gave its seductive protection. The true Christianity, that draws no sword in its aggression, will ever find a sword drawn against it. It is painful also to reflect, that the peace of the empire must, ultimately, be broken in its progress toward that civil liberty and equality, which the literature, if not the intercourse, of our countrymen must gradually excite among a people so civilized and so reflective as the Japanese. Their feudal age is past, and the policy and wars of Taiko-Sama have done the work of the wars of the Roses and the confiscations of Henry the Eighth. The population is generally educated, and the middle classes, as we have already shown, are wealthy and refined. They need but the republican ideas. Friendly as our designs may be, America must inevitably give to Japan those elements of civil discord which other Asiatic nations are not sufficiently civilized to receive, at least for speedy germination. The progress of Christianity and the growth of liberty, everywhere and in Japan, must be like the production of her own volcanic islands. Restless upheavings beneath the surface of society; the explosion, and rending, and conflict of struggling elements; fire and smoke, leaving sterility and desolation to revolt the eye; then the gradual verdure and the deepening soil, the protecting forest and the waving grain, happy homes and pure altars.

The government of Japan, although in form an absolute despotism, is far from being altogether arbitrary, the ruler and the subject being, in almost every action of authority or private life, alike under the iron constraint of established usage. The administration is really conducted by a council of thirteen, selected from the nobility, or holding office by hereditary right. Under this council, in appar ently interminable gradations, are the other state functionaries.

"The dignity of the lay-emperors is inherited by the eldest of their male descendants. In default of male issue, they adopt the eldest son of some prince of the empire, who is nearest to them in blood. There appears to be

Digitized by Google

a head-councillor-of-state, with functions and powers corresponding to those of the grand vizier in Turkey. He is called the 'governor of the empire,' and all the other councillors are strictly subordinate to him. No public affair of any consequence can be undertaken without him." "The council collectively have the power of dethroning the lay-emperor. When they adopt any important resolution, it is laid before the emperor for his approval. This is usually given, as a matter of course, without any delay, or inquiry into the matter. But if by any extraordinary accident, he should trouble himself about the concerns of his empire, attempt to examine for himself, and then withhold the expected fiat, the measure is referred to the arbitration of three princes of the blood, the nearest kindred of the monarch, and their decision is final, and very often attended with melancholy and fatal circumstances. Should their verdict coincide with the sentiments of the council, the ziogun must forthwith abdicate in favour of his son, or other legal heir. This despotic sovereign, as Europeans have considered him, has not, in these state cases, the liberty of retracting an opinion.

"On the other hand, should the three arbitrary princes pronounce the monarch to be in the right, and the council in the wrong, the consequences are still more serious. The minister who proposed the obnoxious act must die the death; the ministers who most warmly seconded him must frequently die also; and, occasionally, all the members of the council, with the vizier or governor of the empire at their head, must rip open their bowels. Under such responsibility, men must be little disposed to attempt new laws, or any sort of innovation."—Pp. 200, 203.

But in the hands of the administration, thus balanced within itself, the centralization of power is complete. The vassal princes are indeed nominally independent, but, with ironical kindness, the court appoints to each two well-qualified secretaries, who reside alternately in the province and at court. This double appointment extends to every office of any importance; and by the continual change, subservience to the government is secured. Every official is held responsible for the conduct of all his subordinates, and, in making its requisitions, the law has a Napoleonic ignorance of impossibilities. A few years since, when the British frigate Samarang stopped at Nangasaki, and, heedless of the puny junks around her, suddenly left, the law was broken which commands the governor of the harbour to permit no strange visitor to leave it until the court gives permission. As morning revealed the deserted harbour, the governor and all his officials retired, and with their knives made the fatal abdominal gash; and the governor of the province, although at Jeddo, the capital itself, more than a hundred miles distant, was imprisoned for one hundred days. But the most effective stroke of policy is that which requires the family of every important official, from the great lords down to the lower civil and military governors, to reside at the capital, perpetual hostages for their fidelity. No man, moreover, may refuse the appointment of a secret spy, and this organization of secret police is ramified down to the private relations of families. Every five houses in a village forms a com-

Digitized by Google

mune, for the good conduct of which the head of a sixth family is responsible. No family can remove without a written certificate of good conduct, from the neighbourhood it leaves, and an express permission from the one it enters. Every street in a city has its special superintendent. And thus the Japanese government, ubiquitous, omniscient, relentless, and wielding all human motives in their intensest power, appears to have realised the ideal of despotism, to which Austria and Italy have so long aspired.

Notwithstanding this minute and unsparing system, which, moreover, makes death the common penalty on the ground that death alone comes with equal punitive severity to rich and poor alike, the Japanese are of frank, manly bearing, and high-spirited and generous in disposition. It will be remembered that the laws do not affect religious liberty; and the long seclusion of the empire, and the absence of disputes as to regal succession, and of popular demands for representation, exclude the occasions for that political vengeance which gives to Europe a reign of terror. Most of the laws are merely an authoritative expression of the conclusions of experience as to agricultural, commercial, and economical expediency. The old laws are old usages, into which each generation grows up. The new edicts, brief and without explanation or penalty affixed, are posted along the roads, and permanently in the public halls of villages and cities, and, as nearly every one can read, all know the law at once. Where detection is inevitable and punishment so severe, crime has hardly any motive or hope. A merchant loads his oxen with richest treasures and drives them unguarded over any road, and with every exposure theft is almost unknown.

It is a part of the government policy to exhaust the revenues of the nobility by heavy taxes upon their old established incomes, and thus, while its resources are immense, there is no direct taxation or impost to burden or disaffect the people. The nobility are also bound to equip and maintain a contingent of permanent troops, while the entire population is under an organized militia system. The soldiery still use the primitive armour, adopted before the introduction of gunpowder, and with this the match-lock and heavy artillery, such as was first introduced. A peace of two hundred years, and the absence of any improvement in arms, or instruction in scientific engineering, have left them without any proper tactics; but the military are said to be hardy, chivalrous, and implicitly obedient.

The religion which is now considered the national faith of Japan, although it was, doubtless, preceded by rude forms, is called Sinsyn, from the words sin (the gods) and syn (faith), and its votaries are

Digitized by Google

denominated Sintoos. The Japanese mythology, like most others, vaguely shadows out the rise of the earth from chaos, and its subjection to various influences or deities, and finally committed to the especial charge of the sun goddess, Ten-sio-dai-zin, whose reign was only two hundred and fifty thousand years. She was succeeded by terrestrial gods, who reigned in all about two million years, the last of whom left upon earth a son by a mortal mother, the ancestor of the long line of spiritual emperors.

"Of all these gods of Sintoo mythology, none seem to be objects of great worship, except the sun goddess; and she is too great to be addressed in prayer, except through the mediation of the inferior Kami, or of her lineal descendant, the Mikado. The Kami consists of four hundred and ninety-two born gods, and two thousand six hundred and forty canonized or deified mortals. All these are mediatory spirits, and have temples dedicated to them." —Pp. 173, 174.

"According to Dr. Siebold, the Sintoos have some vague notion of the immortality of the soul, of a future state of existence, of rewards and punishments, of a paradise, and of a hell. 'Celestial judges call every one to his account. To the good is allotted paradise, and they enter the realms of the Kami; the wicked are condemned, and thrust into hell.' The duties enjoined by this ancient religion are:—1. Preservation of pure fire, as the emblem of purity and means of purification. 2. Purity of soul, heart, and body. The purity of the soul is to be preserved by a strict obedience to reason and the law; the purity of the body, by abstaining from everything that defiles. 3. An exact observance of festival days. 4. Pilgrimage. 5. The worship of the Kami, both at the temples and at home."—Pp. 175, 176.

The temples had formerly no idol, nor object of worship, but only a large mirror, said to be the emblem of purity, and strips of white paper, called gohei, having the same signification. In many of the Sintoo temples the images of the Kami are said to be kept concealed, except on festival occasions, and never to be worshipped. Private families keep an image of their Kami, or household god. A great feature in their ceremonial religion is a careful avoidance of impurity from contact with blood, even of the worshipper's own body, or from eating the flesh of any quadruped and of almost any bird. Contact with the dead, accidentally or at funerals, and even the death of a near relation, defiles and excludes from the temples. Fasting, prayer, and the study of devotional books, are the prescribed means of purification. When purified; they throw aside the robes of mourning, which are of white, and return to society in festal garments.

"But pilgrimage is the grand and most sanctifying act of Sintoo devotion. There are no fewer than twenty-two shrines in different parts of the empire, which are frequented annually, or more frequently, by the devout. The most conspicuous, and most honoured of all—the very Loretto of the Japanese—is Isye, with its ancient temple of Ten-sio-dai-zin, or the sun goddess. The principal temple is surrounded by nearly a hundred small ones, which have little else of a temple than the mere shape, being, for the most part, so low and narrow, that a man can scarcely stand up in them. Each of these temples, or chapels, is attended by a priest." "The principal temple itself is a very

Digitized by Google

plain, unpretending edifice, and evidently of great antiquity, though not quite so old as the priests and devotees pretend. According to the latter, the sun goddess was born in it and dwelt in it; and on that account it has never been enlarged, improved, or in any way altered."—P. 179.

This pilgrimage is considered a duty of every good citizen of whatever secondary creed, as a tribute of gratitude to the sun goddess, the founder and protectress of the Japanese nation. The emperors formerly went in person; but, from motives of economy and convenience, now send an embassy with presents. The nobility follow the example. But the roads, during the pleasant season, are thronged with pilgrims of every rank, travelling according to their wealth, or begging their way; and the poor strangers have their names worked into their coats, or painted on their drinking pails. in order that, in case of accident, it may be known who they are. Well may the votaries throng the avenues to Isye, for there may they purchase the "offarria," or "capital purification," which, with even more prodigality of blessing than relics from the new shrine to which the good bishop of Yprès is inviting us, insure "health, prosperity. and children in *this world*, and a happy state in the world to come." With great consideration also for those who cannot conveniently leave home, large quantities of these magical cards are kept on hand by the priests, and, for a varying consideration, scattered like leaves of balm to wounded consciences throughout the empire. There are countries where, if genuine Romanism cannot recommend itself by any high and unknown spirituality, it at least presents a more available system for quieting the conscience, and securing the formalities of worship. But Sintooism has its "mother of God" and its angelic and canonized Kami as submediators, its supreme vicegerent of heaven at Miaco, its ceremonial purifications, its pilgrimages, its anchorites and monastic orders, and its plenary absolutions. May it not yet appear that to a practical mind, like Taiku-Sama's, feeling innovation unwise unless it introduced some new idea, Romanism, apart from its political intrigues, seemed entirely superfluous, either as to morals or convenience? May it not be the secret of that perfect finish, which astonishes us in the European Romanism, that it was not the first attempt of its author, but a more complete realization of his idea, acquired by practice on an Asiatic model?

The monastic orders are of either sex, none of them confined to religious houses, and with very little profession of religious sanctity. They somewhat resemble the mendicant friar, but have closer alliances to the Eastern dervish. One order of blind Fekis make their living honestly, as musicians. With most unmonastic wisdom, neither sex

Digitized by Google

of Fekis take upon them the vow of chastity; the monks being mostly bound in marriage, the nuns being not in bondage to any man. Nevertheless, these sisters are said to be modestly clad, and of staid demeanour, mostly the well-favoured daughters of the Jammabos or mountain monks, and that, unlike the dancing girls of the Orient, they observe much propriety in making their appeals to the heart of the wealthy traveller.

The most prevalent religion of Japan at this time, however, is Buddhism, with its leading doctrines of metempsychosis, of final purgation, and absorption into the divine essence. It has many and uncouth idols, and its priests are bound to celibacy. The date of its introduction is uncertain, but appears to have been about the sixth century. There are now probably twenty Buddhist temples for every Sintoo one. "In Japan, as in every other country where it exists. Buddhism is divided into a high, pure, mystic creed, for the learned, and a gross idolatry for the unlearned and common people."

There is another creed called "Suto," or "The way of the philosophers." Its votaries are the free-thinkers of Japan, rejecting all mythologies and all forms of worship, and holding merely those great truths of natural religion, which have ever commended themselves to the cultivated heathen mind, as it breaks the fetters of early and traditional superstitions. Like the philosophic schools of classic ages, they yield only so far to popular forms as courtesy and personal security demand, while at heart they despise such superstition. The cast of this philosophy is Buddhist. The all-pervading, all-absorbing Spirit, from which we came, to which we go, is alone to be thanked, or acknowledged. Some admit a personal and immaterial Deity, lying far back, however, from any connexion with the agencies that rule this world, which is the result of various contending or co-öperating principles. In Japan there is probably a larger proportion of educated citizens than in any other heathen country, and the nobility, the literati, and the entire upper class, may be considered as atheists, or deists.

The period of suspense, while the world is waiting to see how soon this compact and highly-civilized empire, the Great Britain of the Eastern world, is to take her place among the nations whose power is felt around the globe, is a season which the Church might well improve, in pondering more fully the religious consequences arising from the rapidly-increasing moral influence of these new pagan associations. The Church must Christianize the heathen, or they will heathenize the Church. The time has been, when nation dwelt beside nation, and, except a narrow border land, each could cherish its own social and religious faith and habits, as though no other

Digitized by Google

had existence. Time has been when national influence was merely the power of the throne or the senate, wielded by an arm of force. Commerce, with its lure of interest, and its peaceful facilities of intercourse, is bringing the nations together, like adjacent townships, each traversed by the other's citizens, and each familiar with the institutions and affected by the sentiments of all. Education, as it brings to every individual mind a capacity to receive and cherish new ideas, brings also to each mind a power to give forth its thought; and nations, from whose inert mass a few learned men only, like salient points, gave out the electric thought to as few again, now vibrate with the galvanism of millions of thinking minds, and each heart pulsates to every heart besides. Literature, as the expression of thought, in its wide and cheap diffusion, will yet more make the world a whispering gallery, where every new idea that speaks is heard by all; and arts, and sciences, and opinions, will converge towards a common unity. These tendencies are apparent in the western hemisphere, and now strange peoples of the East are crowding in to share the mutual influence and the common destiny. Through the long-prepared channels of literature and education in China and Japan, the resources of European knowledge and sentiment, which have welled up so slowly for long centuries, and scarcely intermingled, may now be at once poured, as from a reservoir, throughout the Asiatic life and thought. The strength and suddenness of the reaction must be proportionate. And these new powers are not only social or intellectual agencies; but they are tremendous moral forces, for or against the truth. It is true that, within the huge systems of Oriental idolatry, the unnoticed thought, like the tropical ant, has eaten away all strength and substance, and at one resolute touch of science or philosophy they sink away to nothingness. But where they stood, spreads the blank waste of Atheism. The energetic civilization that shall trample idolatry under foot, will, left to itself, make a continent of infidels. And that continent will not lie for centuries to come, as in centuries gone by, secluded, like another planet. It is, henceforth, part of the common homestead of one great family.

Hitherto the nations have been, like isolated lakes, unaffected by each other's fluctuations or condition; but then all barriers will be swept away, and opinion and sentiment of every kind become one vast world-wide ocean, every section of which feels the tides and the storms, and affects the purity and the safety of every square league upon its surface. And how, in this last and fearful crisis, shall a pure faith and devotion predominate? Hitherto the evil influences have assailed us, and been defeated, in detail; but then each individual

Digitized by Google

heart, in conscious or unconscious coöperation with all others, must decide the question; as much as though the blessed air had no natural provision for preserving its purity, and while every healthful frame returned its breath pure as it was drawn, every diseased system exhaled a poisonous vapour into the common atmosphere. Is the moral atmosphere of our own Christian land tainted, even now, by the still checked vices and social habits, the private opinions and the public literature, of emigrants from the realms of formalism and infidelity? Is the increasing proximity of Europe, as it invites mutual exchanges of residence and constant travel, and places us in the very presence of all her intellectual and practical evils, a cause of deep solicitude to the Christian? Has the strong army of Mormonism, the Mohammedanism of the nineteenth century, located itself where its shameless iniquities must radiate impiety over the continent? And shall the Church, amid the gathering darkness of the western hemisphere, pass lightly by the question whether from the vast Eastern world the winds shall waft a gloom more dense and oppressive? Passing by the possibility of coercive measures against evangelical religion, how likely will the Church be to keep her children, and win the stranger to her fold? The Church of God will, it is true, never die out. Deep in the recesses of that spiritual temple abides the Holy One of Israel. Bulwarks and towers may fall beneath proud assaults, or sink into secret mines; court after court may be given up or profaned; but, as the impious tread of power, and learning, and wealth, intrudes upon the last and inner sanctuary, a fire goes out to devour the adversaries. But the long experience of the Church, from the time when Elijah mourned the triumph of corrupting heathenism, up through each successive reverse and apparent extinction of the holy nation, crushed beneath influences which a watchful and energetic piety might have foreseen and averted, warns us, that if worldliness, and luxury, and dreamy inactivity, shall keep Israel from heroic efforts to subdue nation after nation as God leads on the camp to the world's broad heritage, it is entirely in the order of his providence to let the unholy people be "thorns in her sides, and their gods be a snare," and the Church be taught, in generations of bondage, the lessons she would not learn in freedom. We *must* Christianize the heathen, or they will heathenize the Church! Just in proportion to our dereliction abroad will be our retribution at home.

The opening of free commercial and social intercourse with Japan is hardly to be anticipated from the American expedition; and however desirable such an event may be, the public sentiment of this country should at once repel the proposition to force an intimacy. The

Digitized by Google

official documents, issued by the government at Washington, had disclaimed the thought of compelling anything more than relief to our distressed mariners, until the last report of the Secretary of War insinuated a purpose, or at least a theory to justify a purpose, of coercing intercourse. The several objects which are desirable are entirely distinct. The moral right of a traveller, bewildered among the snow-drifts, to kind treatment and shelter from the homestead upon which he stumbles, is very different from a pedler's right to enter the premises and insist upon barter. The demand of a supply of coal for the steam-marine, which must crowd the Pacific within a few years, is also distinct in principle from a claim to general commercial privileges. The opening of highways, railroads, canals, and all the great avenues of rapid and safe communication between the different sections of the globe, has become a necessity like that of easy intercourse between the separate communities of each state. The ocean is the highway of nations, and although the facilities of navigation require expense in the vehicle instead of the road, the same principles apply to either case. The world, as one great state, may demand that whatever is absolutely necessary for the common highway shall not be withheld by any local law. It may not be land, or stone for macadamizing, but the mineral without which the otherwise open road is comparatively useless, which must be yielded at a fair remuneration. This great essential may be furnished by Japan without permitting foreign intercourse with the main islands, if a suggestion of the late lamented Secretary of State were adopted, and Japanese junks conveyed the coal to a depot upon one of the small southern islands. The other products of Japan are not thus necessary to the progress of general civilization. An able writer in a recent number of the Edinburgh Review broaches the aggressive theory unblushingly:—

"Every one is so far master at home that the law of nations has hitherto been very tender of authorizing a country to force its commerce or society upon another. But the rights of independent sovereignty must be so construed as to be reconcilable with the great principles upon which all titles of property or jurisdiction ultimately depend. It is difficult to entertain a doubt that, after so long and so patient a delay, other nations are justified in demanding intercourse with Japan, as a right of which they are unjustly deprived. The Japanese, undoubtedly, have an exclusive right to the possession of their territory; but they must not abuse the right to the extent of debarring all other nations from a participation in its riches and virtues. The only secure title to property, whether it be a hovel or an empire, is, that the exclusive possession of one is for the benefit of all."

A truly British theory of political morals! A wise policy it may be for a nation whose supremacy, even over her own provinces, depends upon an extending market for the manufactures of her island throne.

Digitized by Google

Carried a little further, it obviates at least the moral obstacle to the obtrusion of her free-trade system upon ourselves. The single element of truth in the proposition consists in the principle above stated in regard to the *essentials* of general safety and welfare; and this applies to no other product of Japan. A sense of injustice, and desire of avoiding the civil commotion consequent upon an invasion, may induce the Japanese council to accede to the claims of humanity and necessity; but that policy which is not, as the report of the Secretary of War intimates, "an Oriental sentiment, hardened by the usage and habit of centuries," but the fruit of bitter experience of betrayed hospitality, cannot be abruptly or lightly yielded. Japan has only a coasting commerce, easily transferred to inland conveyances. Her shores are protected by alternate walls of rock, and shoals stretching far out and keeping large vessels beyond gun-shot of most of her sea-board cities. Any extensive or permanent inroads upon a brave people, numbering more than the present population of the United States, crowded into the three main islands as into a fort, are out of the question. For the sake of justice and future brotherhood, and above all for the sake of religion, which, as distinguished from Romanism, may yet evangelize Japan, we trust that the American people, or at least the American Church, will sanction no movement towards compulsory intercourse.

Art. VII.—EXEGESIS OF HEBREWS II, 16.

The original of this passage reads thus:—

Οὐ γὰρ δήπου ἀγγέλων ἐπιλαμβάνεται, ἀλλὰ σπέρματος Ἀβραὰμ ἐπιλαμβάνεται.

The received version of these words is as follows:—"For verily he took not on him the nature of angels, but he took on him the seed of Abraham."

The controversy in regard to this place has reference chiefly to the sense of *ἐπιλαμβάνεται*, which our translators understand as meaning to take upon one's self, or to *assume;* namely, that Christ in the work of redemption assumed not the nature of angels, but assumed humanity, and with this nature came into the world. In this opinion Wesley, Buxtorf, Doddridge, &c., concur. On the other hand, Benson, Clarke, Bloomfield, and others, understand this verb as signifying here to take in the sense of *succouring* or *saving;* and hence the interpretation they give to the passage is, that Christ did

Digitized by Google

not save angels, but saved the human race.* Both *doctrines* are true. The question is, Which of them is taught in this text?

In view of the following considerations, the mind of the writer settles down confidently in favour of the former of these interpretations, and, of course, in opposition to the latter.

1. The definition of ἐπιλαμβάνεται. True, this is not decisive. This middle verb, in the New Testament,† signifies *to take:* for what purpose, can only be determined by the connexion. It may be for the purpose of succouring, as in Matt. xiv, 31; or for the purpose of imprisoning, as in Acts xxi, 33; or it may mean take in order to hold or detain for one's self,—*i. e.*, to accomplish one's own ends by the thing taken,—as 1 Tim. vi, 12, 19. It should be remarked, however, that the last-named, or *reflexive* meaning, is the characteristic meaning of the verb in the middle form. So far, then, as the definition of the word determines anything, it is strongly in favour of the received text.

This view is much confirmed by the parallel passage in Phil. ii, 7: "And took upon him (λαβών) the form of a servant." Here the idea of *assumption* is undoubted, yet the radical expresses that idea less distinctly than the compound verb.

2. To use this verb here in the sense of taking hold of to save, diverts the mind from the main point in view in this chapter, which is, not the relative nature that Christ saved, but the relative nature which he assumed. The first chapter of Hebrews is devoted to the divine, the second to the human nature of Christ. In the latter we are informed that the manhood of Christ was predicted;‡ that it was necessary to assume this nature in order to effect the ends of his advent;§ and particularly that these ends required identity of nature between the Saviour and the saved, "the sanctifier and the sanctified."‖ And now it is in the midst of this train of argument that the sixteenth verse is introduced, and very appropriately, if the sense of the common version is adopted—that Christ took not on him the nature of angels, but of men. Whereas to stop here, and state that Christ saved men in contradistinction to angels, were entirely foreign to the writer's purpose, and interrupts the tenor of remark to lug in a thought which is not suggested either before or afterwards in any part of the epistle.

3. Again, it must be borne in mind that it is of the *holy* angels

* They, of course, approve the rendering given in the margin of our English Polyglott, viz., "He taketh not hold of angels, but of the seed of Abraham he taketh hold."

† And so, too, in classic Greek.

‡ Verses 6, (comp. 9,) 12, 13.

§ Verses 10, 14, 15.

‖ Verses 11, 1,2, 14 15.

Digitized by Google

that Paul is here speaking. Indeed, the fallen angels, or devils, are never, I think, spoken of in Scripture by the simple appellative, angels. When this term refers to them, there is always some adjunct, or explanatory word, distinctly indicating such reference.*

But, furthermore, evil angels cannot be meant here, because the writer has all along defined himself as speaking of holy angels. He has said much of "angels" in this and the preceding chapter, introducing that term no less than ten times, but in every case referring indisputably to good angels. And now to suppose that, in immediate connexion with all this, the apostle would use the same term in an opposite sense, meaning not good angels but devils, and that, too, without any word or phrase notifying us of such change, is utterly improbable and absurd. But if good angels are meant, then the version we oppose is perfectly nugatory; for then that version makes the apostle say that Christ did not take hold of the holy, unfallen angels to save them; *i. e.*, did not save beings that were never lost, and therefore did not need saving, and indeed could not be saved In other words, it presents Paul as expressing a truism too childish to be uttered by any writer, inspired or uninspired. Whereas, to say that Christ, in his mediatorial work, assumed the human in preference to the angelic nature, and in the same connexion give the reasons for such preference, is to impart edifying and important theological truth.

4. If ἐπιλαμβάνεται here signifies to take hold of in the sense of saving, it makes the seed of Abraham the exclusive objects of that salvation. It excludes Abraham himself from the provisions of mercy! for by no possibility can Abraham be included in the *seed* of Abraham. But further, Did Christ undertake to save no other people but the Hebrews? Who thinks so? Isaiah thinks very differently. He says: "It is a light thing that thou shouldest be my servant to raise up the tribes of Jacob. I will also give thee for a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayest be my salvation unto the end of the earth."

Bloomfield evidently feels this difficulty, and hence adds hastily that "the spiritual seed of Abraham" (Gentile converts) as well as the "natural seed" may be included. This is an unadvised remark; for although it is true, as this writer observes, that "seed of Abraham" is used in each of these senses, yet it is certainly never used in both senses at the same time.† This would be to confound things that are different. It would place all Jews, as such, in the same

* Rom. viii, 38 and 1 Cor. vi, 3 constitute no exception to this remark; the περιστάσεις show distinctly that wicked angels are meant.

† This would violate the first and plainest principle of Hermaneutics, viz., that no word or phrase can have but one meaning in one and the same place.

Digitized by Google

saving relations to God with truly converted Gentile Christians, which nobody believes.

Under the pressure of the same difficulty, Dr. Clarke is driven to explain *σπέρμα Ἀβραάμ* as signifying "the human creature," "man," in the widest sense of that term; *i. e.* all mankind! But this phrase is never so used in the Bible, and cannot be so long as language continues to have any definite sense.

But, on the other hand, if we give to *ἐπιλαμβάνεται* the sense of the received version, then we can render *σπέρμα Ἀβραάμ* in its plain, natural meaning, as referring to Christ's human nature; for of that "seed," "according to the flesh, Christ came." This reference of the phrase is not only authorized, but required by the inspired word; for it not only foretells that Christ shall possess human nature, but also, in the very language under consideration, that he shall be *σπέρμα Ἀβραάμ*—born of the lineage of that holy patriarch.* Indeed, we have little doubt but that Paul had the original promise in Genesis before his mind, and borrowed his terms from it, as he had just quoted a series of other prophecies, all foretelling that Messiah would be presented in human form. And we are strengthened in this view from the fact that *ἐπιλ αμβάνεται* is not used in the aorist, or historic tense, but in the present, just as *ἐπαισχύνεται* had been used in verse 11: as though he had said, "According to Scripture prophecy, he taketh not on him the nature of angels, but he taketh on him the seed of Abraham."

And it is a circumstance not a little remarkable, that both Clarke and Barnes, after rejecting this sense of the place, do nevertheless avail themselves of it in their notes, and superadd it to the other sense! This is certainly a marvellous way of annotation, to make the same words, and in the same place, teach two distinct doctrines, having no necessary connexion, and that, too, when one of them had just been expressly rejected! We will not believe they wrote with so little sense of responsibility, but rather infer that so obvious is the sense here advocated, that these writers, even after arguing against it, could still not leave the passage, with any satisfaction to themselves, without allowing it, though at the expense of their own consistency, to speak out its own true and native meaning.

NELSON ROUNDS.

* Comp. Gen. xxii, 18 (Sept.) with Gal. iii, 16.

Digitized by Google

Art. VIII.—SHORT REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

(1.) M. Guizot seems to be gathering up the odds and ends of his literary products. One of these is "*Shakspeare and His Times.*" (New-York: Harper and Brothers, 1852; 12mo., pp. 360.) This essay appeared for the first time as an introduction to the French edition of Shakspeare's complete works, published at Paris in 1821. It consists of a preliminary essay on Dramatic Literature, with a brief sketch of Shakspeare and his Times, followed by special criticisms upon six of the tragedies, ten historical dramas, and three comedies. M. Guizot sees clearly whatever he does see, and expresses himself with even more than the ordinary French perspicuity. Yet his narrative abounds in inaccuracies, and his criticism in ineptitudes. "Shakspeare," he says, "cannot be translated into French." He might have added, that Shakspeare cannot be fully appreciated by a Frenchman, even though that Frenchman be M. Guizot.—A field in which the writer is far more at home is opened in "*Corneille and His Times*, by M. Guizot," (Harpers; 12mo., pp. 395;) which is a still older composition, published for the first time in 1813, forty years ago. The book, though not rewritten, has been changed a good deal from its early form. "So many years, and such years," says M. Guizot, "develop in the mind entirely new views upon all subjects—upon literature as well as life; and no one is ignorant of the discoveries we may make by changing our horizon without changing our ideas." An additional feature of this volume is the fact that a third part of it was written by Madame Guizot.

(2.) The recent issues of Bohn's Libraries are, if possible, better chosen than usual. Among them are "*The Moral and Historical Works of Lord Bacon,*" (12mo., pp. 504;) including the Essays, Apophthegms, Wisdom of the Ancients, New Atlantis, and Life of Henry the Seventh. A volume is to follow containing a complete translation of the *De Augmentis*, and the *Novum Organum.*—"*The Life and Correspondence of John Foster,*" vol. i, (12mo., pp. 488,) is a new edition of a book too well known to need further comment. In the Classical Library we have "*The Greek Anthology literally translated into English Prose;*" (12mo., pp. 516.) The translation is mainly from the hand of Mr. Burges; but metrical versions by Bland, Merivale, and others, are added. The volume gives everything that can be needed by English readers. We have also "*The Olynthiac, and other Public Orations of Demosthenes, translated by* C. R. Kennedy," (12mo., pp. 312.)—The Illustrated Library affords us a new edition of Maxwell's "*Victories of Wellington and the British Armies,*" (12mo., pp. 528,)—a badly written book, but full of interest and incident.—The last volume of the Scientific Library is a reprint of Whewell's Bridgewater treatise—"*Astronomy and General Physics, considered with reference to Natural Theology,*" (12mo., pp. 328.) An ample supply of all these Libraries is kept on hand by Messrs. Bangs, Brother & Co., 13 Park-Row.

Digitized by Google

(3.) We have before spoken of Madame Ida Pfeiffer's adventurous journeys in nearly all strange lands. Her first impulse to travel led her to the Holy Land; and we have now an English translation of the record of her journey, under the title "*Visit to the Holy Land, Egypt, and Italy;*" (London: Ingham & Co.; New-York: Bangs, Brother & Co., 1852; 12mo., pp. 336;) which has reached a third edition in England. Like the "Voyage to Iceland," the work is a simple and unadorned relation of facts, candid, sensible, and interesting throughout. It is beautifully printed, and illustrated by eight tinted engravings.

(4.) The controversy with Rome is to be waged anew; and, *as* a controversy, it must be waged chiefly in England and America. The Inquisition is one of the "institutions" of Rome. The theory of the Romish Church, as boldly avowed by its own writers in this country, is the theory of persecution. They tell us, without reserve, that religious liberty, so called, will exist, even in America, only so long as Romanism is subordinate to Protestantism. We are fairly warned. With such avowals, it behooves us to inquire, at least, with what sort of rule we are threatened in the day when Romanism *shall* prevail; even though *we* may put that epoch off to the Greek Calends. Every source of information, then, as to the claims, pretensions, and usages of Rome, should be diligently searched. And we are glad to know that this work is going on. More books, and better books, on the Romish controversy, have appeared in England in the last five years than in fifty before. One of the best of those prepared for popular use is "*The Brand of Dominic: or, Inquisition at Rome, Supreme and Universal;* by Rev. William H. Rule." (New-York: Carlton & Phillips, 1852; 12mo., pp. 392.) The design of the work is to give an authenticated statement of the establishment and progress of the Inquisition. For this purpose the author has recourse, not to the popular histories of the Inquisition—not to the many volumes of stories, of doubtful authenticity—but to sources acknowledged as authoritative by Romanists themselves. In every instance, he tells us, he has "used these authorities for himself." The work, then, is historical rather than polemical, and for that very reason it is the more trustworthy and valuable. The author writes with remarkable calmness and deliberation; and while, of course, he does not attempt to extenuate the enormities of the Inquisition, or to mitigate the just abhorrence in which the tribunal is held throughout the civilized world, he does not, at least consciously, exaggerate any of its crimes. No exaggeration, indeed, is needed to give effect to a simple statement of the terrible truth. He tells us how the Inquisition began, what it was in the days of its pride and power, and *what it is now.* For, to use his own language, the Inquisition is not to be spoken of "as an obsolete barbarism, or as a something that cannot any longer exist. It is a permanent, active, and vigorous institution of the Church of Rome. While the papacy survives, the Inquisition must live; for the spirit of it is not that of the middle age, but of the Church itself. Many orders have risen and fallen again within the bosom of that Church, because their interests were local, or because, like some of the military societies, they were not so constituted as possibly to be permanent. And special enterprises, like the

Digitized by Google

Crusades, that could not possibly be continued, have had their day, and passed off into the pages of history. But the Inquisition outlives every change, adapts itself to the condition of every country, works quietly amidst the most clamorous professions of liberality, and, while seeming to have been beaten away from the wide field of the popedom, and forced to retreat within the frontiers of the papal states, even there the Congregation of the Faith plies its agencies with an impalpable, noiseless, and all-pervading energy that mocks our jealousy, by eluding our vigilance. The inquisitors are actually conducting a crusade, in union with the Jesuits, against the civil and religious liberties of the world, and are causing that intensely ecclesiastical but worldly spirit, which is erroneously called Ultramontanism, to prevail in countries which very lately seemed to be open for a religious reformation."

We commend the work, as a candid, truthful, and temperate account of the Inquisition, containing much material that is altogether new, and as being, in the author's language, "more perfectly historical in its structure than that of most others on the same subject."

(5.) "*Pastoral Theology; or, the Theory of the Evangelical Ministry*, by A. VINET; translated and edited by Thomas H. Skinner, D. D." (New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1853; 12mo., pp. 387.) This work was not prepared for the press by M. Vinet, but is composed, substantially, of the notes which served as a basis for his lectures in the Academy of Lausanne. It is marked by the comprehensiveness of range, clearness of thought, profound learning, and admirable perspicuity of expression, which characterize all the works of M. Vinet. After an Introduction, laying out the subject and setting forth the necessity and nature of the Ministry, the work is divided into four parts, of which the *first* treats of the individual and internal life of the preacher; the *second* exhibits his relative and social life; the *third*, his pastoral life; and the *fourth*, his administrative or official life. All these points are faithfully elaborated, sometimes, even, with excessive minuteness of detail; and many of the statements refer to an ecclesiastical condition and to a relation of Church and State, utterly unknown in this country. The work, throughout, moreover, has a fragmentary character, which is, perhaps, due to the lack of the author's final revision for the press. But it is full of spirit, fire, and unction.

We present the following extracts as a specimen of the author's mode of dealing with practical points, and also because of their bearing upon the duty of Methodist preachers, who, by the rule of the last General Conference, are bound to catechise the children committed to their charge.

"Among our functions, *catechising* occupies the first rank. Religious instruction, well attended on, renews continually the foundation of the Church, and is the most real and valuable part of that tradition by which Christianity, not only as a doctrine, but also as a life, perpetuates itself from age to age. In this tradition, the importance of the sermon, properly so called, is the greater in proportion as it is addressed to hearers who have been prepared by religious instruction.

"Catechising is useful to those who are its immediate objects; it is useful to the parish, which has need to be, and, with its children, is catechised; it is use-

Digitized by Google

ful to the pastor himself, who, by the duty of adapting religion to the apprehension of children, is incessantly carried back to simplicity and the true names of things. On all these accounts, it deserves our earnest attention, which it also demands by its difficulty—not the same for all pastors, but always great. For it is a work which, besides all the requisites to good preaching, includes special requisites of its own. He who catechises well will not preach badly; though he who preaches excellently may be a bad catechist.

"Let the preacher do what he can to make the child remember, through life, the instructions he gives him. Let the hours of teaching be hours of edification; let the child have the feeling that the exercise is one in which he is to be active; let religious teaching have the character of worship: *action* and *worship*, these two characteristics, which ought to be interfused into one another, are too often lost sight of.

"Where ought a child to find his religion? All that he can find himself, he must find, but that is little; all the rest is in the Bible. It is the Bible that must teach him. Catechising presupposes the Bible, which it does but digest and systematize; and we say in passing, that its use after the Bible has not the same inconveniences with its use before it. It would be a sad error to retrench it, but not so great a one as to retrench the Bible.

"It is difficult to make a Catechism, and there are but few good ones. All things else being equal, I should prefer the most elementary—one which, conceived after a Christian plan, and reducing all things to a small number of principles, presents only the fundamental ideas on each subject, but expressed with vigour and feeling.

"It is very desirable that adults should take interest in the exercise, and be attendants on it, but we should not think ourselves obliged to change its character on their account. It would be unfaithfulness in respect to the children, and would be rather a damage than a benefit to the adults. Religion is never more penetrating, nor is instruction really more profound, than when Christianity is put in an infantile point of view. To present it thus, is to make it attractive to adults; the best sermon is not so attractive as a catechetic exercise, well managed."

There are many things in this book with which we cannot agree, but yet we welcome it as a most welcome addition to our scanty stock of books on practical and pastoral theology.

(6.) "*Woman's Record; or, Sketches of all Distinguished Women, from the beginning till A. D.* 1850; by SARAH JOSEPHA HALE." (New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1853; royal 8vo., pp. .) "Some readers," remarks Mrs. Hale in her preface, "may think I have found too many celebrities; others will search for omissions. There was never a perfect work—so mine must bear the general lot of criticism." This appeal would have been more valid if a more modest title-page announced the work. In a book of sketches of *all* distinguished women, one *would* expect to find the names of the mother of the Wesleys, of Mr. Fletcher, and of some, at least, of the missionary women of Methodism. With regard to the last, however, it is due to Mrs. Hale to say that she tells us "they were not furnished;" but we should really be glad to know to whom she applied for information. But, even with these drawbacks, and many others that we need not go far to seek, the book is a most valuable contribution to biographical literature. It is certainly the most copious repertory of facts about woman, or rather *women*, that is extant in the language. The arrangement of the work is faulty; it is neither alphabetical nor chronological, but a mixture of the two.

Digitized by Google

(7.) "*American Missionary Memorial, including Biographical and Historical Sketches*, edited by H. W. PIERSON, A. M. (New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1853; 8vo., pp. 504.) The "Book of Martyrs" is fitly followed by the "Book of Missionaries." The world commemorates its heroes, and the Church should not forget hers. And the volume before us tells of heroes and heroines of the purest and the noblest stamp—men and women to whom duty was more than life. It contains a brief account of the origin of American Foreign Missions, and *twenty-seven* biographical sketches of American Missionaries, of all religious denominations—among them the foremost of the noble band, such as Judson, Abeel, Fisk, Cox, and Williams. It is delightful, as the editor of this work remarks, to "mark the *oneness* of the people of God of every name, as illustrated in their spirit and labours for the conversion of the world." The book is illustrated by thirty-three wood-cuts, many of them portraits. We trust it will be widely circulated among all the Churches.

(8.) THE late Rev. DANIEL SMITH was "in labours abundant," both in the pulpit and in his study. The books from his pen, issued by the Methodist Book Concern, are all of a practical character, and are well adapted to the wants of the times. The last work prepared by him before his death has just been issued, under the title "*The Book of Manners, a Guide to Social Intercourse.*" (New-York: Carlton & Phillips, 1852; 32mo., pp. 202.) The book is written upon the principle that good manners spring from good feelings, and that "he can never fail to please any that are worth pleasing, who acts in accordance with the dictates of good sense and a benevolent heart;" while no *selfish* man can be a real gentleman. The writer makes free use of all the best writers on the subject, and the result of his labours is a work combining the excellencies, and avoiding the defects of most of the existing manuals. We commend it as deserving a wide circulation.—Another posthumous work, from the same lamented hand, is "*A Guide to the Lord's Supper*, by Rev. DANIEL SMITH, (New-York: Carlton & Phillips, 1853; pp. 122,) and, like the former work, it condenses into a small space the substance of many larger treatises.

(9.) "*The Three Colonies of Australia: New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia—their pastures, copper-mines and gold fields;* by SAMUEL SIDNEY." (London: Ingham, Cooke & Co.; New-York: Bangs & Brother; 8vo., pp. 425.) This book is a repertory of information about Australia. It is divided into three parts:—1. Historical; 2. Descriptive; 3. Practical. The first contains an account of the discovery and settlement of the island, and of the various schemes of governors and administrations for its management up to the present time. The second part treats of the principal districts colonized, of their natural history, and their agricultural and mining resources. The third section may be called, in brief, a hand-book for emigrants. All these subjects are thoroughly worked out. The writer criticises the various colonization schemes that have been adopted in England with great severity, and is especially sharp in censuring the land system of the British government. Indeed, one great

Digitized by Google

object of his work seems to be advocate what he calls "the admirable system by which, for half a century, the vast territories of the United States have been colonized, cities have been founded, harbours constructed, railroads made, and canals cut."

(10.) ANOTHER contribution to the *romance* of History has appeared in "*Lives of the Queens of Scotland*, by Miss STRICKLAND, vol. iii. (New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1853; 12mo., pp. 336.) This volume contains the Life of Mary Stuart, which Miss Strickland, after her usual fashion, writes as an advocate, not as a biographer. Everything that can possibly tell in the fair but frail queen's favour is given—nay, exaggerated—and the hard points against her are either omitted or extenuated. To those who wish a one-sided, but yet highly attractive sketch of Mary, this volume will be welcome.

(11.) THE value of Dr. Lardner's "*Hand-books of Natural Philosophy and Astronomy*" is well known to practical teachers. We have received the "Second Course," (Philadelphia: Blanchard & Lea, 1853; 12mo., pp. 451,) which treats of Heat, Magnetism, Common Electricity, and Voltaic Electricity and contains a full and accurate digest of the present state of knowledge on these subjects. The chapter on the Electric Telegraph, however, might certainly have received some valuable additions on this side the Atlantic.

(12.) "*A Guide to Roman History*, by Rev. Dr. BREWER," (New-York: C. S. Francis & Co.; 18mo., pp. 474,) contains a brief manual of the History of Rome from the earliest period to the close of the Western Empire; designed for use in schools and families, and put in the form of question and answer throughout.

(13.) "*Philip Doddridge, his Life and Labours*, by JOHN STOUGHTON." (Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 1853; 12mo., pp. 222.) This is a reprint, with additions, of a Memorial delivered before the Congregational Union of England and Wales at its session of 1852, held at Northampton, the scene of Doddridge's labours, just a century after his death. It presents his mild, amiable, and yet manly nature in very fitting dress, and is worthy of general circulation.

(14.) "*Elements of Geology*, by ALONZO GRAY, A. M., and C. B. ADAMS, A. M.," (New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1853; 12mo., pp. 354,) is just such a book as we have long wished to see, not only for school use, but for our own personal edification. It not only presents the elements of the science in a simple form adapted to beginners, that also gives tolerably ample discussions of the more important geological theories, and of their practical applications, as well as of their bearings upon Revelation. No work, on this subject, has appeared either in England or America at all comparable to this for condensation and clearness combined with fulness of detail.

Digitized by Google

(15.) "*Questions on the Gospel History*, by JAMES STRONG, A. M.," (18mo., pp. 295.) These Questions are adapted to the author's excellent "Harmony and Exposition of the Gospels," and are designed for the use of the older pupils in schools, and for Bible-classes, Sunday-school teachers, &c. With this view they are far more *thorough* than the routine of those in general use, and aim to cultivate the student's judgment as well as his memory. We have examined them sufficiently to warrant us in commending them unreservedly.

(16.) "*Formation of a Manly Character: a Series of Lectures to Young Men*, by GEORGE PECK, DD." (New-York: Carlton & Phillips, 1853; 18mo., pp. 304.) This is one of the most judicious and sensible books of its class that has come under our notice. The *ideal* of a manly character is just and true, and it gives excellent practical suggestions for the realization of that ideal. The first chapter enforces the necessity of physical training—a branch of culture greatly neglected in this country. We take better care, in general, of the *physique* of our dogs and horses than of our children. The four following chapters treat of manhood of mind and will; and they are, perhaps, the very best part of the book. The chapter on Imagination is especially sensible and suggestive. Take, as a sample, the following illustration of *unduly excited* Imagination:—

"One instance of this class is that of an inequality of mind, or a want of due balance—an exclusive devotion to *one idea*. The men of this class mount some particular hobby, and ride it to death—or, rather, ride it till they *kill themselves*. In their imagina ions, they make the welfare of the race, and the very existence of society, to depend upon their favourite scheme.

"Another instance of this class may be denominated *castle-building*. Concocting impracticable schemes, and dreaming over them night and day, until the sober realities of life become utterly insignificant, and the mind is only in its element while in the midst of a world of pleasant day-dreams and gorgeous pictures of wealth, honour, and glory. Delightful fancies dazzle the sight, and splendid fictions crowd the brain, a series of splendid visions pass before the mind and excite the sensibilities; this is thought to be possible, that probable, and the other quite certain. Reason is dethroned, and soon the wretched dreamer is deemed a fair candidate for the mad-house.

"Still another form in which the high excitement and undue action of the imagination show themselves, is that of *reckless speculations*. A man of business flourishes for a while, and seems to be in the high road to wealth; a pressure in the money market comes on, and he fails for *a hundred thousand dollars*. Some set him down for a regular-built scoundrel; while those who are alone competent to judge in the case, consider him a victim of baseless calculations,—an adventurous genius,—one whose imagination had become rampant, and had turned reason and common-sense out of doors.

"When the imagination is excited by strong temptations to do wrong, the moral sense, or conscience, is liable to undermined. When conscience becomes blinded, or diseased, by some cause, which leads the imagination astray, then it may be said to be *corrupted*. It is probably true that all vicious actions, which are deliberately done, are first acted over in the imagination. The images of a certain species of wrong take possession of the imagination, and are there mixed up with a thousand sweets; the bait is gilded, and assumes every pleasant hue; a scene is created in which the lights are placed in bold relief, while the shades are far in the background, scarcely visible. The imagination is occupied with this scene, and by it excited and heated, day after day, and, perhaps, for years, before the dreadful result develops itself.

Digitized by Google

"The public mind is often shocked by instances of outrageous wickedness, perpetrated by individuals of considerable respectability. Funds are embezzled, virtue is assaulted, or a murder is committed, by some one not suspected capable of any such outrages upon morals. If the history of the mind and heart of the transgressor could be read, it would be seen that the immediate occasion of the offence merely brought out, or matured, what had been a thousand times enacted in the imagination. The real fall was not sudden, but gradual, having its incipient stages and its growth in the workings of the imagination."

The chapters on "Moral and Religious Manhood" show that the only sure basis for a manly character is true religion. Every other foundation is but quicksand. On the whole, the book is a most valuable present from the excellent author to the "Young men of the Time," and we trust it will be widely circulated.

(17.) It is never too late to do well. The publishers have been very tardy in sending us "*Lectures on the Evidences of Christianity, delivered at the University of Virginia, during the Session of* 1850–51." (New-York: R. Carter & Brothers, 1852, 8vo., pp. 606.) But it is welcome; and we only regret that we cannot devote an article to it instead of a brief notice. The Lectures were delivered entirely by Presbyterian clergymen—a fact thus explained in the Preface:—"The only point which seems to need explanation is the fact that all the lecturers were chosen from one denomination of Christians. This was a point of much deliberation, and the plan adopted was considered the most likely to secure in the end the best and widest result. It was hoped that our example would be followed by the other denominations, as they in turn had possession of the chaplaincy: and thus only could all be allowed an equal opportunity. The material being inexhaustible, let each denomination draw up its own schedule, select its own champions of the faith, and publish its own volume of lectures, and thus, and thus alone, might we hope to have the flower of American Christian intellect in the several Churches engaged in a united assault upon the ranks of infidelity." We have reason to believe that the "flower" of the Presbyterian Church has been engaged upon the lectures before us, and the result is a work of which the Christian Church (much more any denomination of it) has no reason to be ashamed. We suppose there must have been some arrangement between the lecturers as to their several topics: if not, they have chanced upon a remarkable series of well-adjusted lines of thinking, going very nearly to make up a rounded whole of Christian evidences. Dr. Plumer's lecture on "Man Responsible for his Belief," is a fit portico to this noble edifice, albeit, as a portico, it is not so highly finished as some of the inner chambers. But we dare not attempt, in our half-page notice, to characterize the several lectures. The best of them, according to our judgment, are Dr. Alexander's on the "Character of Jesus Christ as an Argument for the Divine Origin of Christianity;" Dr. Breckenridge's on the "General Internal Evidence of Christianity;" and Rev. T. V. Moore's on the "Unity of the Human Race, in answer to the ethnological objection." But while the other lectures are of unequal merit, none are *without* merit; and the book, as a whole, is a valuable addition to the apologetical literature of Christianity.

Digitized by Google

(18.) "*The Complete Works of* SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE, vol. i: *Aids to Reflection and Statesman's Manual.*" (New-York: Harper & Brothers, 12mo., pp. 484.) It is quite the fashion, in some quarters, now-a-days, to abuse COLERIDGE as a man possessed of great powers, indeed, but wasting them in dreamy indolence. And yet this man has made a stronger impression upon the thinking minds of the age than any other on English ground, and his writings and conversation have given a more manly turn to philosophical inquiry than existed among his countrymen for a century before,—not to speak of his poetry, which exhibits more varied powers than have been shown by any one man since the days of Milton. Believing thus, we cannot but rejoice at the appearance of the first volume of a collected edition of his writings. The series (of which there are to be seven volumes) will contain *all* his published writings, with the exception of his newspaper articles, which are omitted on account of their comparatively ephemeral character. The whole is to be edited by Professor SHEDD, who has given ample proof of his capacity for the task in the genial and able Introductory Essay prefixed to this volume, which contains also Dr. Marsh's admirable Essay originally prefixed to the Aids to Reflection. A very meagre index to the "Aids" appears at the end of the volume; we hope it is not a specimen of what we are to expect in that way throughout, and trust that an ample index to the "Works" will appear in the seventh volume. Without it, the collection will be still *incomplete*.

(19.) "*Outlines of Astronomy*, by Sir J. F. W. HERSCHEL." (Philadelphia: Blanchard & Lea, 1852, 8vo., pp. 557.) This edition of a work too well known to require special comment is reprinted from the *fourth* London, (of 1851,) which contains the author's latest additions. There is no other summary of the facts of astronomy so full, accurate, and perspicuous.

(20.) "*The History of the Restoration of Monarchy in France*, by ALPHONSE DE LAMARTINE," vol. iii. (Harper & Brothers: New-York, 1852, 12mo., pp. 554.) Each volume of this History appears to be an improvement upon its predecessor; certainly the narration of Napoleon's fall is a most admirable piece of composition. Lamartine appears to great advantage amid the flatterers and parasites of Louis Napoleon, uttering himself boldly and freely with regard to the overweening and unscrupulous ambition of *Mon Oncle*, and showing how it led him first to wrong and then to ruin. The present volume carries the history down from 1815 to 1821. The second restoration affords a fine field for M. Lamartine's power of scene-painting: the capture of Napoleon, the escape of Lavalette, the judicial slaughter of Ney—that ineffaceable blot upon the memory of that hard and heartless man the Duke of Wellington—are depicted with even more than his usual skill at picture-making. The closing passage of the volume contains, in few words, a condensed characterization of Napoleon's character and career, so just and so accurate that we cannot forbear to quote it:—

"The intelligence of his death changed the immense terror which had beset Europe during his life into immense pity. When people ceased to fear him, they

Digitized by Google

ceased to hate. Impartial minds began to do him justice. Genius and glory were not denied to him; but it was deplored that so much genius and so much glory had only been consecrated to the personal greatness of one man, instead of being devoted to the amelioration of the world. This is where he failed to his destiny, to God, to humanity, to France, and to himself. The fine part of his character was not equalled by the good. He was the greatest man of modern times, but he was also the most sterile in results for the human race. He wasted France and Europe for fourteen years, without imparting to them an idea, a liberty, or a virtue. He shook the world without displacing it. France, however, which owes him a severe judgment, owes him also impartial gratitude. He made her illustrious; he made her resound with the splendour of his own name, during the early part of a century, through the universe. It is a service to aggrandize the name of one's country; for the name of a people is a spell in time and history, and a certain claim to immortality."

(21.) "*Pleasant Pages for Young People*, by J. P. NEWCOMBE." (Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 1853; 18mo., pp. 426.) This is a book something after the style of the fascinating "Evenings at Home," but more accurate and authentic in its scientific information. Its aim is to reconcile pleasure with useful instruction; and it is skilfully prepared for use in family education.

(22.) "*R. J. Wurst's Deutsche Sprachdenklehre, zum Selbstunterricht in der Muttersprache eingerichtet und mit einer Erklärung der Gebrauchs Methode versehen*, von WILHELM NAST." (Cincinnati: Swormstedt & Poe, 1853; 12mo., pp. 172.) Dr. Nast is unwearied in labours for the benefit of his countrymen in America. The last "good work" in which he has been engaged is the preparation of this manual, which is everything that the title-page indicates.

(23.) "*Cornelii Nepotis liber de excellentibus Ducibus*, &c." (Philadelphia: Blanchard & Lea; 18mo., pp. 216.) This forms one of the "Classical Series" heretofore edited by Schmitz and Zumpt; but which, from some misunderstanding, we believe, between them and the Edinburgh publishers, has passed into other hands. The edition before us is well adapted for school use.

(24.) "Religion, with or without rank, wealth, beauty, rare endowment, varied accomplishment, or any singularity, can lift Woman to the highest distinction and confer the most enduring glory—that of filling well, not the narrow, but the wide and divine realm of HOME." Such a distinction, and such a glory, certainly belong to the subject of the "*Memoir of Mary L. Ware, Wife of Henry Ware, jr.*, by EDWARD B. HALL," (Boston: Crosby, Nichols & Co., 1853; 12mo., pp. 434,) now before us. A true, faithful daughter, wife, mother, friend; with no eccentricities, no extravagances, no marvellous qualities of head or hand; but with an honest truthfulness of nature, a willing spirit of self-sacrifice, and an ever-loving heart—such was Mary L. Ware. It is by such women that woman's *rights* are best vindicated by the steadfast performance of women's duties. Mrs. Ware's religious life was pure and unspotted; and had she lived in a warmer atmosphere of Christian feeling, she would have been a model, besides, of Christian experience.

Digitized by Google

(25.) "*Meyer's Universum*" (New-York: H. J. Meyer, 164 William-st.) continues to appear with praiseworthy punctuality. Part XI. contains views of Liège and Seraing; a view on Lake George; Alcazar in Segovia (Spain); and Trajan's Arch in Benevento (Italy). In Part XII. we find the following: Wall-street (New-York); The Napoleon Column on the Place Vendôme in Paris; Environs of Cuma and Lago D'Averno, with Lago de Fussard; and the General Post-office (Washington).

(26.) Of the following pamphlets, essays, sermons, &c., we regret that we are unable to give anything more than the titles:—

A Tract for the Times, or Elemental Contrast between the Religion of Forms and of the Spirit, by S. S. SCHMUCKER, D. D.

An Appeal to Christians. A Sermon, published by request. By ROBERT ALLYN, A. M., Principal of Providence Conference Seminary.

The Balm of Gilead, a Missionary Sermon, by LYMAN A. EDDY. 1852.

A Discourse delivered by H. P. TAPPAN, D. D., at Ann Arbour, Michigan, on the Occasion of his Inauguration as Chancellor of the University of Michigan, Dec. 21, 1852.

A Funeral Discourse on the Death of Robert Craig, Esq., Richmond, Va., Jan. 9, 1853. By Rev. T. V. MOORE.

Catalogue of Dickinson College, for the Academical Year 1852-3.

Sixth Annual Report upon the Common Schools of New-Hampshire, the same being the Second Annual Report of the Board of Education of the State of New-Hampshire. June, 1852.

A Contrast between the Erroneous Assertions of Prof. Schof and the Testimony of Credible Ecclesiastical Historians in Regard to the State of the Christian Church in the Middle Ages. By J. J. JANEWAY, D. D.

The Christian Ministry: a Sermon delivered before the New-York East Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, at Hartford, Conn., June 18, 1852, on the occasion of the Ordination of Elders. By Rev. Daniel Curry, a Member of that Conference.

ART. IX.—RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Theological.

EUROPEAN.

THE elaborate, and in many respects excellent, Commentary of Baumgarten on the Acts of the Apostles is completed. We have received the second division of the second part, under the sub-title, "*Von Korinth bis Rom;*" (Braunschweig, 1852, 8vo., pp. 525.) Baumgarten belongs to the *latest* school of German theologians—that is to say, to the most orthodox; for the tendency of the German mind of late years has been toward the early and simple belief in the word of God as a divinely inspired work. His present work is divided into three parts: I. The Church among the Jews. II. The Church in transition from the Jews to the heathen. III. The Church among the heathen. The first he finds in the first seven chapters of the Acts; the second extends from the eighth to the thirteenth; and the third occupies the remaining chapters.

The Bampton Lectures for 1852 were delivered by Rev. J. E. Riddle, A. M., and are now published under the title of

Digitized by Google

"*The Natural History of Infidelity and Superstition,*" (8vo., pp. 520.)

"*The Life and Epistles of St. Paul,*" by CONYBEARE & HOWSON (London, 2 vols. 4to.), is now completed, and is pronounced by European critics the most valuable contribution that has been made of late years to Biblical Literature—certainly the most elaborate and complete work on St. Paul that has ever appeared. The following extract from the introduction explains the plan on which the authors have prepared the work:—"To comprehend the influences under which he grew to manhood, we must realize the position of a Jewish family in Tarsus, the 'chief city of Cilicia;' we must understand the kind of education which the son of such a family would receive as a boy in his Hebrew home, or in the schools of his native city, and in his riper youth 'at the feet of Gamaliel' in Jerusalem; we must be acquainted with the profession for which he was to be prepared by this training, and appreciate the station and duties of an expounder of the law. And that we may be fully qualified to do all this, we should have a clear view of the state of the Roman Empire at the time, and especially of its system in the provinces; we should also understand the political position of the Jews of the 'dispersion;' we should be (so to speak) hearers in their synagogues; we should be students of their Rabbinical theology. And, in like manner, as we follow the apostle in the different stages of his varied and adventurous career, we must strive continually to bring out in their true brightness the half-effaced forms and colouring of the scene in which he acts; and while he 'becomes all things to all men, that he might by all means save some,' we must form to ourselves a living likeness of the *things* and of the *men* among which he moved, if we would rightly estimate his work. Thus we must study Christianity rising in the midst of Judaism, we must realise the position of its early Churches with their mixed society, to which Jews, proselytes, and heathens, had each contributed a characteristic element; we must qualify ourselves to be umpires (if we may so speak) in their violent internal divisions; we must listen to the strife of their schismatic parties, when one said 'I am of Paul, and another, I am of Apollos;' we must study the true character of those early heresies, which even denied the resurrection, and advocated impurity and lawlessness, claiming the right 'to sin that grace might abound,' 'defiling the mind and conscience' of their followers, and making them 'abominable and disobedient, and to every good work reprobate;' we must trace the extent to which Greek philosophy, Judaising formalism, and eastern superstition blended their tainting influence with the pure fermentation of the new leaven which was at last to leaven the whole mass of civilized society.

"Again, to understand St. Paul's personal history as a missionary to the heathen, we must know the state of the different populations which he visited; the character of the Greek and Roman civilization at the epoch; the points of intersection between the political history of the world and the Scriptural narrative; the social organization and gradation of ranks for which he enjoins respect; the position of women, to which he specially refers in many of his letters; the relations between parents and children, slaves and masters, which he not vainly sought to imbue with the loving spirit of the gospel; the quality and influence under the early empire of the Greek and Roman religions, whose effete corruption he denounces with indignant scorn; the public amusements of the people, whence he draws topics of warning or illustration; the operation of the Roman law, under which he was so frequently arraigned; the courts in which he was tried, and the magistrates by whose sentence he suffered; the legionary soldiers who acted as his guards; the roads by which he travelled, whether through the mountains of Lycaonia or the marshes of Latium; the course of commerce by which his journeys were so often regulated; and the character of that imperfect navigation by which his life was so many times endangered."

The first volume of a new and copious commentary on the Epistles of St. John has appeared under the title of "*Die drei Johanneischen Briefe, mit einem vollständigen Theologischen Commentare von* Dr. F. DUSTERDIECK." (Göttingen, 1852; pp. 392.) This volume contains a copious introduction (pp. 1–112), treating of the form, contents, and origin of the first Epistle, and carrying on the commentary to chap. i, 28. The second volume, completing the work, is promised in about a year.

The "*Jahrbücher der Biblischen Wissenschaft,* von HEINRICH EWALD, (viertes Jahrbuch, 1851–1852,) has made its appearance promptly. It is full of Ewald's trenchant criticisms and fierce assaults; but yet, as a *record* of current Biblical literature, it is of great value.

Digitized by Google

We have received the first number of "*Protestantische Monatsblätter für innere Zeitgeschichte*, herausg. von Dr. H. Gelzer." (December, 1852, Gotha.) It is to be a magazine of religious and theological literature for all classes of cultivated people within the limits of evangelical Protestantism.

"*De Christologia Paulina contra Baurium Commentatio, scripsit* J. F. Raebiger (Vratial, 1852; 8vo., pp. 93), gives an adequate summary of Baur's Pauline Christology in eleven pages, and occupies the remaining eighty in refuting it.

Mr. Blackader (13 Paternoster-Row, London) issues a new edition of the Bible, which must be of great value according to the announcement, which is as follows:—"This edition is framed on the model of the Chronological New Testament, and in a similar form, but it will have important enlargements in the way of general utility. In addition to the improvements of the New Testament, it will embody the chief variations to be found in the Oriental interpreters, viz.: the Samaritan, the Septuagint, the Vulgate, the Syriac, the Arabic, the Ethiopic, the Persic, and the Chaldee Paraphrases; so as to put ordinary readers in substantial possession of all that is valuable in the expensive Polyglot of Walton. It was said by the late Dr. Samuel Lee: '*The purely Oriental character and structure of the Old Testament defies in a thousand ways the efforts of ingenious conjecture, and demands elucidations derived from Oriental research.*' This method it is one object of the present edition to apply to it. But the readings of these versions, unless one knows well how to use them, and what value to attach to them, are of comparatively little use to the ordinary student of the Bible. It is not intended, therefore, to print these verbatim, which would be more curious than useful, but to give at the end of each book of the Bible a body of notes, consisting of thorough scholar-like matter from the best sources, and from well-trained Hebrew scholars. The work, at the same time, will be adapted to the ordinary classes of readers, who will thus have the means of employing the Bible as its own interpreter; the great objects accomplished being the removal of artificial hindrances, and the supply of ample as well as of judiciously classified materials for 'comparing spiritual things with spiritual.'"

We called the attention of our readers some time ago to Professor Maurice's "Nineteen Sermons on the Old Testament," which treated of the historical parts of the Sacred Record up to the days of Samuel. A second volume has now appeared, under the title, "*The Prophets and Kings of the Old Testament, a series of Sermons*, by Frederick Denison Maurice, Professor of Divinity in King's College, London. Cambridge, 1853, pp. 480." In his preface the author says:—

"The conviction has been fixing itself deeply in my mind that the Old Testament ought to be read much more simply and according to the letter than we are used to read it; that we have not made its application to our own individual cases more clear by overlooking its obvious national characteristics; that if we had given heed to them we should have found an interpretation of some of the greatest difficulties in history and in the condition of the world around us."

The aim of Professor Maurice in this, as in his former volume, is to show that the narratives as well as the precepts of the Old Testament are full of principles applicable to individual and national life in all times. The following passage will illustrate his method:—

"It may, for instance, be very true and very needful to remember that the height of Saul's stature and the comeliness of his person, had much to do with his being made the first king of Israel. But if, instead of saying that the people elected him for this reason, we follow the Scripture narrative strictly, and say that he, being a member of an insignificant family in the smallest tribe of Israel, and therefore being most unlikely to be selected by the people, and having no dream of any such honour for himself, was marked out by God as the person on whom He would bestow it—I believe we shall obtain a light, not upon this fact only, but upon a multitude that have occurred in the history of the world, which stand in great need of explanation, and are certainly not explained by the commonplaces of ordinary narrators, even if they call themselves philosophical. In a number of cases (the annals of every nation, and of almost every age, supply some) an inconceivably trifling incident, as trifling as that of Saul going out in search of his father's asses, has brought forth the man whom a people feel to be, not selected by them, but given to them; whom they adopt and embrace, they know not why; and who, whether or not he is able to guide and govern them, proves to be a faithful representative of their own state of mind,

Digitized by Google

the very type and embodiment of that character and those habits of mind which they are themselves exhibiting. This is the fact. It has nothing to do with theories about who are or ought to be the choosers of a ruler, with the maxims which guide or should guide their choice of him. He is there; he comes to them. Whether you like it or not, you must refer, you do refer, his appearance to some invisible agency. You may call that agency Chance, if you like. If you know no other name, that is of course the one which you will resort to. If you are content with it there is no more to be said. But mankind has not been content with it. Men have said, there must be an order in these events apparently so fortuitous. They have insisted upon knowing something about that order and who directs it. If now, in this nineteenth century, this century of science, you choose to say there is *no* order in all this—your language at all events sounds as if you were retrograding not progressing, as if you were falling back upon the crudest notions of barbarism."

A new translation (in German) of Josephus's Jewish Antiquities has appeared under the title "*Die Jüdischen Alterthümer des Flavius Josephus, übersetzt und mit Anmerkungen versehen von Dr. K. Martin.*" (Köhn, 1852; 12mo., pp. 668.) Dr. Martin is Professor of (Roman Catholic) Theology in the University of Bonn.

"*Ueber den alte und neutestamentlichen Cultus,*" (Stuttgardt, 1852, 8vo., pp. 273,) is a treatise by Dr. Ernest Sartorius, (whose practical essay on the "Person of Christ" has been translated and published in this country,) on the Sabbath and Worship of the old and new dispensations.

The last issues of Clark's Foreign Theological Library are, The Christian Doctrine of Sin, exhibited by Dr. Julius Muller, Professor of Theology in Halle, translated by William Pulsford, Vol. I.: and A General Historico-Critical Introduction to the Old Testament, by H. A. Havernick, translated by William Lindsay Alexander, D. D.

We have received, but have not been able closely to examine, "*Der Galaterbrief, übersetzt in seinen geschichtlichen Beziehungen, untersucht und erklärt* von Dr. Adolf Hilgenfeld." (Leipzig, 1852; 8vo., pp. 240). It gives a general introduction to the Epistle (pp. 1–96); and then divides the exposition of the text into three parts: 1. The apologetic part to chap. ii, 21. 2. The dogmatic part, chap. iii, iv. 3. The hortatory part, *ad fin.* (pp. 96–234.) The Appendix gives an essay on the chronology of Paul's labours.

"*Chapters on the Teaching of the Roman Church, proving it to be unscriptural, absurd and scandalous,* by Henry Fish, M. A.," (London, 1853; 12mo., pp. 202,) is a work intended to present an abbreviated, but nevertheless a clear view of the dogmatic theology of the Roman Church, derived from undeniable authorities. It shows (1) that Rome proscribes the Bible: (2) that she perverts the Sacraments: (3) that she makes worship superstitious and idolatrous: (4) that she usurps unauthorized dominion over soul and conscience: and (5) that she sustains that ursurpation by persecution and cruelty. We notice that the writer makes much use of Dr. Elliott's great work, "The Delineation of Roman Catholicism,"—that vast repertory of facts and arguments on the Romish controversy.

We have received the second volume of "*The Greek Testament, for the use of Theological Students and Ministers,* by Henry Alford, B. D., late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge." (London, 1825; 8vo., pp. 687.) This volume contains the Acts of the Apostles, with the Epistles to the Romans and Corinthians. It furnishes, together with a critically revised text, a digest of various readings; marginal references to verbal and idiomatic usage; Prolegomena to each book, and a critical and exegetical commentary. The peculiarities of the work are:—1. The text is arranged on critical principles, regard being had to the internal evidence for and against every reading, as well as the external evidence of manuscripts; 2. The reasons for adopting or rejecting any reading are given in the digest; 3. The digest professes to give a complete account of the various readings. It will probably take two more volumes to complete the work.

We continue our statement of the contents of the principal foreign theological Journals.

The *Theologische Studien und Kritiken,* (Hamburg, January, 1853), contains the following articles:—I. Melancthon and his Disciples as Moral Philosophers, by Dr. Schwarz of Jena: II. Josephus and his Greek and Hellenistic predecessors—a letter from Dr. F. Kreuzer: III. On the origin of the usage of folding the hands in prayer, by Professor Vierordt of Karlsruhe: IV. Observations on the *Synagoga Magna,* by Dr. Heidenheim, of Worms: V. A review

Digitized by Google

of Hofmann's *Schriftbeweis*, by *F.* Auberten: VI. A review of Ewald's Antiquities of the Jewish People, by Metzger: VII. The refusal of the Archbishop of Freiburg to allow the burial-service for the Arch-Duke Leopold of Baden, by Dr. Ullmann: VIII. A Memorial of J. G. Eichhorn, by Dr. Umbreit.

Eclectic Review, for November:—I. The Museum and the National Gallery: II. Pascal: III. Memoirs of the Baroness D'Oberkirch: IV. Australian Progress: V. Wright's Celt, Roman, and Saxon: VI. Cooper's Free Church of Christendom: VII. Horace St. John's British India: VIII. Government Persecutions. *December*:—I. Flourens on Geoffrey Saint-Hilaire and Philosophic Anatomy: II. The Papacy—Its History and Genius: III. The Great Salt Lake and the Mormons: IV. Life and Letters of Judge Story: V. History of the Council of Trent: VI. Uncle Tom's Cabin and its Opponents: VII. Pastoral Theology—Power in the Pulpit. *January*:—I. The Hungarian Struggle and Arthur Görgey: II. Scottish Preachers and Preaching: III. Thackeray's History of Colonel Esmond: IV. British South Africa: V. Solwan; or, Waters of Comfort: VI. Religious Persecutions in Tuscany: VII. The Distribution of the Representation. *February*:—I. National Education—Local Scheme: II. Lord John Russell's Memoirs of Thomas Moore: III. The Defence of Christianity: IV. The Colloquies of Edward Osborne: V. Catholicism in the Nineteenth Century: VI. Marsden's History of the Later Puritans: VII. The Methodist Theory and Practice of Excommunication.

North British Review, for February:—I. The Prospects of France and the Dangers of England: II. Scottish Philosophy: III. The Sabbath in the Nineteenth Century: IV. European Navigators in Early Times: V. Litton on the Church: VI. Progessive aspects of Literature—recent Essays: VII. The Universe and its Laws: VIII. Government of the East India Company: IX. The Legal Profession and the County Courts.

Westminster Review, for January:—I. Mary Tudor: II. Condition and Prospects of Ireland: III. Charity, noxious and beneficent: IV. The English Stage: V. American Slavery, and Emancipation by the Free States: VI. The Atomic Theory, before Christ and since: VII. History and Ideas of the Mormons: VIII. Daniel Webster: IX. Contemporary Literature of England, America, Germany, and France.

Irish Quarterly Review, for December:—I. Untranslated Novelists—Alphonse Karr: II. The Streets of Dublin, and Anecdotes of the City and Citizens before the Union: III. Lady Blessington: IV. Mr. Worsaae on the Danes and Norwegians in Ireland. V. Head's "Tour in Ireland:" VI. Thackeray's "Esmond."

Kitto's Journal of Sacred Literature, for January:—I. Why have the Greek and Roman Writers so rarely alluded to Christianity? II. The Rephaim (concluded): III. Moses Stuart: IV. Ewald on the Prophets: V. The Resurrection of the Body: VI. Auricular Confession: VII. Hebrew Literature: VIII. Who are the "Spirits in Prison?" IX. Hippolytus and his Age.

Edinburgh Review, for January:—I. Bunsen's Hippolytus and his Age: II. Jervis's History of the Island of Corfu and the Ionian Islands: III. Saul of Tarsus: IV. Hungarian Revolution: V. Cathedral Reform: VI. Our Indian Army: VII. Montalembert: VIII. Mrs. Jameson's Legends of the Madonna as represented in the Fine Arts: IX. Fall of the Derby Ministry.

British Quarterly Review, for February:—I. Bunsen's Hippolytus—the Ancient and Modern Church: II. Giuseppe Giusti—his Life and Poetry: III. Rio de la Plata—its latest History: IV. Middle Age Travellers in the East: V. Mackay's Religious Development in Greece: VI. Project of the Crystal Palace Commissioners: VII. The Anatomy of Despotism.

Quarterly Review, for December:—I. Vauxhall Factory Schools: II. Life and Letters of Justice Story: III. Indian Administration—East India Company's Possessions: IV. Meteors, Aerolites, and Shooting Stars: V. Cloister Life of Charles V.: VI. Montalembert on Catholic Interests: VII. British Museum: VIII. Memoirs of Wordsworth: IX. The Budget and its Results.

English Review, for January:—I. Bunsen's Hippolytus: II. Kingsley's Sermons on National Subjects: III. Life and Times of St. Bernard: IV. Bandinel's Milton Davenant: V. Cooley's Africa: VI. Missions of the English Church: VII. The Irish Church and her Prospects.

New Quarterly Review, for January:—I. Retrospect of the Literature of the Quarter: II. Moore's Memoirs, Journal, and Correspondence: III. Thackeray and the Age of Queen Anne: IV. Smatterers in Oriental Literature: V. Falsifications of Food: VI. Whim-whams and Opinions of Sir Archibald Alison, Bart.: VII. India—how the Hindú Thrall is ruled: VIII. Anecdotes of Wellington: IX. Miss Strick-

Digitized by Google

land's Lives of the Queens of Scotland: X. Sir Francis Head's Fortnight in Ireland.

Among the new works in Theology and kindred subjects recently announced in Great Britain are the following:—

Apostolical Missions; five sermons preached before the University of Cambridge in May, 1852, by W. B. Hopkins, M. A.:—Faith confirmed by Reason and Authority; the Hulsean Lectures preached before the University of Cambridge, 1852, by the Rev. G. Currey, B. D., preacher at the Charterhouse, and Boyle's Lecturer:—The Revival of the French Emperorship Anticipated from the Necessity of Prophecy, by George Stanley Faber, B. D., Master of Sherburn Hospital, and Prebendary of Salisbury, fcap. 8vo., cloth:—Also, by the same author, The Difficulties of Romanism in respect to Evidence; or, the Peculiarities of the Latin Church evinced to be untenable on the principles of legitimate Historical Testimony; third and cheaper edition, revised and remoulded. 8vo., cloth:—St. Paul's Epistles to the Corinthians; edited, with critical notes and dissertations, &c., by the Rev. A. P. Stanley, M. A., Canon of Canterbury, late Fellow and Tutor of University College, Oxford. 8vo.:—St. Paul's Epistles to the Thessalonians, Galatians, and Romans; edited, with critical notes and dissertations, by the Rev. B. Jowett, M. A., Fellow and Tutor of Baliol College, Oxford. 8vo.:—A History of the Christian Church, for the use of students in theology and general readers; Part I., to the Reformation; by Rev. James C. Robertson, M. A., Vicar of Bekesbourne, near Canterbury. 2 vols., 8vo.:—The Rise of the Papal Power, traced in three Lectures, by Robert Hussey, B. D., Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History:—Memorials of the English Martyrs, by the Rev. C. B. Taylor, M. A., Rector of Otley; with upwards of thirty engravings; in post 8vo.:—John de Wiclif, a Monograph; including an account of the Wiclif MSS. in the British Museum, Oxford, Cambridge, Lambeth Palace, and Trinity College, Dublin; with a portrait and a series of illustrations from drawings taken at Wiclif and Lutterworth; by Robert Vaughan, D. D. One vol., small 4to:—Modern Rationalism, and the Inspiration of the Scriptures, by Rev. T. R. Birks, M. A., Rector of Kelshal; in foolscap 8vo.:—The Footsteps of Immanuel on the Lake, by Rev. George S. Weidemann, incumbent of Kingswood, Gloucestershire; in one vol., foolscap 8vo.:—The Jesuits, a Historical Sketch, by Rev. E. W. Grinfield, in one vol., foolscap 8vo.:—The Mission and Martyrdom of St. Peter; containing the original texts of all the passages in ancient writers, supposed to imply a journey from the east; with translations and Roman Catholic comments; with prefatory notices by Rev. Dr. M'Caul and Rev. Dr. Cumming; by T. C. Simon, Esq.; 8vo.:—Romanism as it exists in Rome, exhibited in various inscriptions and other documents in the churches in that city, collected by Hon. J. W. Percy; in crown 8vo.:—Letters to a Waverer on the Romish Controversy, by Rev. Samuel Hobson, LL. B., Perpetual Curate of Butley, Suffolk; in 12mo.:—The Jesuits as they were and are; from the German of Duller; translated by Mrs. Stanley Carr, with a Preface by Sir Culling Eardley, Bart.; in foolscap 8vo.:—The Religious Condition of Christendom, exhibited in a series of papers prepared at the instance of the Evangelical Alliance, edited by Edward Steane, D. D.; 8vo.:—A History of the Jesuits, their origin, progress, doctrines, and designs, by G. B. Nicolini, of Rome; crown 8vo.:—A Manual of Budhism, containing the Legendary Life of Gotama Budha, with notices of his predecessors, and an account of the cosmology, ontology, and ethics of his religious system; translated from the Singalese, by R. Spence Hardy, author of "Eastern Monachism;" demy 8vo.

Among the books in Theology, &c., recently announced on the continent of Europe are the following:—

Jahrbücher der biblischen Wissenschaft von *Heinr. Ewald.* 4. jahrb.: 1851–52. Göttingen, 1852. 234 pp., 8vo.

Geschichte des deutschen Protestantismus in den Jahren 1555–1581. Dargestellt von Dr. *Heinr. Heppe.* I. Band. Die Geschichte des deutschen Protestantismus von 1555–1562 enthaltend. Marburg, 1852. 498 pp., 8vo.

Die Religion und das Recht der Welt; nebst einem Anhang über den moralischen, geistigen und politischen Charakter unserer Zeit. Von Dr. *Gust. Widenmann.* Nördlingen, 1852. 232 pp., 8vo.

Das Evangelium Marcions. Text und Kritik, mit Rücksicht auf die Evangelien des Märtyrers Justin, der Clementinen und der apostolischen Väter. Eine Revision der neuern Untersuchungen nach den Quellen selbst, zur Textesbestimmung und Erklärung des Lukas-Evangeliums. Von Dr. *Gust. Volkmar*, ordentl. Hauptlehrer der alten Sprachen am Gymnasium zu Fulda. Leipzig, 1852. VIII. 268 pp., 8vo.

Digitized by Google

AMERICAN.

Messrs. Harper & Brothers have in press the "*Life and Letters of* Dr. Olin," which will be issued in two volumes, 12mo., within the present week. The work will be one of great interest, not only to the Church in whose service Dr. Olin spent his life, but also to the general public. Besides the biography proper, it will contain a very large collection of Dr. Olin's letters, with sketches of his character by Dr. Bates, Dr. Wightman, Dr. Lee, Dr. Holdich, and others, illustrating different points of his life. A richer subject for biography has not been offered of late years, and we anticipate, in the forthcoming work, a most valuable addition to our literature in this department.

In the second volume of the Life and Writings of President John Adams, we find the following reference to Captain Webb, whose name is so intimately connected with the early history of Methodism in America:—"1774. *Oct.* 28, *Sunday.*—[Philadelphia.]—In the evening I went to the Methodist meeting, and heard Mr. Webb, the old soldier, who first came to America in the character of quarter-master, under General Braddock. He is one of the most fluent, eloquent men I ever heard."

The "*Annual Report of the Sunday School Union of the Methodist Episcopal Church* for 1853" (8vo., pp. 104) gives gratifying proof of the constantly-increasing interest of the Church in the Sunday-school branch of its duties. The total number of schools is 9,674, being an increase of 368 over last year's enumeration: number of officers and teachers 98,031, being an increase of 4,470; number of scholars 504,679, increase 31,368: number of library volumes 1,402,010, increase 141,452: number of Bible-classes 7,213, increase 1,179. Within the last six years the increase in the number of schools has been *two thousand nine hundred and sixty-three*, of teachers *thirty-six thousand nine hundred and forty-one*, and of scholars *one hundred and eighty-four thousand and forty-nine*. The department of publication shows the usual vigour: numerous additions have been made duirng 1852. The present circulation of the S. S. Advocate to regular subscribers is *one hundred and ten thousand*. Who can estimate the Christianizing and civilizing power of these potent agencies at work all over the land?

Messrs. Carlton & Phillips, 200 Mulberry-st., N. Y., have in press the following works, viz.:—New-York: a Historical Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Metropolitan City of America, by a New-Yorker; with engravings, 12mo.:—Lights of the World; or, Illustrations of Character, drawn from the Records of Christian Life, by Rev. John Stoughton; 12mo.:—Lives of the Popes, from the rise of the Roman Church to Pope Pius IX.; 12mo.:—Three Months under the Snow; the Journal of a Young Inhabitant of the Jura; translated from the French of J. J. Porchat; 18mo.:—Money: its Nature, History, Uses, and Responsibilities; 18mo.:—Caxton and the Art of Printing; from the London edition; 18mo.:—Family and Social Melodies; a Collection of Choice Tunes and Hymns, especially adapted to Family and Social Devotion; by Rev. W. C. Hoyt; 8vo.:—Manual of the Gospels; being an abridgment of the Author's "Harmony and Exposition of the Gospels," for the use of Sunday schools, Bible-classes, and Families, by James Strong, A. M.; 16mo.:—Frank Harrison: The History of a Wayward Boy; 18mo.:—The Children of the Bible; 18mo.:—Quiet Thoughts for Quiet Hours; 18mo.:—Old Humphrey's Friendly Appeals; 18mo.:—Father Reeves, the Methodist Class-Leader; a brief account of Mr. William Reeves, thirty-four years a class-leader in the Wesleyan Methodist Society, Lambeth, by Edward Corderoy; 18mo.:—Manual of Biblical Literature, by W. P. Strickland; 12mo.:—The Right Way; or, Practical Lectures on the Decalogue, by J. T. Crane, A. M., of the New-Jersey Conference.

J. P. Magee, 5 Cornhill, Boston, has in press, "*Ministerial Education in the Methodist Episcopal Church*, by Rev. Stephen M. Vail, A. M., Professor of Biblical Literature in the M. E. Biblical Institute, Concord, N. H." 1 vol. 12mo. The work will appear in the course of the present month.

J. C. Riker, Fulton-street, will shortly issue "*A Harmony of the Gospels, in the Greek of the received Text*, by James Strong, A. M.," on the plan of the author's English Harmony; with the most important Various Readings, brief Grammatical Suggestions, select Biblical References, and Chronological Notes, for the use of students and others. The work will be beautifully printed on new Porsonian type; one broad 12mo. volume of about 300 pages.

METHODIST MISSIONS.

The "*Thirty-Fourth Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church*" for 1853 is published, not in pamphlet form, but as a number of the

Digitized by Google

Missionary Advocate. As the missionary year will hereafter commence with January instead of May, the Board have not deemed it necessary to print a full pamphlet Report for this year. Nevertheless, the present document is unusually valuable and interesting—so much so that we think it advisable to put its prominent points into a more permanent form in our own pages.

APPROPRIATIONS FOR 1853.—On the 8th of November, 1852, the General Missionary Committee met in New-York, to make the appropriations for 1853. After ascertaining the wants of the DOMESTIC MISSIONS, the question was taken up, *Shall we extend our missionary work abroad?* It was necessary to determine three preliminary questions in order to answer this main question. First, Was the general sentiment of the Church in favour of such extension? On this point the Committee, the Bishops, and the Board, felt no doubt, as their general intercourse with the Church, as well as the resolutions of several Annual Conferences and of the General Conference, and the correspondence with the office of the Corresponding Secretary, gave full assurance. The second question was, Whether the Church was able to sustain an extension of her missions? Of this there could be no doubt. It only remained to inquire whether there were fields open to such extension? It was only necessary to lift up our eyes and look upon the fields, for, lo! they were already white unto the harvest.

1. *India.*—A mission was authorized in India, and it will be instituted so soon as the Bishop can command the services of the proper men.

2. *Bulgaria.*—The question of taking a part in resuscitating the old Oriental Churches within the Turkish empire was then taken up, and interesting and satisfactory information was produced in favour of sending a missionary into the country to the south of the Danube, into Bulgaria. These people are of the Greek Church, though not of the Greek nation, and are fallen into as deep superstition and darkness as any of the Oriental Churches; and yet they are not so bigoted, but are of a mild, inquiring, religious disposition, and exceedingly athirst for the word of God. It was believed to be our duty to send a missionary to these people at as early a day as practicable, and accordingly the Bishop was authorized to institute a mission in Bulgaria. It is believed that this mission can be prosecuted without much difficulty, under the protection of the Turkish government, which has granted full and universal toleration to the Protestant Churches.

3. *France.*—The relations of France with Europe cannot be comprehended except by those who are very well informed on European affairs. France has never been thoroughly Roman Catholic: she has been jealous of the Papal authority, and has always claimed to be the *Gallic Church;* and not strictly the *Roman* Catholic Church, but the *Gallic* Catholic Church. And although she has received the institution of her bishops at the hands of the Pope, she has never yielded to him the absolute authority to appoint them without her knowledge and consent. Here is a tangible point to which the Protestant evangelical missions may attach themselves, and find favour and fruit among the people. A wide door was open in the city of Nice, in Sardinia, which is the gateway on the Mediterranean between France and Italy. An intelligent evangelical French minister was in the midst of the work, and was ready to prosecute it if aided. The appropriation was made, to be expended under the direction of Rev. Charles Cooke, D. D., President of the French Methodist Conference. We have, therefore, a good guarantee that the appropriation will be well expended.

4. *Italy.*—Information has reached the Board that the door is wide open into the higher Alps, on the borders of Italy, into the valleys occupied by the good and great Felix Neff. The French Methodist Conference now occupies this region by Mr. Rostan, one of their missionaries, and Dr. Cooke earnestly appealed to our Board to enable him to send another missionary to aid Mr. Rostan. We have authorized him to do so for us, and have made him a grant towards employing three other suitable men who are ready to enter the work if he could receive them. Yet we have kept our grants within the appropriations.

The details of the appropriations are as follows:—

Foreign Missions.

Regular work in Liberia, Africa	$20,000
Monrovia Seminary	1,500
Education of promising coloured youths, male or female	1,500
For visit of Bishop Scott, and for an enlargement of the work in and beyond the Republic	3,000
China Mission	10,000
German Mission	10,000
South American Mission	4,000
Total for Foreign Missions	$50,000

Digitized by Google

Domestic Missions.

German Missions	42,300
Foreign populations other than German	10,250
Indian Missions	13,500
English Domestic Missions, including Oregon and California	74,250
Total for Domestic Missions	$141,300

New Missions.

For the work in France	$2,500
For the commencement of a mission in Bulgaria, in Turkey	5,000
For the commencement of a mission in India	7,500
For the work in Sweden and Norway	750
Total for new Foreign Missions	$15,750

Special Appropriations.

To institute a mission to the Germans in California	$2,000
Sundry small appropriations	950
Total	$210,000

The Report next proceeds to explain at length the plans for raising Missionary funds established at the last General Conference, (Discipline, Part iii, chap. iv;) and also the plan, or rather the machinery, for carrying on the Missionary work itself. Then follows a summary of the Missions themselves, which we condense as follows:—

Classification of Missions.

Our missions are divided into two principal classes, Domestic and Foreign. The Domestic Missions are subdivided into three classes:—1. Missions to those who speak the English language in the destitute or new portions of the country; 2. To the Indians; 3. To the foreigners who have settled together in various portions of the country, and in particular quarters of our cities. Of these, our missions to the Germans are the most numerous and successful; but we have missions to the Swedes, Danes, Norwegians, and French. As our Domestic are our oldest missions, and at present, perhaps, the most important, we will speak of them first.

Domestic Missions Proper.

Conferences.	Missions.	Missionaries.	Members.	Probationers.
Baltimore	4	4	104	22
Philadelphia	16	16	1,714	380
New-Jersey	1	1	109	17
Providence	16	16	728	154
New-England	29	29	1,582	75
New-York	9	9	270	71
New-York East	11	11	276	59
New-Hampshire	16	16	1,364	249
Western Virginia	16	16	2,747	714
Troy	11	11	1,196	328
Vermont	..	..	....	..
Pittsburgh	5	5	131	19
Black River	15	15	650	48
Maine	12	12	599	51
East Maine	19	19	1,560	367
Wyoming	7	7	876	88
Erie	8	8	628	166
Oneida	7	7	784	74
East Genesee	12	12	1,962	202
North Ohio	8	8	1,227	249
Ohio	3	3	68	2
Wisconsin	41	41	2,614	670
Genesee	4	4	206	24
Michigan	2	2	208	76
Rock River	15	15	1,081	13
Cincinnati and Ky.	27	27	2,469	49
Iowa	5	5	554	105
Missouri and Ark.	57	69	4,767	688
Illinois	8	8	452	64
Southern Illinois	16	16	2,067	621
N. W. Indiana	4	4	202	49
North Indiana	12	12	1,162	317
S. E. Indiana	1	1	82	11
Indiana	10	10	1,186	354
Oregon	28	28	475	179
California	38	38	584	196
Total	493	505	35,334	6,338

Indian Missions.

Conferences.	Missions.	Missionaries.	Members.	Probationers.	L. Preachers.
Missouri	4	5	144	60	..
Wisconsin	1	1	158	..	..
Black River	1	1	29	11	..
Oneida,—Oneidas	1	1	25	10	1
" Onondagas	1	1	44	1	1
Michigan,—Notoway Indians	1	2	176	50	1
" Kazier Mission	1	1	205	6	2
" Janesville "	1	2	183	15	..
" Sault St. Marie "	1	2	60	12	..
" Kewawenon "	1	1	47	11	..
Total	13	17	1,051	176	5

German Missions.

	Missions.	Missionaries.	Members.	Probationers.	L. P.
New-York District,	15	15	606	248	9
Cincinnati "	9	14	898	222	16
Pittsburgh "	10	12	993	151	7
North Ohio "	10	15	641	185	6
St. Louis "	13	13	815	155	10
Missouri "	12	13	685	193	13
Quincy "	8	10	581	86	4
Iowa "	8	13	450	113	10
Wisconsin "	10	14	405	279	5
South Indiana "	12	14	1,149	224	5
North " "	8	12	511	168	4
	115	145	7,734	2,004	94

Swedish Missions.

	Missions.	Missionaries.	Members.	Probationers.
New-York Conference	1	2	43	38
Rock River "	1	3	273	32
	2	5	316	70

Welsh Missions.

	Missions.	Missionaries.	Members.	Probationers.	L. P.
Pittsburgh Conf.	1	1	53	3	4
Black River "	1	1	96	2	3
Oneida "	1	1	57	..	3
North Ohio "	1	1	15	..	..
Wisconsin "	1	1	12	..	..
Cincinnati "	1	1	no return.		
Ohio "	1	1	12	14	..
	7	7	245	19	10

Digitized by Google

Norwegian Missions.

	Missions.	Missionaries.	Members.	Probationers.
Wisconsin Conference	1	3	118	30
Iowa "	1	1	21	..
	2	4	139	30

French Missions.

New-York Conference	1	1	..	..
Black River "	1	1	24	1
Michigan "	1	1	10	8
	3	3	34	9

Foreign Missions.

Our Foreign Missions are necessarily few, and as yet small in influence and extent, because they have been but recently instituted. We have not been organized as a Church yet seventy years, during which time our action and unexampled growth have necessarily been confined mainly to our own country.

The African Mission, in the Republic of Liberia, on the western coast of Africa, is our oldest foreign mission. When the American Colonization Society laid the foundations of this Republic by planting a colony there, many members of our Church, and one or two local preachers, were among the colonists. These constituted the nucleus of the mission which was established some twenty or twenty-five years ago. It has cost much treasure, and some precious lives; but the fruits of it are inestimable. It is now formed into a regular annual conference, composed of three presiding elders' districts, each with its circuits, stations, and day and Sunday schools. The mission now covers the whole territory of Liberia and the territory of the Maryland colony at Cape Palmas, and has access to the whole colonial population, amounting to, say seventy-five hundred, and to the numerous towns and villages of the natives, who amount to, say one hundred and forty thousand. The annual conference consists of twenty-one members in full connexion and on trial, and there are in all the Churches twelve hundred and fifty-seven communicants, being about one in seven of the whole colonial population. There are twenty Sunday schools, containing seven hundred and thirty-one scholars; one day school at Cape Palmas; and one girls' school at Millsburgh, under the care of Mrs. Wilkins; and a fine new academy in Monrovia, under the care of Rev. James W. Horne as principal. And to give more efficiency to this mission one of our beloved bishops (Bishop Scott) is at this present writing (Feb. 12) in Africa, superintending the conference, ordaining the missionaries, and making himself acquainted with the whole work. We add the latest information in the form of a table:—

Circuits.	Members.	Probationers.	Local Preachers.	No. S. Schools.	No. S. Scholars.	No. S. S. Teachers.	No. of Supt's.	Vols. in Library.	Day Schools.	Day Scholars.	Bible Classes.
Monrovia	945	38	2	1	70	11	1	300	1	40	.
L. Caldwell	151	20	2	2	91	7	2	200	2	57	.
U. Caldwell	78	4	2	1	54	12	1	100	2	70	.
Millsburg and White Plains	77	7	2	1	75	12	1	150	2	65	.
Heddington & Robertsville	54	..	.	.	..	..	.	...	.	..	.
Marshall	94	2	1	1	32	7	1	48	.	..	.
Bassa & Edina Since and	151	1	6	3	117	15	3	250	3	65	.
Readerville	190	25	2	3	140	15	3	200	2	90	.
Cape Palmas	166	20	3	4	122	15	4	270	3	80	2
Cape Mount		1			10	1	1	...	1	10	.
Lanesborough (Native)		1			10	1	1	...	1	10	.
Peter Harris (Native)		1			10	1	1	...	1	10	.
	1,180	127	20	20	731	100	20	1,643	18	517	2

Our China Mission was instituted about seven years ago, and has already offered up two precious lives in its holy cause—Mrs. Jane Isabel White, wife of Rev. M. C. White; and the Rev. Judson Dwight Collins, of the Michigan Conference. The brethren who are there have unrestrained access to the people of Fuh-Chau; and are preaching, instituting schools, and translating and printing the Holy Scriptures in the dialect of the province. Fifty years ago there was not one Protestant missionary in China; now there are nearly one hundred. Twenty years ago China was accessible only at one point, (Canton,) and here only under great restraint and jealousy; now, the five principal cities on the coast are freely open, and are occupied by Protestant missionaries, namely, Canton, Amoy, Ningpo, Fuh-Chau, and Shanghai; and through these cities free access is had to preach to twenty millions of Pagan Chinese, and to distribute books throughout the southern and eastern parts of the empire. We add a list of our missionaries now in Fuh-Chau:

Rev. *R. S. Maclay*, Superintendent, *Fuh-Chau, China.*

Rev. *M. C. White.*

Rev. *I. W. Wiley*, M. D., Missionary Physician.

Rev. *J. Colder.*

These gentlemen are all married, and their wives are true helpers in our mission.

Our Foreign German Mission sprang out of the work among the Germans in this country. Rev. L. S. Jacoby was sent out, with instructions to establish the head-quarters of a mission in the free city of Bremen. He did so in autumn, 1849.

Digitized by Google

The word of the Lord immediately began to take effect, and to spread, so that it was necessary to send out additional missionaries. The mission has extended itself formally to Hamburgh on the North, and to Frankfort on the South, and its influence has penetrated all the surrounding States, and is established in the kingdom of Wurtemburg. We give a list of the missionaries:—

L. S. Jacoby, superintendent.
E. Riemenschneider, Frankfort-on-the-Maine.
C. H. Doering, Hamburgh.
L. Nippert, Wurtemberg.
H. Nueleen, Bremen Circuit.
W. Fiege, helper, "
— *Gluck*, helper in Wurtemberg.
— *Wallo*, " "
Ehrhardt Wunderlich, helper, Saxony mission.
C. Feldmann, *E. C. Poppe*, *C. Narhman*, } Colporteurs.

Brother *Schuhmacher* is Librarian and Colporteur without pay.

Our South American Mission is now confined to the city of Buenos Ayres. It once occupied Monte Video also. The chief objects of this mission are—*First*, For the religious instruction and comfort of the resident Protestant population; *Secondly*, To exhibit to the Roman Catholic population the pure evangelical gospel and worship.

RECEIPTS FOR 1852.

That the Church and congregations may clearly understand the state of the Treasury during the year 1852, and be able to understand what is necessary to be done in 1853, we will here set down the receipts during 1852, and the appropriations for 1853:—

Receipts at New-York, 1852,	$121,004 61
" " Cincinnati, "	44,713 15
Total	$165,717 76

Counting the membership of the Church at 700,000, the average of the contributions for 1852 is 23 7-10 cents per member very nearly. The appropriations for 1853 are $210,000, being an advance over the receipts of 1852 of $44,283; and to make up the estimates for 1853, the contributions, assuming still 700,000 members, must be exactly 30 cents per member throughout the whole Church, or an advance on the contributions of twenty-five per cent., or one-quarter more for each member this year than last.

Now, if every member will, from a sense of duty, give twenty-five cents, those members who give more, from a sense of duty and from ability, will make up the amount required for 1853. And if each pastor of a Church will, timely, and in an earnest and affectionate manner, ask his Church and congregation to make their arrangements to do this, by means of collectors provided for in the Discipline, and the annual collection and contributions on some Sunday in the year, the money will be freely and gladly contributed, and our missions greatly extended and generously supported.

We continue our statement of the contents of the principal American Theological Journals:—

Mercersburg Quarterly Review, for January:—I. The Review and the Quarterly: II. Parochial, or Christian Schools: III. The Church of the Middle Ages: IV. The Behemoth and Leviathan of the Book of Job: V. Dr. Nevin and his Antagonists: VI. German Theology and the Church Question.

Free-Will Baptist Quarterly, for January:—I. Introductory: II. The Progress and Defects of Christian Civilization: III. Modern Sceptical Tendencies: IV. Daniel Webster: V. Hebrew Poetry: VI. Soul Freedom: VII. Religious Biography: VIII. Notices.

New-York Quarterly, for January:—I. R. W. Emerson: II. Life and Letters of Niebuhr: III. New Works on Slavery: IV. Disclosures from the Interior: V. Bancroft's United States—from the French of Count Circourt: VI. Science—European and American Researches: VII. Outline Drawings: VIII. Scenes and Thoughts in Europe: IX. Kitto's Daily Bible Illustrations: X. Contemporary Literature.

Evangelical Review, for January:—I. Symbolism not opposed to Evangelical Religion: II. Elemental Contrast of the Religion: III. Apostolic Fathers: IV. Notes on Prophecy: V. Contribution to the Christology of the Church: VI. The Church and her Ministry.

Brownson's Quarterly Review, for January:—I. The Worship of Mary: II. The Two Orders, Spiritual and Temporal: III. Father Gury's Moral Theology: IV. Protestantism not a Religion: V. Catholics of England and Ireland.

Theological and Literary Journal, for January:—I. Dr. Hitchcock's Religion of Geology: II. The neglect of the Sacred Scriptures: III. Dr. Wordsworth's Lectures

Digitized by Google

on the Apocalypse: IV. A Designation and Exposition of the Figures of Isaiah, chap. xxiii: V. The Fulness of the Times: VI. Mr. Williamson's Letter to a Millenarian: VII. The reëstablishment of the Napoleon Dynasty.

North American Review, for January:—I. Life and Letters of Niebuhr: II. Herbert's Captains of the Old World: III. Sir Wm. Hamilton on Philosophy and Education: IV. Novels and Novelists: V. Weber's Universal History: VI. Frere's Version of Aristophanes: VII. Farini's Republic at Rome: VIII. Nathaniel Hawthorne.

Christian Examiner, for January:—I. Recent Aspects of Judaism: II. Shall we introduce some Liturgical or Ritual Forms in our Worship? III. Reflections: IV. The Council of Ephesus: V. The Evangelical and the Philosophical Spirit in Religion: VI. Gray's Addresses: VII. Bartol's Discourses.

Universalist Quarterly and General Review, for January:—I. Astronomy—Immortality: II. The Apostles and Saints judging Israel and the World: III. Condition of Men after Death: IV. Christ and the Scriptures: V. What must we do to be saved? VI. Literary Notices.

Biblical Repertory, for January:—I. Outlines of Moral Science: II. Epistle to Diognetus: III. Modern Millenarianism: IV. China and California: V. Theology of the Old Testament: VI. Ventilation of Churches.

Bibliotheca Sacra, and American Biblical Repository, (Andover,) for January:—I. Socrates as a Teacher: II. The Right Interpretation of the Sacred Scriptures—the Helps and the Hinderances: III. The Works of Samuel Hopkins: IV. Prolegomena to Tischendorf's New Edition of the Septuagint: V. Outlines of a Journey in Palestine in 1852, by E. Robinson, E. Smith, and others: VI. College Course, and its Enlargements for Graduates: VII. The Relations and consequent Mutual Duties between the Philosopher and the Theologian.

Southern Presbyterian Review, for January:—I. The claims of the English Language: II. Unregeneracy in the Ministry: III. The Doctrine of Future Punishment: IV. Inspiration *versus* Morell's Theory: V. The Presbyterian Church and Foreign Missions: VI. Our Ecclesiastical Literature: VII. Necrology—Rev. Wm. H. Burr, D. D.

Quarterly Review of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, for January:—I. Reason and Revelation: II. Fundamental Element of Church Government: III. Philosophical Necessity: IV. Ecclesiastical Forms: V. Roman Literature: VI. Inskip on Methodism: VII. Zechariah.

Classical and Miscellaneous.

EUROPEAN.

We have received the first volume of a copious and elaborate Life of Cicero, under the title, *Leben des M. Tullius Cicero, von* C. A. F. Bruckner, *Erster Theil.* (Göttingen, 1852; 8vo., pp. 865.)

The Second Series of Mr. Layard's "*Monuments of Nineveh*" was announced for publication in London in January, but we have not yet seen it. It is to be in one volume, folio, with 70 plates, containing Specimens of the most remarkable Sculptures, Bas-Reliefs, Bronzes, &c., principally illustrative of the Wars and Exploits of Sennacherib, from his Palace at Kouyunjik, discovered by Mr. Layard during his second visit to Assyria. It has been ascertained, from inscriptions lately deciphered, that the Palace of Kouyunjik, excavated by Mr. Layard, was built by Sennacherib, King of Assyria, and that its Sculptures represent events recorded in Sacred History, 2 Kings, chaps. xvii and xviii. The corresponding treatise for general circulation is also soon to be issued under the title of Nineveh and Babylon: being the Narrative of a Second Expedition to Assyria. By Austen H. Layard, M. P. With 400 plates and wood-cuts. One vol., 8vo.

The *Encyclopædia Britannica* is now in press in an *eighth* edition, under the editorship of Thomas Stewart Traill, M. D., F. R. S. E., Professor of Medical Jurisprudence in the University of Edinburgh. It was first published in three volumes 4to., 1771; next in ten volumes, in 1778; in eighteen volumes in 1797, to which was added the Supplement, in two volumes, by Bishop Gleig, in 1801; this was followed by an edition in twenty volumes, in 1810, and other two editions during the succeeding ten years; to which was added the celebrated Supplement, in six volumes 4to., edited by Professor Napier, commenced in 1815, and finished in 1824. The *Eighth Edition* will undergo careful revision and extensive correction. Articles rendered imperfect by the lapse of time

Digitized by Google

will be submitted for improvement to writers intimately conversant with the respective subjects, whilst other articles will be superseded by entirely new contributions, and subjects not formerly embraced in its pages will be added. The *First Volume* will consist of the Dissertations by DUGALD STEWART and SIR JAMES MACKINTOSH, on the Progress of Metaphysical and Ethical Philosophy; and by Professor PLAYFAIR and Sir JOHN LESLIE, on the Progress of Mathematical and Physical Science. In the new edition the Dissertation of Sir JAMES MACKINTOSH will be accompanied with a Preface by W. WHEWELL, D. D., Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Cambridge. To these will be added two New Dissertations—the first by the ARCHBISHOP of DUBLIN, on the Rise, Progress, and Corruptions of Christianity; the second by JAMES D. FORBES, F. R. S., Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh; being a continuation of the Dissertations on the Progress of Physical Science to the present time.

WILLIAM EMPSON,—better known as Prof. Empson, and editor of the "Edinburgh Review,"—died on the 10th inst., at the East India College, Haileybury, in his sixty-third year, the immediate cause of his death being a ruptured blood-vessel. Mr. Empson filled the important chair of Professor of Civil Law at Haileybury,—a chair formerly occupied by Malthus and Mackintosh. Mr. Empson was educated, first at Winchester, and afterwards at Trinity College, Cambridge. He married Francis Jeffrey's only child, and through his influence succeeded the late Mr. Macvey Napier as editor of the "Edinburgh Review." Mr. Empson is said to have written some sixty articles for the "Edinburgh Review:"—these chiefly, of course, during the period when he was not its editor. He wrote chiefly on law, the condition of the poorer classes, negro slavery, domestic politics, poetry, and general literature and biography. No questions appeared more congenial to his nature than those which denounced oppression and tyranny, whether political or ecclesiastical; and those which, in reviewing the lives of the good and the great, excited a train of moral feelings. Mr. W. Cornewall Lewis has been chosen as his successor in the editorship of the Edinburgh.

THE older editions of SUIDAS have become scarce and dear. Eighteen years ago Professor G. Bernhardy began to revise Gaisford's edition for republication, and published the text in a few years thereafter. His labour on Suidas, however, has only just been completed in the final issue of the Addenda, Corrigenda, and Indices, together with an Essay on Lexicography. The whole is now offered under the title, "*Suidæ Lexicon, Græce et Latine, ad fidem Optimorum Librorum exactum post* THOMAM GAISFORDUM; *recensuit et Annotatione critica instruxit* GODOFREDUS BERNHARDY. 2 vols., 4to. The whole work can now be had for about twenty dollars.

AMONG the new works in miscellaneous literature recently announced in Great Britain are the following, viz.:—

Memoirs of the Court and Cabinets of George the Third. From Original Family Documents. By the DUKE of BUCKINGHAM and CHANDOS, K. G., &c. 2 vols., 8vo.:—A Tour of Inquiry through France and Italy. Illustrating their present Political, Social, and Religious Condition. By EDMUND SPENCER, Esq., author of "Travels in European Turkey," "Circassia," &c. 2 vols., post 8vo.:—Military Life in Algeria. By the Count P. DE CASTELLANE. 2 vols., post 8vo.:—Travels in India and Cashmir. By Baron SCHONBERG. 2 vols., post 8vo.:—Memoirs of John Abernethy, F. R. S.; with a View of his Writings, Lectures, and Character. By GEORGE MACILWAIN, F.R.C.S. 2 vols., post 8vo.:—Fra Dolcino and His Times: being an Account of a General Struggle for Ecclesiastical Reform, and of an Anti-Heretical Crusade in Italy, in the Fourteenth Century. By L. MARIOTTI. Post 8vo.:—Mrs. Jameson's Legends of the Madonna, as represented in the Fine Arts. With 55 drawings by the Author, and 152 wood-engravings. Square crown 8vo.:—Essays on Political and Social Science, contributed chiefly to the "Edinburgh Review." By WILLIAM R. GREG. 2 vols., 8vo.:—The Earl of Belfast's Lectures on the English Poets and Poetry of the Nineteenth Century. Fcap. 8vo.:—The History of Scotland, from the Revolution to the extinction of the last Jacobite Rebellion (1689–1748). By JOHN HILL BURTON. 2 vols., 8vo.:—Felice's History of the Protestants of France, from 1521 to 1851. Translated from the second, revised, and corrected edition, by E. WEST. 2 vols., post 8vo.:—The Indian Archipelago: Its History and Present State. By HORACE ST. JOHN, Author of "History of the British Conquest in India." 2 vols., post 8vo.:—Memorials and Correspondence of Charles James Fox. Edited by the HON. LORD JOHN RUSSELL, M. P. 2 vols., 8vo.:—History of the Administration of the East India Company. By JOHN WILLIAM KAYE,

Digitized by Google

author of "History of the War in Afghanistan." In one large volume:—The History of the Colonial Policy of the British Empire from 1847 to 1851. By HENRY GEORGE, EARL GREY. In 2 vols., 8vo.:—In 8vo., with an Index to the whole work, The Fifth and concluding Volume of the Letters of the Earl of Chesterfield; including numerous Letters now published from the original MSS. Edited by the RIGHT HON. LORD MAHON:—Narrative of a Journey Round the Dead Sea and in the Bible Lands, from December, 1850, to April, 1851. By F. DE SAULCY (Member of the French Institute). Translated by COUNT EDWARD DE WARREN. In 2 vols., 8vo.:—Passages from my Life: to which are added Memoirs of the Campaigns of 1813 and 1814. By BARON VON MUFFLING. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by COLONEL PHILIP YORKE. In 8vo.:—Memoirs of Illustrious European Characters. By ALPHONSE DE LAMARTINE, author of "History of the Girondists." In 8vo.:—Demetrius the Impostor; or, Romantic Episodes in Russian History. By M. MERIMEE, Author of "Life of Peter the Cruel." In crown post, with Portraits:—Narrative of a Religious Journey in the East in 1850–51. By the ABBE DE ST. MICHOU. In 2 vols., 8vo.:—The Second Burmese War. By LIEUT. WILLIAM F. B. LAURIE, Madras Artillery. In one volume, with Map, Plans, and other Illustrations:—Kaffraria and its Inhabitants. By the REV. FRANCIS P. FLEMING, Military Chaplain, King William's Town. In one volume, post 8vo.:—Two Thousand Miles' Ride through the Argentine Provinces: with an Account of Buenos Ayres and the Rio de la Plata. By WILLIAM M'CANN, Esq. Two volumes, post 8vo.:—Poetics: an Essay on Poetry. By E. S. DALLAS, Esq. In one volume, crown 8vo.:—The Octavius of Minucius Felix; with an Introduction, Analysis, and English Notes, by the REV. H. A. HOLDEN, M. A., Fellow of Trinity College. Edited for the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press:—The Castlereagh Correspondence. Including the Congress of Vienna, Battle of Waterloo, &c. Edited by the MARQUIS of LONDONDERRY. Third and last Series; 4 vols., 8vo.:—History of the Captivity of Napoleon at St. Helena; from the Papers of the late Sir Hudson Lowe. As well as from Official Documents and other Authentic Sources, not before made public. Portrait. 3 vols., 8vo.:—Journal of a Cruise among the Islands of the Western Pacific, including the Feejees and others inhabited by the Polynesian Negro Races. By JOHN ELPHINSTONE ERSKINE, Capt. R. N. Map and Plates; 8vo.:—Ten Months among the Tents of the Tuski, and Incidents of an Arctic Boat Expedition in Search of Sir John Franklin, as far as the Mackenzie River, by LIEUT. W. H. HOOPER, R.N. Map. 8vo.:—Narrative of an Englishman's Adventures and Residence in Abyssinia. By MANSFIELD PARKYNS, Esq. Illustrations. 2 vols., 8vo.

AMONG the works in miscellaneous literature recently announced on the continent of Europe are the following, viz.:—

Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien nach den Zeichnungen der von Sr. M. dem Könige von Preussen Friedrich Wilhelm IV. nach diesen Ländern gesendeten u. in den J. 1842–1845 ausgeführten wissenschaftl. Expedition auf Befehl Sr. M. des Königs herausgeg. u. erläutert von *C. R. Leipsius.* Tafeln. 5–24. Lief. Berlin, 1850–52. 200 Steintaf. in Bunt-u. Tondr. Imp.-Fol.

Grammaire persane, ou principes de l'iranien moderne, accompagnées de fac-simile pour servir de modèles d'écriture et de style pour la correspondance diplomatique et familière; par *Alex. Chodzko,* anc. consul de France en Perse, etc. Paris, 1852; 8vo.

Vergleichende Grammatik des Sanskrit, Zend, Griechischen, Lateinischen, Litthauischen, Altslawischen, Gothischen u. Deutschen. Von *Frz. Bopp.* 6 Abtheil. Berlin, 1851. S. 1157–1511. 4to.

De poësis latinae rhythmis et rimis, praecipue monachorum. Scripsit *Chr. Thph. Schuch.* 92 pp., 8vo.

Analecta Horatiana scripsit *Joannes Horkel,* Phil. Dr. Prof. r. collegii Fridericiani Regimont. Director, Instit. archaeol. Romani, Aretinae et Pontanianae soc. ep. Berolini, 1852. 152 pp., 8vo.

Grundriss der Grammatik des indo-europäischen Sprachstammes. Von *Mor. Rapp,* Prof. 1. Bd. Auch unt. d. Tit.: Vergleichende Grammatik. Encyklopädische Abtheilung. Stuttgart, 1852. XII u. 256 pp., 8vo.

Empedoclis Agrigentini Fragmenta. Disposuit, recensuit, adnotavit *Henr. Stein.* Praemissa est de Empedoclis scriptis disputatio. Bonnae, 1852. 88 pp., 8vo.

Pathologiae graeci Sermonis elementa, von *Chr. A. Lobeck,* in 2 vols. Vol. I., 8vo.

Die Sagenpoesie der Griechen kritisch dargestellt. Drei Bücher von *Gregor Wilhelm Nitzsch.* Erste Abtheilung. Erstes Buch; die Homerische Kunstepopoe in nationaler Theorie. 8vo.

Digitized by Google

THE

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JULY, 1853.

ART. I.—THE BACON OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

IN a former number of this Review* we exhibited the need of a second grand Instauration of the Intellect, and the reasonableness of anticipating its early accomplishment. But the investigation which led us to those conclusions, however important in itself, was undertaken chiefly as a necessary preliminary to the examination of the characteristics by which we might recognise the true Coryphæus of the new reform, if such recognition should be deemed possible, and to the determination of the validity of the claims already alleged in favour of M. Comte, or hereafter to be advanced in favour of any other system-builder, to be esteemed truly the Bacon of the Nineteenth Century. These are questions of great moment, involving, as they do, the correct estimate of the present necessities and prospective fortunes of existing civilization; and awarding or refusing, according to their decision, the highest intellectual prize which is presented to human ambition, or is spontaneously bestowed when due, as the loftiest meed of intellectual service which humanity can confer on the greatest of its recognised benefactors.

It is with a proper sense of the magnitude and difficulty of the subject, and with a full consciousness of the necessity for extreme caution, impartiality, and sobriety of judgment, that we venture upon the task of attempting to solve, honestly and candidly, however imperfectly, these great problems. We believe with a firm conviction that the completion of the investigation proposed will enable us to question on broad and elevated grounds the pretensions advanced in behalf of M. Comte by his zealous but indiscreet followers, and, at the same time, will assist in expediting the coming Instauration, by preshadowing its true type. If it should still leave our allegiance free, we shall at least be rescued from the imminent perils of a fatal delu-

* July, 1852, Art. I.

Digitized by Google

sion; we shall be better qualified to detect the numerous false prophets who may yet arise, or may have already arisen; and we shall have our eyes opened to the quick discernment of the real Bacon of the Nineteenth Century, whenever he may appear, to lead us by miraculous ways from the midst of our present Egyptian bondage. But to attain these results is no light endeavour. Those whom we are about to summon before our tribunal are no ordinary suitors. We are not merely to decide on the rights of the ostensible litigants, but to settle the prospective claims of a long succession of illustrious philosophers, perhaps as yet unborn. If M. Comte is accidentally, or in consequence of his merited prominence, the nominal defendant, it is not merely his privileges and honours which are to be adjudicated, but those of any who may hereafter occupy a like eminent position; and to him we might almost address the words of Anchises:—

> "Illustres animas, nostrumque in nomen ituras,
> Expediam dictis, et te tua fata docebo."

The subject, too, in dispute is one of unusual amplitude—so unusual, indeed, that it can be presented but on few occasions in the long lapse of centuries. All ages are before us; and the greatest intellects of all time are the witnesses on whom we must in great measure rely. The great minds of the present and approaching generations are the parties among whom we are to judge; the evidences which must guide our judgment are to be gathered from the obscurity of the past; the persons to be affected by it are many of them still, in all probability, in the dim future, while the destinies of a trembling civilization hang uncertain in the balance; and though, perhaps, little is to be effected by the criticism of any single individual, yet all these things must be estimated by us with such accuracy as may be compatible with our powers. It would be a weak and ridiculous presumption to contemplate any authoritative decision as the result of our inquiries; but, so far as we may, we will endeavour to raise ourselves

> "To the highth of this great argument,"

and, if unable to solve the dark and arduous enigmas propounded to us, we may hope at least to determine some of the conditions of their adequate solution, and to disclose the existence of important topics of investigation, but little apprehended by the generality of minds, and whose ultimate solution may possibly be expedited by our earnest, though unavailing efforts.

We are thus inclined to link the cause of M. Comte with the great question of the characteristics and essentials of all efficient intellectual renovation throughout all time. We take peculiar pleasure in test-

Digitized by Google

ing his claims on broad and general grounds, and determining his relation to a great crisis by considering that crisis itself in its historical relations, instead of limiting ourselves to a special analysis of the aptitudes and tendencies of his philosophy, and narrowing the inquiry to a bare examination of his distinctive doctrines. For M. Comte we entertain, and have uniformly expressed, the utmost deference and respect—for his labours the utmost admiration; and though we deplore the supposed tendencies of his creed, and cannot consent to accept his system as complete, conclusive, and exclusive—yet no intemperate judgment or indiscriminating opposition shall betray us into the folly of rejecting the valuable truths which he has enounced, or of depreciating, directly or indirectly, the eminent reputation which he has deservedly acquired. If the enthusiasm of a few eager acolytes transcend the bounds of moderation, we may examine how far their praises are legitimate, and how far they are exaggerated; but the world owes too much gratitude to M. Comte for stimulating and assisting the social speculation which is so preëminently required by his age, for us not to be more willing to bestow undue eulogy upon him than inadequate commendation. It will readily be recognised by reflecting men that the antagonism is not the less earnest or uncompromising which is limited to what we believe to be his errors; nor is the resistance less efficient which recognises the merits and the prowess of an adversary.

Having indicated by these remarks our due appreciation of the solemn nature and difficulty of the contemplated inquiry, we proceed to the execution of our task.

It will be our first duty to determine the essential characteristics of any fresh instauration, in order that by the results of that induction we may be governed in our estimate of the requirements which must be satisfied by any philosopher who claims, or is alleged to be the second Bacon of another age. It is in this part of our speculations that we deem it expedient to recur to the instruction of former times, and to revert to the experience of humanity in previous analogous crises for the explication of the present. This procedure might have been useful at an earlier stage of our investigations for the full solution of the questions relative to the need and the probability of a new instauration; but as those points admitted a sufficient, if only provisional solution from other sources, we left them without directly availing ourselves of such assistance, to receive further illustration from the light which might be reflected upon them from the researches on which we are now about to enter.

In the previous article, to which we have referred, we specified three intellectual renovations in the past history of humanity which

Digitized by Google

might be profitably studied with a view to a correct appreciation of the significance and necessities of the present times. The first of these is the age which we may conceive to be represented by either Socrates or Aristotle, according as we are desirous of studying the reform in its inception or genetic idea, or in its systematic development. To these names we might, indeed, have added the almost equally illustrious name of Plato, who evolved the fundamental Socratic idea under a different aspect from that contemplated by Aristotle, and formed in certain respects the intermediate link between Socrates and the Stagirite, in others the antitype of the latter. In order to make a full comparison of the analogous phenomena in the present and in the past, it would certainly be incumbent on us to include the Platonic philosophy in our examination. But important as this is, both in the general history of intellectual progress and in the special history of the brilliant speculative age, which it so largely conduced to illumine, it would be difficult to justify the admission of Platonism within the circle of inquiry on any ground which would permit the consideration of the various other modifications of the Socratic movement.

The relation, then, which Socrates bore to the intellect of the age in which he lived, and to that immediately preceding it, is the first topic which engages our attention.

After the early philosophy of Greece had emerged from the dogmatic and mythical form, in which were manifest the first uncertain developments of speculative inquiry, the Ionic school endeavoured to solve, by a loose experimental method, the mysteries of the universe. The regular succession of correlative phenomena, and consequently the uniformity of the operations of nature, were soon recognised; and the maxim which M. Comte has made the test of true science,* that it is essentially prophetic, was discovered and acted upon by Thales and his school. Thus, although loose ethical speculation preceded the introduction of natural science, the latter assumed a scientific character long before either metaphysics or morals. But when the physical philosophers of the Ionic school passed from the circle of hastily-observed facts to the domain of hypothetical induction, and sought in the abstract an explanation of difficulties similar to those partially solved in the concrete, their loosely-acquired premises were a source of constant differences of opinion, which were received or rejected under the play of a heated fancy. The transition from observed specialties to general principles was thus made *per saltum*. There was no intimate connexion between the base and the superstructure; and reason was placed at

* This doctrine, unquestionably true, is explicitly declared by Aristotle.

Digitized by Google

variance with herself, and was soon impeded by her own unrecognised contradictions. It was impossible to understand how the observation of the variable and ever-fluctuating phenomena of the Cosmos, or world of experience, could justify or establish the uniform principles which were essential to the permanence of a system instinctively perceived to be regular, and believed to be eternal.* The mind, subjecting itself to the guidance of material observation, was unable to explain its conviction of speculative truth, or to descend from the principles which had been vaguely suggested to it, to the explication of the restless changes of nature. It was a difficulty in some respects analogous to that experienced by Schelling in his attempts to link the transcendental to the phenomenal. The confusion in which the early philosophers of antiquity became involved, necessitated some rectification of the latent error. But the spirit of the times, no less than the general looseness of received processes of reasoning, led to the attempted solution of every difficulty which might be encountered by a trivial and arbitrary modification of the supposed first principle. Thus the water and spirit of Thales gave place to the Infinite† of Anaximander; while the pupil of the latter, Anaximenes, reverted, in some measure, to the doctrine of Thales, by clothing the purely ideal Infinite with a sensuous vesture, and regarding the air, the boundless, all-ambient, but determinate air, as the first principle of all things. Heraclitus, and other philosophers of the same school, adopting the same licentious mode of reasoning, espoused principles analogous to these. But, in all cases, the essence of the early philosophy was a rarefied materialism, which beheld the creative agency and the law of creation merely in the idealization of natural substances, their phenomena, or their powers. These were obviously insufficient to explain, or even to render conceivable the existence and action of the individual mind. Men, indeed, had, by these systems, cut themselves loose from that intimate union with, and sense of dependence upon, the external world, of which the

* The knotty question, indicated by this remark, is frequently and elaborately discussed by the ancient philosophers, though seldom satisfactorily. The case is strongly put by David, Prolegg. Phil. ap. Arist. Schol., p. 12, cf. Anonym. Urbin, p. 546, a. 32. The argument turns entirely upon a confusion of metaphors, and its refutation is furnished by Aristotle, Metaph., lib. x, c. x, p. 1063, a–b. The sophism had been previously exposed by Heraclitus v. Ammon. Schol. Arist., p. 35, a. not., and Philoponus in Categ., p. 35, a.

† This principle may be compared in form, as in vagueness and impossiblity of definite apprehension or legitimate employment, to M. Hoëne Wronski's principle of the Absolute or Ineffable, as laid down in his Messianisme. It might, however, be more just to Anaximander to notice especially the analogy of his fundamental principle to that of Schelling—but the latter is a strict Idealist.

Digitized by Google

ordinary experience of every day assured them. Employing material forms as their archetypal principles,* they sublimated matter in their speculative alembic to such a degree, that it no longer possessed in theory the characteristics recognised in its actual condition. The logical procedure adopted was entirely erroneous; for, besides the manifold imperfections and deficiencies manifested in its application to details, the principles, at which it arrived by a rash induction, were inadequate, when developed systematically, to explain or elucidate the acknowledged phenomena of the universe.

Previous, however, to the later periods of this sect, Pythagoras had founded the Italic School. The question proposed to philosophy at that time was, to account for the uniformity and regularity of phenomena, and to exhibit the causes and the nature of that essential permanence which subsisted in the midst of all temporal changes. The solution of this problem Pythagoras fancied himself able to detect in the fixity of the relations of numbers, and in the infinite modifications which they admitted without derogation from their characteristic identity and simplicity. Hence, with him, numbers became the first principles of all things, and to each of the simple numbers were attached a mystical signification and mysterious virtues. Thus the semblance of explanation was substituted for the reality; and the formal condition of things, not altogether arbitrary, but in great measure accidental, took the place of a comprehensive interpretation of the various interdependent and mutually modifying facts. Reason was thus supplanted by fanciful and often fictitious analogies; and casual or imaginary similitudes, which were never more than partial, were considered as the equivalents of causation. Still, by the introduction of mathematical relation, as a symbolical language admitting of wide application, the foundations of applied mathematics, or of strict science, were laid, and valuable services rendered by preparing, and even indicating the way for the future progress of intellect. Moreover, the employment of intellectual forms (*formæ rationales*) as the correlatives of actual existence, directed attention to the peculiar functions of the mind in the intellection and explication of the universe, and exhibited in a strong light the faintly-suspected truth of the harmony and metaphysical interdependence of knowledge and existence. But the error again lay in the logical procedure. In the case of Pythagoras, there was a mystical assumption of a fragmentary manifestation of the laws of

* In that most valuable fragment of metaphysical history, and most admirable specimen of metaphysical criticism, the First Book of the Metaphysics, Aristotle says that all the Greek philosophers before Anaxagoras assigned but one cause of the universe, and that, matter. Metaph., lib. i, c. iii., cf. Schol. Aristot., p. 545, b. 18.

Digitized by Google

intellect as a sufficient explanation of their whole bearing and significancy; and this assumption was illegitimately employed as the creative agency of the universe, and as the adequate equivalent of the matter and essence of all knowledge and being. We fear that we have left our meaning obscure and confused, and we have not much hope of rendering it more lucid. What we designed to say was, that Pythagoras mistook the partial analogy which he discovered between the relations of number and figure and the phenomena of the universe, for an entire exposition of the laws which governed the development of the latter; and losing sight of the accidental and incomplete character of this analogy, considered that the order of nature was represented in its reason, if not in its genetic cause, by the series of numerical and geometrical properties, thus establishing a system of mysticism on a narrow basis of mathematical laws. Nor let any one be surprised at our attributing mysticism to the mathematical formalism of the Pythagorean school. The examples of Spinoza and Des Cartes, and more recently of M. Wronski, prove that there is a curious but natural affinity between the two.

The passage from these defective schemes of philosophy is exemplified and illustrated by the history of the Eleatic school. Borrowing the experimental conclusion of the Ionic sect, *ex nihilo nihil fit*, and inferring therefrom that the chain of causation must be direct, intimate, and homogeneous in all its links, Xenophanes assumed God as the principle, essence, and substance of all things—summing up his philosophy in the celebrated device, ἓν τὸ ὂν καὶ πᾶν, and thus inaugurated the first clearly attested form of Pantheism. This system was more strictly and symmetrically developed by Parmenides, who gave it a purely idealistic form, identifying knowledge and existence—(the problem consciously proposed by M. Wronski, and the result inevitably attained by Schelling)—and thus making the objective and subjective universe—the worlds of matter and of thought—the two forms of the efflux of Deity, thereby rendering the attributes of the Divinity the mere hazy reflexes of the human mind. This doctrine was pushed still further by the Samian, Melissus, who deemed that its consistency required the negation of time, space, and matter—and thus produced as his philosophic interpretation of the universe, the unlimited, unconditioned mind, subject to no law, inherent in no substance, affected by no change, but suspended in vague isolation in the centre of a creation of dreams. In this way the Eleatic philosophy, by the rejection of all limits, attained its own. The conclusion, to which it had been necessarily pushed, was so much at variance with all the lessons of the senses, and with every conviction of individual consciousness, that its absurdity occasioned

Digitized by Google

a violent reaction. In this, as in the two former instances, the fundamental defect may assuredly be traced to vicious reasoning. The foundation of the whole scheme is a pure assumption, and its principles are altogether hypothetical. Moreover, it involves, throughout, the latent fallacy that the range of intellectual comprehension is a legitimate canon of the laws of the universe.

The extreme and impracticable subtilty of this Pantheistic idealism outraged the common-sense of the Greeks. An able defender, however, arose to uphold for a time its declining pretensions. Zeno endeavoured to support the Eleatic doctrine, not by demonstrating its inherent validity, but by showing that empiricism is still more absurd. This* *reductio ad absurdum*, however illegitimate and sophistical as a proof of the truth of the system attacked, was an important advance in the line of sound philosophy, as it constituted the first step towards the construction of logical science, of which, for this reason, Zeno was justly reputed to be the founder. Furthermore, Zeno's procedure placed reason and experience directly and overtly at variance with each other, and thus prepared the way for the reign of the Sophists, who borrowed many of their principles from the Eleatics, and might almost have claimed Zeno as one of themselves.*

Before the time of Gorgias, who is ordinarily recognised as the first of the Sophists, Anaxagoras had, however, acknowledged a supreme intelligence as the source of all being as well as of all intellection; but he made little or no use of this important discovery, confining himself chiefly to the development of his system of Homœomereia, which was, in great measure, a return towards the Ionic school, as was also the philosophy of Empedocles and of Diogenes of Apollonia, the latter of whom, however, imputed an intellectual energy to nature.

The reign of intellect, and, whether avowed or not, of the merely human intellect, was inaugurated by the procedure of Zeno, and hailed as the only refuge from the conflicting absurdities of the Ionic, Pythagorean, and Eleatic schools. The whole universe of things created, and the Creator himself too, were reduced to intellectual operations and abstractions, or became the mere shuttlecocks of intellectual discussion. The validity of truth was deprived of any intrinsic support, and was left to be established by purely logical comparisons. Em-

* The sophistical character of Zeno's philosophy was recognised by the ancients themselves, who called him ὁ ἀμφοτερόγλωττος, because he was supposed to have thought one thing and said another. David. Interp. x, Categ. Schol. Aristot., p. 22, b. 27, who cites Diogenes Laërtius [ix, 25]:—

ἀμφοτερογλώττοιο μέγα σθένος οὐκ ἀλαπαδνὸν
Ζήνωνος.

Digitized by Google

piricism had failed, but it had started insoluble doubts. Idealism had resulted in absurd and visionary transcendentalism, and introduced irremediable discord between sense and reason. The foundations of knowledge, the characteristics of truth, were unsettled, and appeared to be undiscoverable; and the whole domain of philosophy, and, consequently, of practice, was staked upon the result of plausible argumentation. If we had time to trace the parallelism, a close analogy might be detected between the intellectual confusion of that age and the anarchical condition of our own. In both instances the mental disorganization was attended by the same results.

Such a state of philosophy as we have described necessarily led to the dominion of sophistry, which, repelled by the absurdities and inconsistencies in which preceding systems had ended, dazzled by the preëminence assigned to the intellect, attracted by the temptations of logical display, untrammelled by the assumptions of any preceding creeds, and encouraged by the political atmosphere of the time, boldly proclaimed that truth and justice were mere appearances—the phantasies of the mind—and that the more specious argument proved the better cause. This rendered the whole domain of Greek speculation one vast arena for shadowy controversies, in which nothing was decided—for profitless logomachies, which never contemplated the attainment of truth—and for a logical legerdemain, which seemed to work miracles solely because it deluded the bystanders, and obliterated all the landmarks which could direct or regulate the judgment. The satire of Aristophanes is not merely a burlesque. There may be caricature or exaggeration in the delineation of the method of the Sophists given in the Clouds, but it only tends to exhibit in a clearer light and in higher relief the radical fallacies of their school, and is confirmed and illustrated by the example as well as by the evidence of Plato and Isocrates.

The popularity and success of these brilliant sceptics attested the entire absence of settled principles of reasoning and belief in the eminently intellectual communities by which Protagoras and his compeers were welcomed and admired. Until the publication of Mr. Grote's luminous history, there had been no adequate appreciation of either the character or the mission of the Sophists, who were certainly among the most eminent thinkers of Greece, and whose errors and pernicious influences were the necessary result of their historical position, and of the previous condition of speculation. Their task was the work of destruction: their mission was honestly accepted by them, and earnestly fulfilled; they recognised and exposed the irreconcilable inconsistencies in the received habits of

Digitized by Google

thought—which was a necessary preliminary to any valid intellectual renovation. Their method was purely negative: their principles were limited to the narrowest empiricism; for it was their office to exhibit the absence of any possible harmony between preceding doctrines and individual consciousness. Hence the loose and transitory experience of the individual was made the canon for the criticism of all speculative truth and all practical right—as has too often been the case in our own day, for we too are living in the age of the Sophists. Such a type of philosophy—for even the rebellion against philosophy inevitably assumes a philosophical form—manifested the profoundly diseased state of the society in the midst of which it took root and flourished, and was, of course, powerfully instrumental in extending the political and social disorganization which it had in some degree produced, and which in its turn reacted upon the philosophy, disseminating its lessons, popularizing its positions, and demoralizing the effects of what in the first instance was only metaphysical or logical error.

It is only necessary to remember that the age of the Sophists was coincident with the first years of the Peloponnesian war, and constituted an important part of the melancholy phenomena of political and social decay which were displayed at Athens and throughout Greece both during and subsequent to that war, to be assured of the reciprocally injurious effects of the concomitant distemperature of philosophy and society. In practice, as in theory, there was no faith in religion, no reverence for the gods, no trust in men, no respect for law or justice, no veneration for right, either between individuals or communities, no shame of falsehood, no belief in truth, no regard for morals; but all duties as all rights were blown about in the courts of judicature and in the halls of legislation, and left to the chance of plausible advocacy, or to the shifting currents of popular caprice. The intellect was the only instrument of persuasion, and the arbitrary fantasies of individual judgment the only recognised tribunal of the conscience. At the same time, with an increased development of industry and commerce, with a rapid augmentation of individual fortunes, the respect for the rights of property wholly vanished, and the insatiable and licentious spirit of greed rose to such a height as to deprave the whole population, and to render peculation, plunder, robbery, perjury, and murder, violent and judicial, familiar steps toward the attainment of wealth. It should, perhaps, be mentioned here, though the period of its greatest virulence was somewhat later, that the intolerable distress and misery which resulted from this deranged state of society, and from the acrimonious hostility between the greedy and unscrupulous rich and the no

Digitized by Google

less greedy and unscrupulous poor,* produced a reaction against the existing political and social organization, which had lapsed into such a ruinous condition, and dictated constant and capricious changes of the government; which were all equally impotent to produce good or avert evil. Thus the logical fallacies which were involved in the conflicting systems of abstruse philosophy had worked their way down through the intermediate spheres of human thought to all the departments of social and private action.

This is no fancy sketch: every incident in the gloomy picture is abundantly attested by the pages of the Greek historians and the repeated declarations of the Athenian orators. Yet, though so accurate a delineation of the age of the ancient Sophists, we might suppose that we were reading a description of the calamities of our own times:—

> Viscera mortua quin etiam
> Post obitum reparare datur,
> Eque suis iterum tumulis
> Prisca renascitur effigies,
> Pulvereo coëunte situ.†

Let us add, to render the parallel more striking, that it was at the commencement of the age of the Sophists that Hippo, the prototype of Comte, propounded that doctrine of phenomenalism and infidelity which was ridiculed by Cratinus,‡ and censured with such withering scorn by Aristotle.§

The evils which we have been describing were at their height when Socrates appeared. At first, assimilating his general procedure to the method of the Sophists, (which he and his disciples, Plato and Xenophon, always to a great extent retained,) he endeavoured, by skilfully directed inquiries, to show the utter irreconcilability of the principles of the Sophists with those smothered but indestructible convictions of men which were only denied because ignored. His

* The fullest proof of this antagonism is furnished by the treatise attributed to Xenophon: De Atheniensium Republica. If this is not the genuine production of Xenophon, we should conjecture its spuriousness from circumstances exactly opposite to the evidence ordinarily adduced for that purpose. It manifests finer powers of observation, a juster appreciation of social phenomena and their relations, and a stronger flight of reason, with less superstition and puerility, than are usually found in the undoubted productions of Xenophon.

† Prudentii Cathemerinon, Hymn iii, v. 191–5.

‡ In the Πάνοπται. The fragments are preserved apud Meineke, Com. Græc., vol. ii, pa. i, pp. 102–7.

§ Metaph., lib. i, c. iii, p. 983. V. Asclep. et Cod. Reg. Schol., p. 534, a. 22–6. Aristotle said, Ἵππωνα οὐκ ἄν τις ἀξιώσειε θεῖναι μετὰ τούτων (the Ionic school) διὰ τὴν εὐτέλειαν αὐτοῦ τῆς διανοίας.

Digitized by Google

effort was to revive and reëstablish those fundamental principles of belief which had been almost entirely obliterated: to renovate that vital and instinctive faith—that spontaneous sentiment, the principle not the result of thought—which had been crushed and paralyzed beneath the weight of verbose disputations. His aim was to make every one discover for himself, by introspection, the constant existence of a faith, a certainty, whose very existence was a valid and complete refutation of the whole ingenious web of sophistry. Hence flowed the singular propriety of the favourite analogy which Socrates instituted between his own philosophical vocation and his mother's obstetrical art. He had no symmetrical theory of his own to propound; all systems apparently had been tried, and the results in which they had eventuated were what he was contending against. Thus, both the object and the nature of his inquiries dictated the adoption of that erotematic procedure by Sorites, which has since been termed Socratic, and was afterward so splendidly illustrated in the brilliant dialogues of Plato.* In the application of his Dialectic method, as his endeavour was the elimination of error, so as to permit the spontaneous revelation of latent truth, he was necessarily led to reflect profoundly upon the processes of reasoning, and the nature and validity of their conclusions, and was thus conducted to many important logical discoveries, and among others to that of formal induction.† Thus the method of the reform which was inaugurated by Socrates was a logical one; and necessary it was that it should be so, if it was to constitute any genuine advancement of the human intellect, for false reasoning was the ultimate germ of those evils which had stimulated his efforts. But, at the same time that such was the philosophical significance of his career, his immediate action was preëminently practical. The political and moral disorders of the times, with their grievous social consequences, it was his design to redress and reform: by the reëstablishment of public and private virtue; by the revival of moral principle and religious faith; by the renewed recognition of the immutability of right and wrong, and the divine origin of justice; and by the restoration of a spirit of obedience to all constituted authority, human and divine. The last feature of his philosophy receives new prominence from the circumstances of his death, at the same time that it illustrates and justifies his refusal to accept the chances of escape which were offered to him, or to avert in any manner his impending

* This exhibition of the peculiar spirit of the Socratic philosophy, and of the relation of the Socratic procedure to that spirit, is strikingly confirmed by the Theætetus of Plato, especially by chapters vi, vii.

† Aristot. Metaph., lib. xii, c. iv, p. 1078. Ed. Bekker & Brandis.

Digitized by Google

fate. The character of the Socratic reform also induced its founder to devote himself with such sedulous care to the rising generation at Athens, and to the education of the young; for, as the reform proposed was of a moral complexion, it was essential that its seeds should be planted in the minds of those who had not yet been hardened, corrupted, and warped by the pernicious tendencies and associations of the times. We conclude, then, that the ends contemplated by the practical, as well as by the theoretical portions of the philosophy of Socrates, were sought by the same method, which was not designed to implant any special system of novel doctrines, but to develop in the consciousness of his pupils and hearers the existence and the permanent obligation of those convictions, inexplicable because instinctive,* which had been darkened by the clouds of conflicting metaphysical systems, and blown aside by the breath of sophistry and the currents of windy rhetorical plausibilities.

The procedure of Socrates was thus entirely negative, though the result sought and obtained was eminently positive. In this respect he may be compared with Kant. But the latter definitely constructed a system of negations, while the former only employed the Socratic irony and the *reductio ad absurdum* to withdraw the artificial pressure which palsied the play of the common-sense convictions of the human mind, leaving these to rise to their due influence and level by their own spontaneous energy, as soon as the weight which held them down was removed. But the negative character of the procedure both of Socrates and Kant allowed perfect freedom of systematization to those who followed and adopted their philosophy; and, as from the school of Kant have proceeded Fichte, Hegel, Jacobi, Schelling, Oken, Reinhold, Strauss, and in some respects we might add M. Comte also, so from the Socratic school arose all the great schemes of philosophy which rendered illustrious the later periods of Greece.

Among the most eminent of these, as the earliest, was Platonism, which endeavoured to develop the doctrines of Socrates into a species of doubting idealism, mingling with its shadowy transcendentalism a strong dash of the sceptical spirit which had presided over the philosophy of Socrates. We have no design to analyze the doctrines or the career of Plato; but we mention him here for the sake of calling attention to the evidence which he furnishes of the reaction against the profound and melancholy social disorganization of

* This aim of Socrates may account for that doctrine, reported by Plato, that all knowledge is but memory refreshed — a resuscitated reminiscence — and for the Platonic proof of the immortality of the soul by its vaguely imagined pre-existence.

Digitized by Google

the times. It is in his writings, in his Laws and his Republic, that we have the clearest indications, indirect though they be, of the growing recognition of this almost hopeless distemperature; and it is there too that we discern the first manifestation of that scheme of Socialism to which the recurrence of similar contingencies has given such prominence and increasing popularity in our day. The reveries of Plato's political projects have been hitherto the stumbling-block of all classical scholars and all historians of philosophy, because they have been regarded solely in their connexion with the literary or philosophical development of the Greek mind. But the only mode in which those singular aberrations—so much at variance with the genuine spirit of the Socratic school, and so inconsistent with the strength, we cannot say with the sobriety, of Plato's genius—can become intelligible, is by regarding them as an earnest protestation against the immoralities, the miseries, and the social disintegration of the times, and as the first wild tentative toward the removal or alleviation of those evils. It was the occurrence of a crisis strangely analogous to that which may now be witnessed, and which has already seduced so many of the most profound minds of Christendom into the adoption and laborious dissemination of the various forms of Socialism; it was the existence of such a crisis which prompted the fantastic provisions of Plato's Utopia. But he was by no means alone among the ancients in his advocacy of communistic reveries. The Politics of Aristotle indicate the contemporaneous promulgation of many other schemes of political and social renovation of the same general complexion; and, possibly, if the chimerical politics of ancient theorists had been diligently preserved, we might have discovered the prototype of Fourier in Hippodamus of Miletus,* and the precursor of Proudhon in Phaleas of Chalcedon.†

But, in all that constitutes the essence of the great intellectual instauration of the ancient world, with the exception of the fundamental idea of its procedure—viz., the diligent examination of the premises of the reason, and the recognition of the ultimate facts of consciousness as the postulates of all valid speculation or practice—Aristotle must be regarded as the great reformer, the Bacon of Greek antiquity. With the immense erudition, the all-embracing speculation, the universal comprehension, the minute accuracy, and the myriad-minded versatility, which have so deservedly acquired for Aristotle the epithet of "*maestro di che chi sanno*," we have no further concern at present than to mention them as evidence of the completeness and universality of the Aristotelian reform. The

* Aristot. Pol., lib. ii, c. vii, p. 1266. † Aristot. Pol., lib. ii, c. viii, p. 1268.

Digitized by Google

characteristics of Aristotle's intellect and philosophy, which merit special notice at present, are the expansion of all known and the anticipation of nearly all conceivable science; the definite construction of logic by the determination of its laws and the range of their application; the criticism of all former science and philosophy by the logical examination of their principles and defects; the establishment of induction, and its employment in physical researches, though not yet sufficiently defined; the analysis of the terms and methods of metaphysical speculation, not as in itself the foundation of any new metaphysical system, but as a refutation of the fallacies of all former schemes; the reconstruction of ethical science on a logical basis, and its symmetrical adaptation to the other branches of human knowledge; the preparation for a redress of social and political evils, not by any imaginary and chimerical theory, hastily projected and inconsiderately urged, but by the diligent collection and comparison of previous and contemporary constitutions, by legitimate inference from the whole mass of such evidence, and by the cautious determination of the conditions of healthy political action, and the causes of political decay.* In his philosophy, Aristotle rejected neither the experimental, or, rather, empirical tendencies of the Ionic school, nor the rational development of the Eleatic. He was equally removed from pure sensationalism and pure idealism, and while establishing the laws and legitimate employment of the reason, he restricted observation to a definite range—thus effecting a reform in metaphysics and creating the science of logic. By this sober and comprehensive procedure he again rendered possible the harmonious interdependence of reason and experience, and by his constantly avowed recognition of indemonstrable principles offered the means of ending the discord between the speculative reason and that faith which springs from instinctive conviction. Thus, universal as was the scientific development of Aristotle's mind, his labours in behalf of logic were the most important part of the whole, and it was by them that the rest was rendered possible and was determined; while, at the same time, they gave its due position and a permanent form to that imperfectly apprehended truth which had inspired the life of Socrates, and justified by sanctifying his death. The double relation of Aristotle to the history of Greek philosophy, and to the actual disorganization of Greek society in his own age, must not be overlooked nor misapprehended, if we would understand either the significance of the vast body of his own doctrine, or the

* Cicero, De Fin. Bon. et Mal., lib. iv, c. iii, § 5, pays a merited tribute to the investigations of Aristotle and the Peripatetics in political philosophy and political practice.

Digitized by Google

causes of that unrivalled eminence which was afterward conceded to him, and which the coming age will again cordially acknowledge.

The distinct recognition of the logical form of Aristotle's method, and of the importance of such a form, must not induce us to overlook the strictly moral aims to which the theory always tended in its practical applications, nor to forget the deeply religious spirit with which all his writings are imbued; for these peculiarities are not less significant of the character of the meditated reform, than the mode by which its attainment was proposed. Aristotle himself boasts of having been the first to speculate distinctly on final causes;* and the theological complexion of his philosophy is justly intimated in a very pointed and epigrammatic criticism of one of the old Scholiasts.† The most cursory examination of the separate treatises of Aristotle will show how his logical elaboration was preparatory to the scientific and metaphysical, and served to establish that ethical system, which has only been surpassed by revelation, while the political philosophy was the result of the previous reform of the reasoning habits and the moral practices of men. It was his aim, indeed, to renovate all human action, by rekindling the veneration for the gods, by reforming the moral sentiments and actions, by correcting political aberrations, by extending the circle of knowledge and purging it of error, and by analyzing and determining the legitimate conditions of thought. Such was the design—but the stages of its accomplishment necessarily succeeded each other in the inverse order, commencing with logic, and terminating in political reform.

The entire decline of Greek independence, which attended the promulgation of Aristotle's philosophy, and the lamentable history of the Greek intellect in the later periods, under Roman tyranny and Byzantine domination, denied to the Aristotelian instauration the immediate and full manifestation of the beneficial effects which it might otherwise have been calculated to produce. Antiquity offered no field for its practical application, and it was always strictly limited to the domain of speculation. But it is worthy of remark, that all the science of Greece, which still receives the respect or wins the admiration of the world, was elaborated after the times of Aristotle; and that even the ethical philosophy of the Stoics‡ (which was the only portion of Greek philosophy that exercised a vital influence on Roman development, by the aid which it afforded

° Aristot., Metaph. i, vii, p. 988, a, b. V. Alex. Aphrod. and Alex. Schol., p. 554, a, b.

† *ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι ἀεὶ θεολογῶν ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης φυσιολογεῖ . . . ὥσπερ ἀνάπαλιν ὁ Πλάτων ἀεὶ φυσιολογῶν θεολογεῖ, πανταχοῦ παρεγκυκλῶν τὸ δόγμα τῶν ἰδεῶν.* David., Schol. Aristot., p. 26.

‡ Cic., de Fin. Bon. et Mal., lib. iv, c. ii, § 3, &c.; lib. v, c. viii, § 22; c. xxv, § 74.

Digitized by Google

to the scientific edification of Roman jurisprudence,) must be traced to the influence of the treatises of Aristotle on this subject and on Logic. The true reign of Aristotle was, however, postponed to a much later period; for, although his philosophy was diligently studied in the Museum of Alexandria, it was debased by the eclecticism of the New-Platonists, whose syncretism destroyed nearly all that was characteristic in the Stagirite,—and, although it was carefully translated and commented on by the Saracens, yet by them it was esteemed chiefly for its physical speculations and observations. Fortunately, on the verge of ancient civilization, when all the knowledge of the ancient world was approaching its extinction, the parting rays of the setting sun shot a farewell gleam over the darkening horizon, and the very last labours of the Roman, or quasi-Roman intellect were devoted to the perpetuation, under an abridged and mutilated form, of the logical system of Aristotle. Perhaps the endless disputations and polemical controversies of the Greek theologians had led to a renewed study and estimation of the logical treatises of Aristotle; but, however that may be, the compendia of Boëthius and Cassiodorus mark the extreme limit of Roman learning, and furnished the instruments for the renewal of philosophical pursuits in the middle ages. Thus, the logic of Aristotle, which was the mature fruit, and most perfect as well as the loftiest production of the Greek intellect, witnessed the dissolution of the Roman mind, and, more than fourteen centuries after its first appearance, kindled again the torch of intellectual progress. What other author does such a destiny await? By this means we are brought to the era of Abelard, which we have noted as the second period requiring consideration for the settlement of the great question proposed.

Although we have resolved to include the career of Abelard within the circle of our present inquiries, it must not be supposed that we attribute to his action a renovation either of the same exact kind, or of anything like the same order with that which was proposed by Aristotle, or the one effected by Bacon. Abelard was, in some degree, an opponent of Aristotelism, in great part its reviver, and only in a slight measure original; but his principal merit consists in the vigorous freedom of investigation which he displayed, and in the assignment of a larger interpretation and a juster prominence to the Peripatetic doctrines than had been previously afforded by the loose and fragmentary views of that philosophy, derived from partial and incorrect translations from the Arabic, and from the misapprehended expressions of Boëthius and Cassiodorus. The particular points which, in his case, especially merit our attention, are his relation to the antecedent and subsequent philosophy of the middle

Digitized by Google

ages, and the nature of the reform inaugurated by his brilliant though melancholy career.

It is undoubtedly incorrect to consider Abelard as either the founder of Scholasticism, or as the first to introduce the Aristotelian philosophy into the mediæval schools. It is equally erroneous, too, to consider him as either preëminently original, or as entirely devoid of originality. The first of these errors is abundantly refuted by previous instances of the scholastic method, which, even in the absence of all other evidence, might have been suspected of Greek derivation from its similarity to the procedure familiar to the Greek Doctors in the disputations of the ecclesiastical councils. But we have other testimony. Stephen, of Alexandria, who wrote a treatise on Alchemy * in the reign of the Emperor Heraclius, in the seventh century, either assumed, or was honoured, with the title of *Doctor Universalis*, in strict accordance with the genius of Scholasticism. About a hundred years later, St. John, of Damascus,† first attempted, with the approbation of the Church, that union of the Peripatetic philosophy with Christian theology which drew down upon the head of Abelard the thunders of St. Bernard and the censures of the Councils of Soissons and Sens. Moreover, the writings of Bede had long rendered the West familiar with the name and the general doctrine of Aristotle; and regular lectures upon some parts of his philosophy had been read in the schools of York even in the times of Alcuin, by whom they had been attended.

The close relation which Abelard bore to Roscellinus, and, in some respects, indeed, to his own master, William of Champeaux, disproves the possibility of any remarkable originality in his philosophical views. But, if his philosophy was only a modification or combination of existing theories, (though it was more than this,) the spirit in which he thought, lectured, and wrote, was eminently original, and gave a renewed impulse to the onward movement of

* Morhofii Polyhistor., lib. i, c. xi, § 21, tom. i, p. 101. We cite the title of his work from Smith's Dict. Gr. and Rom. Biogr. and Myth., to show the further analogy between Byzantine and mediæval philosophy. "Στεφάνου Ἀλεξανδρέως. οἰκουμενικοῦ φιλοσόφου καὶ διδασκάλου τῆς μεγάλης καὶ ἱερᾶς τέχνης περὶ Χρυσοποιίας πρᾶξις σὺν θεῷ πρώτη." Another illustration is furnished at a later period by the title of a work of the celebrated Michael Constantinus Poellus, Διδασκαλία παντοδαπή, sive *de omnifaria doctrina, capita et quæstiones et responsiones* cxciii.

† "The eighth century, the *sæculum iconoclasticum* of Cave, low as it was in all polite literature, produced one man, John Damascenus, who has been deemed the founder of scholastic philosophy, and who, at least, set the example of that style of reasoning in the East." Hallam, Mid. Ages, vol. ii, p. 525, Eng. Ed. The weak authority of Hallam is confirmed by Brucker, Hist. Crit. Phil., tom. iii, pp. 535, 723; and Montreuil, Hist. Droit Byzantin., vol. i, p. 416.

Digitized by Google

humanity. Bold in speculation, and dazzling in expression; equally dexterous in the employment of the offensive weapons and the defensive armour of logic; fearless of consequences, and yearning for the discovery of truth; reverent to the Church and its unquestioned traditions, though rejecting the trammels by which the free play of the intellect was restrained—he cleared away the obstructions which choked up the path of liberal inquiry, and indicated the course which has been so brilliantly and perseveringly pursued by the succeeding generations. The romantic incidents of Abelard's life, his checkered fortunes, and his submissive end, may concentrate our regards on his individual career, and withdraw attention from the originality which he did really possess; yet the sudden and great development of Western intellect which immediately followed his appearance, illustrates both the intellectual activity of the times, and also the profoundly efficacious influence of his example and teaching. The eminent names, which are scattered like stars of the first magnitude over the three centuries which intervened between Abelard's death and the invention of printing, and the entire change in the modes and tendencies of speculative research which then took place, evince the powerful impulsion which must have been given to the human mind, either by Abelard himself, or by the age of which he was the most potent teacher and the most splendid ornament.

The speedy decline of all forms of secular learning, the distractions and dissensions which preceded and attended the establishment of the feudal system, the constant invasions of barbarous nations, and the foreign wars undertaken for their repulsion, had thrown all learning into the hands of the monks. The isolation of their lives, and their segregation from the duties of practical life, combined with the dominance of a blind religious zeal, which was the result of the hopeless and incessant controversies of both the Eastern and Western Churches, had given to their theology an equally arrogant and narrow type, and had rendered the little literature that still survived a mere pliant instrument to subserve the purposes of a contracted and arbitrary dogmatism. The strong infusion of Platonism, and especially of New-Platonism, in the treatises of the Eastern or Greek fathers, had necessarily produced a realistic tendency in the feeble philosophy of the times intervening between Bede and the revival of speculative activity. The mystical appetencies of the theological philosophy of that remote day are fully revealed by the writings of the celebrated John Erigena*—the

* Caraman, Hist. des Révolutions de la Philosophie, &c. I. Epoque, c. v, vol. i, p. 290. Brucker, Hist. Phil., tom. iii, p. 622.

Digitized by Google

morning-star of mediæval speculation. The lifeless orthodoxy of the age thus became strongly, because blindly, attached to idealistic realism; and the play of the human mind was not more impeded by the excessive and unreasoning dogmatism of the Church than by the narrow and fallacious philosophy with which it was habitually united. The few philosophers, moreover, who had attempted to extend the limited circle of ordinary inquiry, had displayed the tendency of all realism to lose itself in Pantheistic conclusions;* and the violent reaction, both against this result and against the exclusiveness of ecclesiastical domination, had manifested, by the example of Roscellinus, the risk of pushing Nominalism to that extreme limit where all discussion is reduced to the mere shadowy state of nominal difference.

It was in this conjuncture that the fame of Abelard illuminated the darkness of the middle ages. He resisted the arbitrary mode of interpretation employed by the received theology, claiming for the human reason some share in the determination of what was to be recognised as truth. He not only asserted its right to judge for itself in matters profane, but demanded also that the doctrines of theology should be interpreted in accordance with reason; and that, while their validity might still be acknowledged to rest upon the authority of revelation, their significance should be discovered by a free exercise of the intellect, acting in due subordination to the express language of the Scriptures, and to the consentaneous teachings of the fathers of the Catholic Church. His was a rebellion against the excess and consequent irrationality of the prevalent ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and an assertion of the dignity, coincident, though not coequal, of human reason. However humble and submissive may have been the language which he at times employed, however reverent and self-abnegating the faith which marked the close of his life, the tenor as well as the consequences of his career manifests that such was the main-spring and the inevitable tendency of his teachings. The revolution which he commenced was introduced by a renewed examination of the rules of logic, and a fresh investigation of the principles from which those rules were deduced. The impotence and fallacy both of the regenerated realism of William of Champeaux, and also of the Nominalism of Roscellinus, which represented respectively the existing theology and the antago-

* The Pantheism of Erigena is recognised by both Brucker and Caraman; and even in the age of Abelard the celebrated proof of the existence of the Deity, first used by the Saracens, was advanced by St. Anselm, borrowed from him by Descartes, and legitimately used in later times by Spinoza as the foundation for a Pantheistic system.

Digitized by Google

nistic philosophy, concentrated the attention of Abelard on the main points of controversy between them; and he endeavoured to find an intermediate ground for the refutation of both in the Conceptualism, of which he may himself be, perhaps, regarded as the founder, although traces of it appear in the writings of Aristotle. In the development of his doctrines, he took those wide views of logic which had long been prevalent, and he embraced, within its horizon, the vast expanse of all knowledge; but, at the same time, he had the merit of examining with unequalled diligence the scanty and imperfect sources of the Aristotelian philosophy which were then available, and of supplying by his own vigorous and original reflection the deficiencies left by the fragmentary state of his authorities. The latest and only satisfactory biographer of Abelard fancies that there is everywhere discoverable in his writings a manifest leaning towards Platonism, though this tendency was repressed and denied its full fruit from the ignorance in which he constantly remained of the originals, and even of the principal works of Plato.*

The mission of Abelard was thus, it would appear, to resist the exclusive domination of arbitrary authority, to claim for the reason its legitimate exercise and freedom beyond the pale of what was purely religious doctrine, and to allay the fruitless and dangerous opposition of Realism and Nominalism, both of which he perceived to be equally untenable and self-contradictory. He saw that the reform was necessarily to be commenced against logic, and this at that time embraced also metaphysics, which occupied his attention so far as its healthy reconstruction was requisite for the development and expansion of a more satisfactory scheme of logic.

Purposeless as the brilliant career of Abelard may seem to have been, when we regard either the fortunes of his own life, or the scattered fragments of his philosophy which he has left to our times, the instant revival of intellectual energy which followed it, and resulted in the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard and the *Summa* of St. Thomas Aquinas, in the experimental science of Albert the Great and of Roger Bacon, in the construction of the artificial and intricate logic of the schoolmen, shows that it was by no means inoperative in the production of our modern civilization, and in the renewed expansion of intellectual progress.

But a more important observation than this, and one which has a

* Abélard, par Charles de Rémusat, 2 vols., 8vo., Paris, 1845. It is from this valuable and interesting work that we have principally derived our impressions of Abelard, whose writings we have had but scanty opportunities of studying in their original text.

Digitized by Google

much closer relation to the main purpose of our inquiry, is, that the labours of Abelard harmonized and were contemporaneous with a marked crisis in the religious, political, industrial, and social condition of Europe. They mark the point of time at which the long refluent tides of civilization began once more to flow. Among the contemporary events which indicated the diversity and extent of the prevailing agitation, we may mention the formation of new principalities and kingdoms, with dissimilar political organizations; the preaching and achievement of the first Crusade; the quarrels between the popes and the German emperors, with regard to investitures; the consolidation and augmentation of the Papal power under Gregory VII.; the rise of the Troubadours; the revolt and independence of Milan; the establishment of Communes; the appearance and persecution of the Waldenses, and the revival of the study of the Roman law. It is true that Abelard left no distinct school, and did not himself institute any heretical sect, however his writings may have been tainted with heresy; neither did he apply his principles or his method to the elucidation and solution of difficult social and political problems; but his pupils, and those who had kindled their torches at his lamp, rendered themselves conspicuous by their union of chimerical dreams of political and social regeneration with heretical dogmas of the most varying shades.* Among the immediate hearers and disciples of Abelard were Berengarius of Poitiers, and Arnold of Brescia—the former more celebrated in the history of the Church, the latter in the chronicles of the mediæval revolutions of Rome. But closely connected also with the movement commenced by Abelard, were Peter and Henry de Bruys, and the sectaries of Perigueux and Cologne, who foreshadowed, in some degree, the fifth-monarchy-men of the Great Rebellion, and anticipated the doctrine of the recent French Communists—*la propriété c'est le vol.*†

These brief indications may suffice to prove both the profound disorder of society which prevailed in the times of Abelard, and also the intimate but indirect connexion which subsisted between his teachings and the subsequent attempts for the wild redress of social grievances. The mutual correlations of these phenomena cannot be prudently disregarded, for it is an essential feature of the analogies which we are considering that the logical and metaphysical reform was, more or less consciously, inspired by the need for the amelioration of society, and was attempted by a recurrence to the first prin-

* Robert (du Var.) Hist. de la Classe Ouvrière, liv. x, ch. iv, v. Caraman, tome ii, p. 181.

† "Nul ne doit rien posséder en propre," said those of Perigueux. Robert (du Var.) tome iii, p. 193.

Digitized by Google

ciples of human reasoning, and by the overthrow of received but erroneous modes of thought and action. It is necessary to recognise in each case that the intellectual reform was dictated by social grievances, and was the prelude for social reorganisation. We do not mean to assimilate Abelard to Socrates or Francis Bacon, either in respect to the extent of the influence exercised by him, or in the depth to which his immediate agency penetrated. Society was not as profoundly nor as hopelessly disorganized in his day as it was in that of Socrates; nor was the intellectual energy of his time or its range at all comparable with the nascent developments of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The character of his action and its effects, while preserving a general analogy to the procedure and influence of the earlier and the later reformer, bore its due and special relation to the characteristics and requirements of his own age. Each crisis had its own distinct peculiarities; and it was only in their broad principles and essence that the several instaurations were analogous. The differences are more numerous than the resemblances, and require to be carefully eliminated; but the similitudes are not on that account the less important, nor are the analogies less significant. We have learned from Lord Bacon that, amongst the prerogative instances, not the least serviceable are the proportionate instances;* and, we think, that the marked dissimilarities which contradistinguish the three ages we have cited may render their fundamental agreement more striking and intelligible. Although it may be an anticipation of the regular course of this investigation, we may remark here that, in the instauration undertaken by Socrates and Aristotle, we have a general intellectual reform at the close of a political and social cycle, consequently without adequate effect upon the communities of antiquity; in the case of Abelard, we have a philosophical renovation at the outset of a general revival, sustaining itself on the fragment and crumbs of past learning, and consequently not wholly original or complete, but merely the promise of better things to come. In the great instauration of Francis Bacon, we discover a movement altogether self-cognizant, proceeding in the midst of political health and high mental culture, imping feathers to its young and growing wings, and pluming itself with hope for a loftier flight than it ever reached before. It is remarkable that the intellectual globe, as contemplated by the prophetic vision of Bacon, filled an ampler sphere, was more comprehensive and harmonious in its parts, and hung more justly poised upon its centre, than it has since appeared, as realized by the labours and discoveries of his *soi-disant* followers and admirers. In our own day we detect an order of things

* Novum Organon, lib. ii, ceph. xxvii.

Digitized by Google

unlike the aspect of the world at any of the previous periods of reform in many important particulars; but, whether the result will furnish a close parallel for the first of these critical ages, or supply a legitimate continuation of the progress initiated by Abelard, and accelerated by Bacon, or will assume an entirely original hue, thus constituting the culminating epoch of human intelligence, we can learn only from the future. We hope and believe, for the reasons previously alleged, that the mental throes and the social anguish which characterize the nineteenth century, much more significantly than its boasted intellect, may yet eventuate in the greatest instauration of all time—the *Instauratio Maxima* succeeding the *Instauratio Magna*—and light up the meridian and not the setting sun of modern intellect. But, retracing the vanishing lines of former progress, we may notice in the social condition of the several ages commented upon, differences corresponding with the dissimilarities observable in their respective reformers and the reforms which they heralded or achieved. Thus the reciprocal dependence of the intellectual and social action of all times may be recognised; and, in the endeavour to solve the social problems which now press around us, we may be prepared to ascend to the most recondite sources of logical and metaphysical speculation. In the age of Socrates and Aristotle Greek society and polity were both completely disintegrated, and humanity itself, within the range of Greek civilization, was degraded and demoralised. The wheels of the machine were clogged or disconnected, the vital energy was effete, and all the springs of civil action had lost their wonted elasticity. In the epoch illustrated by Abelard, society, though disturbed, was full of life and vigour; reckless and rude might be the impetuous ebullitions of its youth, but these only announced that the new wine of civilization was beginning to ferment in the old bottles. When Lord Bacon ran his illustrious career, the social disease was only a passing ailment, general and deep-seated as it was. It had been occasioned by too rapid growth and extraordinary development, not by any radical germ of decay. Now we witness the universal anarchy of the world in all forms of speculation and practice, brought about by the tyranny and exclusive dominion of the intellectual autocracy, which we have enthroned and almost canonized. It is the lawless ascendancy, the riotous license of the reason from which we suffer—the want of any moral authority—the disregard and contempt of religion, except so far as it is the plastic creature of our own capricious interpretations. We forge in these days the creeds in which alone we profess to believe; and we make with our own fancies the idols which we pretend to venerate as gods. In consequence of these wide discrepancies between the

Digitized by Google

several ages specified, we may naturally expect to find the inherent analogy, which pervades them all, disguised under diversities and modifications of the concomitant phenomena. But it is the highest exercise of the reflecting mind to eliminate these diversities, and recognise the identity of the animating spirit, notwithstanding the changing accidents by which it may be accompanied in its various manifestations.

But we must return from this long digression. Whatever his merits in other respects, Abelard had fallen into the habitual error of his time, of including all science and knowledge under logic—(virtually, not professedly)—and of regarding the various departments of human speculation as little more than the diverse applications of deductive reasoning. He was thus instrumental in giving to human thought a narrowness of range, which was certain at some time to prove fatal. Friar Bacon did, indeed, solemnly inaugurate the experimental method of philosophy, and his *Opus Majus* must be regarded as a memorable example of original genius and bold research, and as a wonderful prelude to the still distant reform. But there were few, or none, to continue his labours,* Albert the Great and the alchemists being the only fellow-workers in the same field. The tone of popular superstition, as well as the temper of ecclesiastical sentiment, were adverse to pursuits which discovered miracles—the *magnalia naturæ*—assigned by popular ignorance to diabolical agencies. Roger Bacon, moreover, was himself too much trammelled by the prevalent modes of argumentation, by his deference to authorities not entitled to regulate his inquiries, and by the habit of justifying even scientific views by torturing the language of Scripture and the loose expressions of the Doctors of the Church. Such obstacles and defects impeded the development of science, even though the approaches to the true road had been cleared out. Thus logic rose to uncontested supremacy, and the authority of Aristotle was amplified into an unquestioned dominion. But the overshadowing name of the great Stagirite, and the vicious application of mere logical, or rather eristic reasoning to the estimation of the phenomena and processes of nature, rendered the interpretation of the facts which were daily multiplied before the eyes of the curious not merely defective, but positively fallacious. The vice

* There was a certain John, of London, by whom Roger Bacon sent his *Opus Majus* to Pope Clement IV., of whom he speaks in the most flattering terms. He was a mere boy, poor, and having had few opportunities of learning; yet Friar Bacon says of him: "*Me senem in multis transcendit propter meliores radices quas recepit, ex quibus potest salubres fructus expectare, ad quos ego nunquam pertingam.*" Op. Maj., ps. i, c. 10. What became of him? What would have been the result had he been able to prosecute the inquiries of his teacher?

Digitized by Google

of the procedure was apprehended long before any efficient corrective was applied. The ridicule of Rabelais, and the sarcasm of Henry Cornelius Agrippa, no less than the premature and inefficacious projects of reform attempted by Telesio, Patrizzi, Giordano Bruno, and Cesalpini, indicated the recognition both of the disease and of the necessity for some great intellectual renovation.

The discussion will be concluded in another article.

Art. II.—STRONG'S HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS.

A New Harmony and Exposition of the Gospels: consisting of a Parallel and Combined Arrangement, on a New Plan, of the Narratives of the Four Evangelists, according to the Authorized Translation; and a Continuous Commentary, with Brief Notes subjoined. With a Supplement, containing extended Chronological and Topographical Dissertations, and a complete Analytical Index. By James Strong, A. M. 8vo., pp. 569. New-York: Lane & Scott, 1852.

The harmonizing of the four separate histories of Jesus given us in the New Testament has been a problem of interest to the Church from a very early period of its history. So early as A. D. 170, we hear of a collation of the Gospels by Tatian, the disciple of Justin Martyr; and not long after of another by Ammonius; and in the third and fourth centuries we find Dionysius of Alexandria, and Gregory of Nyssen, engaged in reconciling the several accounts of the resurrection. Did the original historians of the life of the Saviour stand upon the same footing as ordinary eye and ear witnesses of events, all disagreement in the minute detail of their record, would be explained by reference to the natural lapses of memory, and their credibility would be deemed sufficiently established by their general agreement throughout. They are received by us, however, not only as truthful, but also as inspired; and it has therefore been demanded that they be harmonized in every, even the minutest particular. To this problem the Church has addressed herself with indefatigable zeal—a zeal of which we see the fruits in the successive publications offered to the public bearing upon this branch of inquiry.

But while thus engaged in educing the less important verbal agreement, is there not danger of losing sight of the higher harmony of the spirit evinced in our fourfold history of Christ? As the problem pertains to the domain of the Christian evidences, do we not weaken our position by practically limiting the term Harmony to the letter, which we usually find stubborn and intractable, whenever we have to deal with it, and failing to give due prominence to that unity of the

Digitized by Google

evangelists in their conception of Christ and his mission, which at once attests their truth and their inspiration? Thus we have four portraits of the blessed Redeemer, but it is the one Jesus in all; the pictures are diverse, and yet the same. Matthew invests him with a Jewish garb, and much of the light which falls upon the canvass is from the shrines of ancient prophecy. Mark portrays him discharging the outward functions of his office. Luke adds the traits that pertain to Jesus as the Saviour of humanity. The Gentile world is present to him as he spreads out the image imprinted on his heart. John gives those features which have given his record the designation of *εὐαγγέλιον πνευματικόν*, the Gospel preëminently of the Spirit. And considering the extent and amplitude of the human character of Christ, this diverseness could not fail to be. "He who lived," remarks Olshausen in his introduction to the Gospels, "a purely heavenly life on earth, and spake words of eternal truth, could not but be very variously described, according to the characteristics of the human soul, which received the rays of light proceeding from him. Each soul reflected his image according to its own profundity and compass, and yet each might be right. It was for this reason that more than one Gospel was included in the collection of the sacred writings, since only the presentation of different portraitures together could present a partial view of our Saviour's character. As it is only from the accounts of Xenophon and Plato that we can obtain a complete picture of Socrates, so we cannot comprehend the life of our Lord, which affords so many different aspects, without uniting the different traits in all the four Gospels into one general portraiture." And when we come so to combine, we find that the evangelists do not contradict, but supplement each other. No one of them has failed to recognise the meekness, the patient enduring love of Jesus; his depth of wisdom, his well-adjusted bearing, his well-timed discourse. No one of them has failed to recognise in him the divine working in and through the human; or to exhibit him as at once the Son of Man, and the Son of God. We feel as we read that here there is no contradiction, that there has been no mistake. The sounds are as of several chords, but the melody is one and the same. And when we remember that these writers were, according to their own confession, looking for another sort of Christ, and for another sort of kingdom to be established by him; that they acknowledge themselves to have been slow in gaining an insight into his character; we cannot but believe that naught but his living presence and communion with them could have impressed upon their hearts that image, or could have infused into them that spirit which informs, and gives consistency to all our Gospels.

Digitized by Google

In endeavouring to harmonize these writings, we must bear in mind that they are memorabilia, rather than systematic biographies professing to exhaust the entire subject. They have, it is true, something of method; they follow the flow of the Saviour's human life, beginning with his birth or with his ministry, and ending with his departure from our world. When, however, we enter upon the record of the public ministry of Jesus, we find but few and very general notices of the order of events in time; so that to synchronise the statements of the evangelists becomes a labour requiring the utmost sagacity and skill. The Biblical scholars of the period immediately succeeding the Reformation, held that the events of the life of Jesus were chronologically narrated, from which they inferred that whenever the same event was stated in different connexions, it had really occurred twice. Bishop Newcome, the chief of the English harmonists, rejected this theory, as Chemnitz on the continent had done before him, and in his Preface thus states the principles upon which his arrangement of the Gospels is constructed:—

"By diligently attending to every notation of time and place; by observing that particles often thought to express an immediate connexion are used with latitude; that the evangelists are more intent on expressing the substance of what is spoken, than the words of the speaker; that they neglect accurate order in the detail of particular incidents, though they preserve a good general method; that detached and detailed events are sometimes joined together, on account of sameness in the scene, the person, the cause, or the consequences; that in such concise histories as the Gospels, transitions are often made from one fact to another without any intimation that important matters intervened. By thus entering into the manner of the evangelical writers, I have endeavoured to make them their own harmonists."

It is a good rule of criticism not to demand of an author what he does not profess to furnish us. The aim of the evangelists is to give us a clear and life-like representation of their divine Master; and in so doing, they let his words and his works speak for him. Their interest is ethical; with the scientific interest which labours to adjust their work according to certain rules of art, they have nothing in common. The form in which they have left their Gospels best accords with what we know of the extent of their culture. They excel in spiritual insight; they do not aim at artistic elegance, though their histories have a matchless beauty, an unapproachable charm of simplicity, by which they are prominently distinguished from all other writings known among men. Nor does it appear they ever stopped to inquire how these separate accounts would fit and join together. For "truth, like honesty, often neglects appearances; hypocrisy and imposture are always guarded."

Such are some of the features of the Gospels as they strike us upon

Digitized by Google

a general view. We proceed to notice the more specific problems which require solution at the hands of the skilful harmonist. The first results from a comparison of the synoptical evangelists with John, the second from a comparison of the synoptists* among themselves.

Not only have we additional matter in the Gospel of John, so that as much as two-thirds of it may be said to be new, but the scene of our Lord's ministry is mostly placed by him in Judea, while by the synoptists it is mainly located in Galilee. They mention but one Passover in the process of that ministry—the one at which our Saviour suffered; John gives us certainly three, and probably four. Yet there are not a few hints in the three first evangelists, which indicate that Jesus taught in Jerusalem and its vicinity as well as elsewhere. Thus in Matt. iv, 25, and xv, 1, we are told that Scribes and Pharisees of Jerusalem came to Jesus in Galilee, and sought to entrap him with questions. "It may have been the case," says Neander, "that after his labours in Jerusalem had drawn their hatred upon him, they followed and watched him suspiciously even in Galilee." Christ's sorrowing over Jerusalem (Luke xiii, 34, and Matt. xxiii, 37) presupposes an earnest and protracted ministry there. Luke also confirms (ch. x, 38–42) John's account of the intimacy of the Saviour with the family of Lazarus at Bethany. Nor has it escaped the attention of the critics, that Luke, (ch. vi, 1,) in speaking of a "second Sabbath after the first," and of "the plucking of ripe ears of corn" at that time by the disciples, suggests the occurrence of a Passover during the progress of our Lord's ministry in addition to the final one. It is therefore, and doubtless correctly, assumed by Biblical scholars, that the events recorded by the synoptists extend through several years—through as many, indeed, as are indicated by the Passovers in John. And the efforts and skill of harmonists are chiefly employed in distributing the contents of the three first Gospels throughout the several years of the Saviour's public labours on earth, as given by the beloved disciple. Wherever the synoptists and John narrate the same events, this adjustment is easily effected—wherever the matter is peculiar to the synoptists alone, there is wide room for deliberation and conjecture. There is by no means entire unanimity in the determination of the number of Passovers in Christ's ministry; some critics making them three, and others four, accordingly as they interpret John v, 1. The weight of critical authority at present favours the latter position, thus giving to our Saviour's public ministrations a period of about three years and a half.

* We need hardly apologize for using this convenient term, as applied to Matthew, Mark, and Luke.

Digitized by Google

The arrangement of the matter contained in Luke, from chap. ix, 51 to xviii, 14, which is for the most part peculiar to him alone, has occasioned much and confessed difficulty. From the language of verse 51, ch. ix, there can be no doubt that these discourses and events belong, for the most part, to the period subsequent to our Lord's last recorded departure for Jerusalem. The disposition of them depends upon the answer given to the question, What was the course of Christ's travels from the time of the Feast of Tabernacles in October (John vii, 2) to that of his final arrival at Bethany six days before his last Passover? Most harmonists suppose a return to Galilee in the interval between the Feast of Tabernacles and that of the Dedication, (John x, 22,) in order to make place for this portion of Luke. Among these are Schleiermacher, Neander, and Olshausen. Others, following the letter of John's account, dispose of it in another way. Of this view are Lücke, Tholuck, and others; and in our own country, Dr. Robinson and Mr. Strong. Dr. Robinson states his general scheme of this portion of Christ's life as follows:—

"According to John's narrative, Jesus, after leaving Galilee to go up to the Festival of Tabernacles in October, (John vii, 10,) did not return to Galilee; but spent the time intervening before the Festival of Dedication in December, probably in Jerusalem; or, when in danger from the Jews, in the neighbouring villages of Judea. John viii, 59; Luke x, 38, 39. Had Jesus actually returned to Galilee during this interval, it can hardly be supposed that John, who had so carefully noted our Lord's return thither after each visit to Jerusalem, could have failed to have given some hint of it in this case also, either after ch. viii, 59, or after ch. x, 21. But neither John nor the other evangelists afford any such hint. Immediately after the Festival of Dedication, Jesus withdrew from the machinations of the Jews beyond Jordan, whence he was recalled to Bethany by the decease of Lazarus. John x, 40, and xi, 7. He then once more retired to Ephraim,* and is found again at Bethany six days before the Passover. John xi, 54, and xii, 1.

"If now we examine more closely the portion of Luke in question, (ix, 51-xviii, 14,) we perceive, that though an order of time is discernible in certain parts, yet as a whole it is wanting in exact chronological arrangement. This, indeed, is admitted at the present day by all harmonists and commentators. It would seem almost as if in this portion, peculiar to Luke, that evangelist, after recording many of the earlier transactions of Jesus in Galilee, in accordance with Matthew and Mark, had here, upon our Lord's final departure from that province, brought together this new and various matter of his own, relating partly to our Lord's previous ministry in Galilee, partly to this journey, and still more to his subsequent proceedings, until the narrative (in ch. xviii, 15) again becomes parallel to the accounts of Matthew and Mark.†

---

* This place Dr. R. holds to be probably identical with Ephron and Ophrah of the Old Testament, and to be represented by the modern Taiyibeh, "situated nearly twenty Roman miles N. N. E. of Jerusalem."

† Harmony, p. 199.

Digitized by Google

We will not follow further the condensed yet cogent reasoning by which the above distribution is justified, but present its results in brief, tabular form:—

Chap. in Luke.	Time.	Place.
ix, 51–x, 16 xi, 14–xiii, 9 xvii, 11–19	Between second Passover and journey to Feast of Tabernacles.	Galilee.
x, 17–xi, 13	Between Feast of Tab. and Feast of Dedication.	Near Bethany and Jerusalem.

The visit to Jerusalem at the Feast of the Dedication is recorded by John, from whom we learn that to avoid the plots of the Jews, Jesus retires to Bethany beyond Jordan; from thence he returns to Hither Bethany, and raises Lazarus from the dead (ch. xi, 1–46); and after a short stop at Jerusalem, returns to Ephraim, a city beyond Jordan, and near to the wilderness. At this point, the thread of Luke's narrative is taken up again, and we have:—

Luke.	Time.	Place.
xiii, 10–xviii, 14 (Except xvii, 11–19)	Between Dedication and Passover.	Ephraim and Perea to Jerusalem.

We believe that Dr. Robinson was the first harmonist to assign Luke xiii, 22 with the events following to ch. xviii, 14 (a few verses of chap. xvii excepted) to the above-described journey through Perea, "on his return to Bethany, after sojourning at Ephraim." From this point we may readily suppose our Lord to have visited the neighbouring villages, and to have exercised his ministry on either side of the river Jordan.

Another and still more interesting problem results from a comparison of the synoptists among themselves. An inspection of these shows that they are exceedingly similar, not only in general outline, but also in forms of expression, in words, and entire sentences. At the same time, each writer has a specific character, and while in the narrative of each there is so much identity of phraseology, there is sufficient diversity to make the solution of the entire phenomenon perplexing to the Biblical student. These resemblant portions can be best ascertained by inspecting the pages of a Greek Harmony. Dr. Davidson, in his Introduction to the New Testament, gives a list of fifty-eight passages harmonising "in matter and in manner," common to the three evangelists: twenty-six common to Matthew and Mark; seventeen found only in Mark and Luke; and thirty-two common to Matthew and Luke. The lists of the various critics will, of course, differ. It has been remarked that these "coincidences chiefly occur in narrating the words of Jesus, or the words of others elicited in the process of conversation with him. When the evangelists speak in their own persons, their statements are not so closely similar."

Digitized by Google

To account for this similarity in diversity, and this diversity in similarity, various theories have been proposed. They are subjoined, not because any one of them is entirely satisfactory, but because they evince much ingenuity, and partake largely of the interest which attaches to the subject-matter of which they treat. The reader will not be surprised to discover that the lack of much groundwork of fact is endeavoured to be compensated by the abundant under-pinning and bracing of hypothesis.

The first supposition is that of Eichhorn, adopted by Marsh, Kuinoel and others, that our four histories of Christ are derived from the revisions of an original Aramæan Gospel. The various transmutations of this first Gospel, from its simple state to the final one sought to be accounted for, resemble, when drawn out on paper, the steps of a laboured geometrical demonstration. The substance of the theory is, that the original Syro-Chaldaic document underwent four different revisions, each revision adding some new matter. These recensions duly translated form the basis of our synoptical accounts, the writers, where they agree, using the same sources. It is unnecessary to draw out this hypothesis into detail. It is a sufficient objection to it that we have no historical account of such an original Gospel; while the extremely artificial processes through which it is made to pass, the nicely-adjusted proportions in which one recension or another must be used, in order to give the requisite quantity of agreement and of difference to the several products, show infallibly that the whole theory is false.

Another and more plausible supposition is, that the authors of the first three Gospels made more or less use of each other. There will, of course, be three forms of this theory, according as Matthew, Mark, or Luke, is made the original historian. But plausible as it appears, it is beset with invincible difficulties. We would expect to be able to determine which of the Gospels is the original one; but on this question critics are altogether at variance. In truth, neither Matthew, Mark, nor Luke, writes like an epitomizer or copyist. Even Mark, who is styled by so venerable authority as Augustine, an abridger of Matthew, has the distinctive traits of an independent writer. He does not so much abridge as omit what Matthew has stated; and when their narrative is in many points the same, there are added in Mark striking and vivacious details. Luke, in his introduction, professes to be more than a compiler from his brother evangelists. Neither does his object seem to be to supplement and fill out their statements; for he does not always make clearer what in them is indefinite, or amplify what in them is brief. Dr. Davidson sums up the objections to this hypothesis in the following words:—"*Diver-*

Digitized by Google

sity in arrangement and matter is so intermingled with *correspondence*—the discrepances so interlace the agreements in every possible variety, that it is hard to believe the assumption that any one copied from another, or from two; or that he revised them; or that he intended to supplement them in a particular method. The individuality of each writer can scarcely be lost sight of in the midst of very close verbal correspondences. The coincidences in diction seldom continue throughout a single verse at a time. They are limited to broken parts of sentences. They are separated by discrepances in every mode. There is a zig-zag line of variations running through that of correspondences, showing that the writer was not dependent on the matter, much less the language of his predecessors. For copying of so capricious a kind, it is impossible to assign any motive. It is pervaded by no *principle* of selection. It is like the play of arbitrary caprice, without any perceptible aim or purpose."*

Another supposition, by which it is proposed to account for these coincidences, is that which refers them to a common oral tradition—a tradition which had obtained, in some respects, a stereotyped form before being committed to writing. This thought was first suggested by Herder, but was afterward more fully elaborated, and put into such shape as to command the attention of the learned, by Gieseler, the Church historian. In a somewhat modified form it has received the assent of such eminent names as Schleiermacher, Sartorius, Guerike, and Thiersch. According to it, the common source of the three Gospels would be the apostolic preaching. The death of some of the original witnesses, and the natural growth of error and misstatement, would finally make it necessary to embody this spoken Gospel in writing. This theory accords well with what we know of the habits and culture of the first teachers of Christianity. The abundant endowments of the Holy Spirit sufficed to preserve unity among the twelve. And having frequent occasion to rehearse specific parts of the life of the Saviour, and these rehearsals being carefully treasured up by their hearers, there would spontaneously grow up an oral history, authentic, and, to a large degree, fixed in form and phrase. Nor is this supposition injured by the perversion made of it for the support of the mythical hypothesis. For at this point the testimonies to the genuineness of the Gospels come in—testimonies which indubitably show that they were written while a goodly number of the men who had been with Christ were still living, and consequently before a mythical tendency could have had time and scope to operate.

* Introduction to the Gospels, vol. i, p. 397.

Digitized by Google

While not a few critics are content to rest in the theory just stated as the best that can be attained, others seek to combine with it that which supposes the three evangelists to have made use of each other. To this number belong De Wette, Olshausen, and Meyer. By this combination the advantages of both suppositions are thought to be secured. How much should be referred to tradition, and how much to mutual use of each other by the evangelists, will depend in every case upon the views of the Biblical scholar. The reader will very probably feel that none of the above conjectures are satisfactory; if, however, their presentation shall lead to a closer scrutiny of the evangelists in question, our object will have been attained.

It gives us pleasure to refer to the work whose title stands at the head of this article, as an evidence of the deep interest prevalent among us in Biblical studies. It is the more acceptable as coming from a layman, proving that the zeal requisite for such pursuits is not confined to the ministry alone. We do not hesitate to say that Strong's Harmony has distinctive features, which make it for popular use superior to any ever before issued. At the same time, its execution is thorough and scholar-like. No difficulty is evaded; no pains, no labour is spared. The general arrrangement of the matter is the same as that of Bishop Newcome and Dr. Robinson. The work is so constructed as to serve the two-fold purpose of a Harmony and an Exposition. In accomplishing the former object, Mr. Strong has hit upon the happy idea of making a complete text out of the very words of the evangelists—taking now one and now another as the leading narrator, and weaving in the additional statements of the others in a smaller type. Along with this, the parallel arrangement of Newcome is retained, so that the reader has before him at once the separate texts of the inspired writers, and a combined text made out of them all. By running his eye across the page he can see whence the added elements have been derived, and so perform his task of comparing Scripture with Scripture with readiness and ease. Harmonies have usually been repulsive to general readers, and not very inviting to students. The labour of passing over column after column of parallel matter, and the effort necessary to hold fast in the mind the features of resemblance and difference, suffice to deter from such studies all but the most indefatigable investigators of Scripture truth. Mr. Strong's arrangement removes these difficulties at once, and brings the Harmony of the Gospels within the sphere of popular appreciation, making it available for family reading, for Bible-classes, and for Sabbath-schools. To the latter we commend it as a valuable addition to their apparatus for the instruction of the young.

Digitized by Google

The execution of the other part of the aim proposed—the Exposition—has been achieved by giving a free version of the sacred text in current modern phrase. Here, likewise, a twofold object was to be secured—one, the bringing out the logical connexion of the thoughts and language of the evangelic record, in which many commentators fail; the other, the exhibition of the substance of the Gospels in terms not familiar, and which have not, therefore, lost much of their significance by an unthinking repetition. In tracing out the sequence of ideas we think that Mr. Strong has succeeded eminently well; in making a free version of the Gospels, we are inclined to think that no man has succeeded well. Our old English translation has become sacred in the estimation of the millions to whom the language is vernacular. The excellent treasure has sanctified the vessel that carries it. It strikes us, too, that in seeking substitutes for the simple terms of the received version, Mr. Strong has sometimes gone to the opposite extreme. Yet withal his Exposition is terse, vigorous, and eminently suggestive. No one can read it without being set to thinking upon the depth of meaning there is in those precious words which we are too apt to let fall carelessly from our tongues. In the translation and exposition of John especially, Mr. Strong's habits of thorough, profound thinking, appear to great advantage.

The carefully prepared Appendices greatly enhance the value of the work. The first contains a table of weights, measures, &c., an elaborate discussion of the time of Christ's birth, and a comparative table of different Harmonies. This latter, which includes, among others, the names of Lightfoot, Newcome, Robinson, and Tischendorf, is of great interest and importance to the student. Appendix second comprises a thorough and acute discussion of the topography of ancient Jerusalem, with maps of the ancient and modern localities; and Appendix third gives an Index and Analysis (covering seventy-eight pages) of the Gospel history. Every page of the book gives evidence of unsparing labour, while the beautiful letter-press and finished lithographs make it a gem of typography.

We are pleased to learn that Mr. Strong is preparing, upon the same plan, a Greek Harmony, with the various readings. We have no doubt that it will be cordially welcomed by scholars throughout our country.

Digitized by Google

Art. III.—DANIEL BOONE.

Life of Daniel Boone, the Pioneer of Kentucky. By John M. Peck. Library of American Biography, conducted by Jared Sparks. Second Series, vol. viii. Boston: Little & Brown.

The life of Boone might have been given to the world earlier. A quarter of a century after the death of a man so little affected by partisan prejudices, so little liable to undue admiration for any peculiar brilliancy of talent or achievements, was late enough to commence the task of collecting and arranging materials for a proper exhibit of his career and character. In all that constitutes a "Life"—those acts and words, those qualities of head and heart, that go to make up the social man—there is as powerful a tendency to dissolution as in the physical system. The social life-principle, like corporeal vitality, aggregates to itself the materials of manhood, fills up the stature according to its original type, modified merely by the accidents of growth, and maintains the equilibrium of waste and supply, until death subjects the whole, the hidden soul alone excepted, to the great laws of elemental decomposition. Then, not more rapidly does the body decay in the grave than does the social character dissipate and dissolve "into thin air," unless some artificial means be made use of for its preservation. Biography, written or traditional, is the crystal sarcophagus, in which the social man may be exhibited to after ages.

Memory must not postpone too long the process of embalming. Let a few years elapse after the death of an individual, of whatever notoriety, and it is difficult to gather up from the scattered relics of his social character, fragments enough to construct even a frail raft, with which to keep his name for a brief hour above the waters of oblivion. In a few centuries, fragmentary annals and snatches of biographical delineation, touching the early days of the American continent, will be as precious and venerable as Roman relics. Skulls, skeletons, thigh bones, and vertebræ, will not be demanded; a few hairs, a few tears, a few blood-drops, a joint of a finger, or even the teeth and toe-nails of departed greatness, will be precious in the eyes of posterity. As America was the first nation in the world to commence existence with a written constitution, so it is the first to commence its being with written annals. No clouds of traditionary speculations rest upon her origin; no long series of traditionary fables conduct to her true history. In the beginning the historic muse said, "Let there be light," and fable fled with the dark-

Digitized by Google

ness that rolled like a scroll from the face of the new continent.

The obligation of the present generation to collect and embody the recollections of the men and times that have just preceded us, is a trite theme. Far better is it that they be gathered by virulent partisans, than left to perish forever. Masses of facts, incidents, and anecdotes, whether the philosophy be false or entirely wanting, like the observations of ship-captains, from which Newton, in his arm-chair, deduced the doctrine and calculated the amount of the earth's oblateness, will one day be the clew to the great laws of national character and progress.

The timely services of President Sparks, in rescuing from forgetfulness the names and acts of good and great men, have been so often and so generally acknowledged, both at home and abroad, that the attempt to praise him or his labours would be like crying up the utility of light. Doctor Sparks is a fortunate editor, as well as a successful author. This is one of the peculiarities of the lucky times upon which he has fallen. In the early days of the typographic art, the only parties known to each other were the author and his publisher. The invention of those singular vehicles of communication, newspapers, created that singular nucleus of responsibility and labours, denominated EDITOR. From the supervision of those transient leaves of history, those single pages from the records of intelligence, those single views of the shifting panorama of social existence, men have risen to be editors of the more permanent results of reflection and wisdom, embodied in magazines, quarterlies, Bridgewater Treatises, and encyclopædias. The indefatigable editor of the Writings of Washington is no putterer with the blank pages of index rerums—he is the conductor of a LIBRARY! Ages since, whole tomes emanated from a single brain. The sanctity of the author's study was rarely invaded during his life-time. It was not until his death that the editor ventured into his dusty retreat, and feasted his eyes on the piles of yellow manuscript to be converted into volumes of formidable size and weight, and sufficiently numerous of themselves to constitute a library. The modern author, on the contrary, makes his reader the companion of his labours so soon as he has completed a few chapters of his work, and stands, like Apelles, behind his own canvass, where he can listen to the comments of the multitude before he gives the final touches to his performance. Those old writers knew not the convenience of having their works "edited" during the period of their own lives. Plutarch might have performed his work more satisfactorily to himself, perhaps more correctly, and, forsooth, more acceptably to posterity, had he simply edited his Lives, instead of taxing his own

Digitized by Google

hand and brain to exhibit such a variety of circumstance and character. With characters enough before him, and unlimited command of the resources of division of labour, we cannot but reiterate the often-expressed hope, that Mr. Sparks will not terminate his library with the second or third series; but that when, in the course of nature or events, it becomes impossible for him to conduct it longer, it will pass by regular succession into the hands of some equally competent manager, to become a series as interminable as the destinies of the American people.

At the head of the Life of Boone, as its responsible author, stands the name of John M. Peck. With those acquainted with this gentleman, or familiar with his historic labours, there will arise no question as to his competency to prepare a work of this description, or of his fitness to rank as a biographer in the illustrious names that grace the literary character of other portions of the series. He is an indefatigable antiquarian, an historical sceptic, an untiring inquisitor in names and dates and facts, philosophic and fluent, both with pen and tongue, in the display of the results of his labours and research. To this we may add his thirty years' residence in the vicinity of the incidents he unfolds, and his personal acquaintance with his subject and his numerous posterity. It is pleasing to see with what an unsparing hand he sweeps away the fictions of the Timothy Flint school of writers, that have found their way, with singular facility, into histories and memoirs of soberer characters. Biography often partakes as much of the character of its author as of its subject. Were it not for the writers, we opine that the names of several individuals might be missing from the series before us. Achilles is naught without his Homer. The biographer of Boone has succeeded in keeping himself out of his work to as great an extent as seems desirable. A captious critic might discern, in the opinions uniformly ascribed to Boone with regard to lawyers, luxuries, and fashions, a touch of the agrarian democracy of the author; and might perhaps discover, from the note at the bottom of pages 171, 172, in the expressions of the Catholic commandant at St. Louis, that Baptists were the pioneers in Missouri, and that the writer intended a hit, more waggish than malicious, at the harmless rite of infant baptism. The author adds to proximity of time and place, and the requisite mental qualifications, the advantage of having been himself a pioneer in missionary labour, in editorship, in education, and moral enterprise, in the vast valley where he has located his romantic residence, and where he still wields an enviable influence. In common with editor Sparks, the editor of the Illinois Gazette deserves the acknowledgments of the present and

Digitized by Google

the future for his endeavours to collect and put in order a few of those sibylline leaves—already the sport of heedless minds—that, when properly arranged, prophesy our national greatness. A few points of defect in style and grammar do not greatly detract from the general merits of his works.

If Daniel Boone was not a remarkable man, he at least occupied a remarkable position. Upon whatever merit his fame may be supposed to rest, it will, in the language of Governor Morehead of Kentucky, "survive when the achievements of men greatly his superiors in rank and intellect will be forgotten." His name has found an enduring place in the annals of the West; and yet what title has he to rank among the great men of Atlantic America? He was not a discoverer, like Cabot and Hudson; not an explorer, of the genius and talents of Smith; not a warrior, like Lincoln, Arnold, or "mad Anthony;" not a statesman, like Vane; a man of science, like Rittenhouse; or a religionist, like Brainerd, Eliot, or Mather. He was surrounded by men of more enlarged views, greater capacity, and more liberal policy than himself. Yet posterity has decided to honour his name. And why? Our biographer has hit upon the true secret, and placed at the head of his work the most suitable, as well as the most attractive, title that could have been put there: "Daniel Boone, the PIONEER of Kentucky." Neither a discoverer, nor explorer, nor warrior, nor settler, in the exclusive sense of either term,—he is the *pioneer*, an embodiment of all—a character as unique as the circumstances under which it is developed. He is interesting to the world and to posterity as the representative of that style of humanity formed by the juxtaposition of civilization and barbarism. He is the Pathfinder and Leatherstocking of American romance; the half-civilized, half-savage man, who prefers the solitary woods and plenty of game to the noise and dust of towns and the luxury of confined cities. Those who make up, in their imaginations, Indian character of the sole elements of revenge, treachery, cruelty, and blood, naturally attribute to the pioneers the same, or at least a similar nature. Those who affiliate the American Indian with our common humanity, find in his subtlety and apparent blood-thirstiness, not the man, the friend, the citizen, the devoted relative, but the warrior, educated to a peculiar system of tactics, and as true to his education as to the instincts of his nature; a system which, while it was more bloody, was perhaps less to be deprecated than civilized warfare. No groans ever arose from an Indian battle-field. The friendly tomahawk reduced all to silence, and saved the agonies of hospitals and amputations, life disabilities and lingering dissolutions. Savage warfare made few widows and orphans. It kindly

Digitized by Google

consigned mother and child to the same grave with their natural protectors, and only claimed as a rightful trophy a handful of hair torn with the bleeding scalp from the head when no longer sensible to agony. With these war habits of the aboriginal American—no worse than the war habits of civilization on the whole—our pioneers rarely assimilated. Now and then a Simon Girty might be found; but Daniel Boone was no Simon Girty. Governor Morehead says he was "unsocial;" that "he had few of the sympathies that bind men and families together, and consecrate the relations of society;" that "during two whole years he abandoned his family for no other purpose than to amuse himself in the wilderness." His biographer, on the other hand, says that, "Far from possessing a ferocious temper, or exhibiting dissatisfaction with the charms of domestic and social life, he was mild, humane, and charitable: his manners were gentle, his address conciliating, and his heart open to friendship and hospitality." Again he says: "Boone was not unfeeling, or indifferent to the domestic relation." And again, that "he was as mild, humane, and affectionate, as he was bold and fearless." To substantiate his own oft-repeated declarations in regard to the humanity of Boone, our author quotes from Hall's Sketches:—

"We read marvellous stories of the ferocity of Western men. The name Kentuckian is continually associated with the idea of fighting, drinking, gouging. The people of whom we are now writing do not deserve this character. They live together in great harmony, with little contention, and less litigation. The backwoodsmen are a generous and peaceable race. We have no evidence that the pioneers of Kentucky were quarrelsome or cruel. Bold and daring when opposed to an enemy, they were amiable in their intercourse with each other and with strangers, and habitually inclined to peace."

Hear our author:—

"The various tales told of the prejudices of Colonel Boone against civilization and social enjoyments are fictitious. He was not antisocial in his feelings and sympathies. He loved his fellow creatures; he loved his children; he sympathized with suffering and oppressed humanity; he rejoiced in the prosperity of others, provided they were honest, industrious, and virtuous. The indolent and vicious he abhorred and despised. Yet, unquestionably, he delighted in rural frontier life. Hunting was a ruling passion. As soon as the frosts had killed the undergrowth, and the leaves of autumn had fallen, and the weather had become rainy, with occasional light snow, Boone began to feel uneasy at home. The passion for hunting had become excited: everything was unpleasant. The house was too warm, the bed too soft, and even the good wife not the most desirable companion. The chase occupied the thoughts of the hunter by day and his dreams by night."—Pp. 149, 150.

After describing his backwoods education, his biographer accords to him other than scholastic attainments in the following language:—

Digitized by Google

"No Indian could poise the rifle, find his way through the pathless forests, or search out the retreats of game, more readily than Daniel Boone. In all that related to Indian sagacity, border life, or the tactics of a skilful hunter, he excelled."—P. 15.

In the summer of 1770, he was three whole months alone in the vast wilderness, without bread, salt, or sugar; without the society of even horse or dog; a position in which he himself says, he was "never before under greater necessity of exercising philosophy or fortitude."

As the country began to grow populous, Boone was of essential service to the settlers:—

"Concerning 'Indian signs' he was an oracle. Sometimes, with one or two trusty companions, but more frequently alone, as night closed in, he would steal away noiselessly into the woods, to reconnoitre the surrounding wilderness, and in the day time stealthily would he creep along, with his trusty rifle resting on his arm, ready for the least sign of danger—his keen, piercing eyes glancing into every thicket and canebrake, or watching intently for 'signs' of the wily enemy."—P. 69.

Several times the prisoner of the Indians, he had opportunity to measure coolness and cunning with the coolest and cunningest race on the face of the earth. Boone was as cool as he was courageous. None ought to have known so well as those who lived in those days, that Indian warfare requires the utmost vigilance and caution; and yet the fool-hardy experiment of Braddock, rushing upon ambuscade contrary to the advice of the young Virginia colonel, so often repeated in the wars with the Indian tribes, was tried to the sorrow, defeat, and shame of nearly five hundred brave Kentuckians, whose officers, particularly Major M'Gary, affected to despise as cowardly, the cool caution and wary prudence which Boone counselled and exhibited when in the neighbourhood of a treacherous foe. Our author philosophizes:—

"True courage consists not in rash and brutal force, but in that command of the passions by which the judgment is enabled to act with promptitude and decision in any emergency. By such rash men as Major M'Gary, Colonel Boone was charged with want of courage, when the result proved his superior wisdom and foresight. All the testimony gives Boone credit for his sagacity and correctness in judgment before the action, and for his coolness and self-possession in covering the retreat."—P. 130.

We have alluded to the mercilessness with which Boone's sceptical biographer has swept away the numerous fictions incorporated in former lives, such as "shining the eyes" of Rebecca Bryan, subsequently his spouse, in which the romance turns upon the conceit of his having narrowly escaped mistaking the eyes of his *dear* for those of a *deer!* The tragic definition of Kain-tuck-ee, [a favourite pronunciation of the word in the West to this day,] "dark and

Digitized by Google

bloody ground," he exchanges for the decidedly harmless one, "head of the river!" The romantic definition of Mississippi, "father of waters," he simplifies to "great water." The tradition that Stewart, one of his hunting companions, was devoured by wolves, he rejects. "The wolves of the Western forests rarely attack and kill a man. They are bountifully supplied with game."—P. 31, note. We are glad to see preserved as authentic, and vouched by the old pioneer himself, the "tobacco anecdote," so singularly illustrative of his coolness and the fruitfulness of his inventive powers in the midst of the most threatening dangers. We condense it from the Life:—

"On one occasion, about this period, 1783, four Indians came to the farm of Colonel Boone, and nearly succeeded in taking him prisoner. At a short distance from his cabin, he had raised a small patch of tobacco. As a shelter for curing it, he had built an enclosure of rails, a dozen feet in height, and covered it with cane and grass. Stalks of tobacco are usually split and strung on sticks, four feet in length. The ends of these are laid on poles, placed across the tobacco house in tiers, one above another, to the roof. Boone had fixed his temporary shelter in such a manner as to have three tiers. The tobacco on the lower tier becoming dry, he had hoisted the sticks from the lower to the second tier, and was standing on the poles that supported it while raising the sticks to the upper tier, when four stout Indians, with guns, entered the low door, and called him by name: 'Now, Boone, we got you. You no get away more. We carry you off to Chillicothe this time. You no cheat us any more.' Boone looked down upon their upturned faces, saw their loaded guns pointed at his breast, and recognising some of his old friends, the Shawanose, who had made him prisoner in 1778, coolly and pleasantly replied: 'Ah! old friends—glad to see you:' told them he was willing to go with them, and only begged that they would wait where they were and watch him closely until he could finish removing his tobacco. While parleying with them, inquiring after old acquaintances, and proposing to give them his tobacco when cured, he diverted their attention from his purpose until he had collected together a number of sticks of dry tobacco, and so turned them as to fall between the poles directly in their faces. At the same instant he jumped upon them with as much of the dry tobacco as he could gather in his arms, filling their mouths and eyes with its pungent dust, and blinding and disabling them from following him—rushed out and hastened to his cabin. After retreating some fifteen or twenty yards, he looked around to see the success of his achievement. The Indians, blinded and nearly suffocated, were stretching out their hands, and feeling about in all directions, calling him by name, and cursing him for a rogue and themselves for fools."—Pp. 142, 143, 144.

It has not escaped the attention of the author of the Life of Boone, that the year 1775, one of those over which his narrative extends, is deserving of peculiar notice as the period of the commencement of the revolution; and he thus moralizes upon the point:—

"It is certainly singular, that at the time of the outbreak of the revolutionary war, when it would seem that every arm able to strike a blow was specially needed for the defence of the Atlantic colonies, the colonization of the vast region on the waters of the Mississippi should have commenced. Surely, wisdom and strength beyond that of men were concerned in the enterprise at such an eventful crisis."—P. 52.

Digitized by Google

It naturally occurs to us to inquire whether Boone would have been equally distinguished had he remained at his home upon the banks of the Yadkin, until the war of independence should have given him opportunity to share the fortunes of that eventful and protracted struggle? We see no reason why, with the powers he possessed, he might not have been a Putnam or a Wayne; why he might not have given sober and discreet counsels, and gained laurels in fields where so much depended upon skill in managing retreats and saving our own, and so little upon facing an enemy vastly superior in numbers, and arrogating all the advantages of military skill and military supplies. So many men, however, of shining talents were found in this field, that it is a serious question, whether, if Boone had not gone to the wilds of Kentucky, his name would ever have found a place in the annals of American Biography. As it is, his memory will descend to posterity, associated with everything that is romantic and beautiful in wild unbroken nature, in her own undisturbed, magnificent retreats; connected with all that is daring and skilful in the life of a hunter and brave; and allied to everything that is fearful and tragic in Indian tactics, war-whoops, council-fires, gauntlets, scalpings, burnings, and blood. Boone endured no more, accomplished no more, than scores of his contemporaries and successors; but there is everything in being the first man, especially the first representative of a character destined to fill so large a space in the settlement and defence of a rising empire. His claims to consideration were acknowledged both by the legislature of Kentucky and the congress of the United States, in the confirmation of titles to Spanish lands, whereby his old age was made affluent and happy: and at his death the legislature of Missouri, then in session, honoured his memory by adjourning for a day, and wearing the usual badge of mourning for thirty days.

Boone looked upon himself as "an instrument ordained to settle the wilderness." At what period these common impressions take possession of the minds of men, whether in the outset of their career, or after success has indicated them to their fellows as remarkable men in the history of their times, it is impossible to say. Governor Morehead gives Boone credit for no early conception of this sublime idea. He thinks "he came to the wilderness, not to settle and subdue it, but to gratify an inordinate passion for adventure and discovery, to hunt deer and buffalo, to roam through the woods and admire the beauties of nature; in a word, to enjoy the lovely pastimes of a hunter's life, remote from his fellow men." Boone had a true Indian regard for his place of burial. After keeping his coffin in readiness for years, he was finally laid beside his wife on a chosen spot, "over-

Digitized by Google

looking the turbid Missouri." It is an interesting fact, that the remains of both now repose in the vicinity of Frankfort, Kentucky. It was fitting that the mighty Nimrod of the West should lie amid those scenes of delight which feasted his eyes when he first gazed upon those swelling oceans of forest verdure from the summits of mountain ranges. It was fitting that gentle Rebecca Bryan, the first white woman whose feet ever pressed the banks of the beautiful Kentucky, should slumber upon its borders. It was a noiseless transition, compared with that in which, at a later period, the ashes of the conqueror of Europe burst from their island prison-tomb and laid their plebeian length beside the monarch chivalry of Gaul! It was scarcely less sublime. There is something inspiring in the idea of slumbering till the judgment in close proximity with the mighty dead! Westminster Abbey, the urn of the ashes of English greatness, commends itself as a desirable resting-place. Yet, with the true American, it should bear no comparison with repose in soil hallowed by the presence of that prince of discoverers, the great Columbus! It is a touching fact, and yet one not generally known, that the cis-Atlantic soil, the soil of our own birth and burial, is the tomb of the ashes of its great navigator. Kentucky did herself honour in covering the relics of her departed "PIONEER" with the soil he explored and aided to defend.

The *life* of Boone is not the property of Kentucky or the West—it belongs to his country; and although, like other lives, it is mainly one of local adventure and incident, it finds its appropriate place in the Library of AMERICAN Biography. It has long been before the public, and has become indeed a part of the history of Kentucky and the Union. The present author has rendered essential service in pruning it of fictions, and presenting it to the world—a work, among whose various attractions not the least in rank and importance is its reliableness.

Digitized by Google

Art. IV.—SOCRATES.

1. *The Works of Plato.* A new and literal version, chiefly from the text of Stallbaum. Vols. I–V. London: Henry G. Bohn. Classical Library. 1848–1852.
2. *The Memorable Things of Socrates.* Written by Xenophon, in five books. Translated into English. To which is prefixed the Life of Xenophon. Collected from several authors, together with some account of his writings. London. Printed for George Sawbridge at the Three Golden Flower d'lys in Little Britian. 1712.
3. *The Life of Socrates.* By M. Charpentier. Translated into English. London, 1712.
4. *A Life of Socrates.* By Dr. G. Wiggers. Translated from the German, with Notes. London, 1840.
5. *Thirlwall's History of Greece.* Vol. I. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1845.
6. *History of Greece.* By George Grote, Esq. Vol. VIII. Boston, 1852.

There are some lives that seem never to lose their interest to the human race by the lapse of time. Springing as they do from the great heart of human things, and embodying elements of unchangeable value, they never cease to awake an answering throb of sympathy in the soul of man. There is, after all, a deep identity of nature that links the whole race in bonds of brotherhood, so that when we understand our common nature in one of its developments, we understand it better in all the rest, and when we meet one of its largest and best types, we are drawn to its study by an irresistible interest. Such a nature is that of Socrates. The history of its development has arrested the admiring study of more than twenty centuries, and yet possesses an exhaustless interest that is as fresh to us as it was to the most reverent Academic that ever cherished the memory of his great master. On these general grounds, therefore, it were well to refresh our memories, and extend our knowledge in regard to one so well worth our study. But as Christians, there are peculiar reasons for this task, as will probably appear in the sequel. There is no heathen life that contains so many elements of interest to us as that of Socrates, for none came so near what Christianity requires, none furnished such a model of conduct to instruct and reprove those who have a better and surer word of prophecy, and none showed so clearly how much man at his highest development needs a light from heaven. The recent investigations of Mr. Grote have thrown new light on certain questions connected with the life of Socrates, and rendered a revision of it the more necessary. Without then undertaking to discuss all the points of his history, or to consider his character as a philosopher, or the extent of his contributions to the metaphysical capital of the race, we propose simply to

Digitized by Google

present some of those aspects of his life and character that a cursory examination of the original sources of his history has impressed upon our minds.

Socrates, son of Sophroniscus, a statuary, and Phænerete, a midwife, was born on the 6th of the month Thargelion, in the 4th year of the 77th Olympiad, about the 16th of May, B. C. 468. Athens having incorporated many of the adjacent tribes into its municipality, it was customary to designate this fact in describing an individual in any legal document. Socrates in such a reckoning was of the borough of Alopece, and belonged to the tribe Antiochis. Of his early life we know but little, except some rumours of filial insubordination, which, although reaching us through a hostile channel, are not wholly out of keeping with the gnarled texture of his natural character. He learned the trade of his father, and it is even said that some products of his chisel were allowed to adorn the Acropolis. At the age of seventeen he placed himself under the tuition of Archelaus, a disciple of the sceptical Anaxagoras, and applied himself to the study of natural science. But this, among the Greeks at this time, was wholly a different thing from that noble and massive product of observation and induction that we know by this name. It consisted of a few meagre and undigested observations of natural phenomena, smothered over with a mass of puerile frivolities and anile conceits, that soon disgusted such a mind as that of Socrates, and led him to turn from such shadowy speculations to subjects more practical and intelligible. It seems difficult at this day, when physical science is so much more practical than metaphysical, to conceive how their positions could have ever been reversed; and yet it is obvious that mere theorizings about the heavenly bodies, the elements, the origin of the gods and men, and similar themes, were barren figments, incapable of verification, or of application to the things of common life; whilst an examination into the principles of human action, where there was no revealed rule of faith and practice, was as obviously susceptible of the most valuable use. Hence he totally abandoned natural science, as a field incapable of exploration, and turned his attention to that which was most patent to his observation, the science of right knowing and right living, or ethics in its largest application to the powers of the human soul and the things of common life.

The period of Athenian history, in which Socrates lived, was remarkable on some accounts, and tended to give caste to his character. It was a period of great national glory, without being preëminently a period of great men. Marathon, Thermopylæ, and Salamis had placed Athens in envied supremacy, as the queen of the world.

Digitized by Google

But most of the mighty spirits whose heroism and genius had won these triumphs were gone. Miltiades and Themistocles had passed away, and the year that gave Socrates birth recorded the death of Aristides and the first poetical triumph of Sophocles. The grand old Æschylus, whose lofty spirit delighted to revel in scenes of terrible sublimity, was bending with age, while the pure-hearted Sophocles, and the polished Euripides, were gradually losing their hold on the popular mind, and their stately tragedies giving place to the buffooneries of Kratinus and the lampoons of Aristophanes. Pericles, the polished and peerless monarch of this proud democracy, had flung around Athens some of the splendour of his own great genius; but he had also planted in it some of its elements of decay. He crowned the Acropolis with the marble miracles of the Parthenon and the Propylæa, adorned them with the splendid taste of a Phidias, and fired the people with an indomitable tenacity of purpose that preserved them from overthrow in after times of peril. But he also breathed into them a more restless spirit of pride, a more grasping spirit of rapacity, and a "manifest destiny" spirit of covetous greed; and by giving entrance money for the theatre and pay for the public assemblies from the treasury, he established a system that in the end corrupted the people and impoverished the state. But the immediate effect of his measures was to give a prodigious activity to the general intellect of Athens. The gains of conquest having relieved the mass of the people from the need of daily labour for their daily bread, they had leisure to meet in the legislative and judicial assemblies of the state, or mingle with the crowds that thronged the porticoes and public walks of that beautiful city. These daily meetings brought mind into collision with mind, and gave a quickness, spring, and acumen to the Athenian intellect that was unparalleled. That restless activity of mind, which in modern free states is expended in commerce, and the industrial pursuits of life, by the peculiar arrangements of Athenian society, in which there was neither scope nor necessity for such efforts on an extended scale, was turned to the discussion of questions of political and metaphysical philosophy. This gave an amazing impulse to the Athenian intellect, and created the circumstances in which the mind of Socrates received its earliest training. Day by day would the young sculptor, with his broad shoulders, his clear gazing eyes, and his keen intellect, mingle with these crowds, listen to their discussions, ponder their opinions, and, as occasion served, join in these colloquial combats with all the zest of an eager disputant.

But there was another peculiarity in Athenian society that also acted powerfully on the development of its intellect. All the move-

Digitized by Google

ments of state, and most of the judicial causes, were decided in public assemblies. In these every man was expected to plead his own cause. Now as a man's property, influence, reputation, and even life, often depended on his ability to convince a popular assembly, the art of doing so was naturally very desirable. This gave rise to a class of teachers who professed to prepare men to argue with triumphant success on any subject whatever. As adroitness in this kind of intellectual swordplay was greatly admired, and often highly advantageous, it would be sought with great avidity, and at any cost. The men who professed to teach it would naturally become a set of mere word-wranglers, intellectual Swiss mercenaries, pretending to knowledge on every subject, indifferent to truth on any, and stuffed with the pride of mere pretension. Hence, by a natural process, the Sophists became a class of boasters, sciolists, and sceptics, unsettling all solid foundations of opinion, that they might prepare the way for maintaining any opinion, inventing a set of logical puzzles and juggleries that confounded, if they did not convince the multitude, and by making men equally prepared to defend truth and falsehood, they made them equally indifferent to both.

Mr. Grote's vindication of the Sophists is one of the most interesting portions of his valuable work, and shows clearly that odium has unjustly been heaped upon them; but after all it is, in some respects, only a very ingenious specimen of special pleading. His plea for them, that they were simply the professors of that day, teaching the prevalent forms of science, whilst it exempts them from the charge of peculiar depravity, by no means clears them from the charge of injuring the tone of the public mind. It was precisely because they did teach the prevalent philosophy, instead of something better, and because they sought to make men expert logical swordsmen, able to defend themselves from any charge however true, rather than to lead them to know and love the truth, that their influence was so pernicious. When men are prepared to defend indifferently truth and falsehood, they become equally indifferent to both, and from indifference to truth the transition is easy and certain to the blankest scepticism. Moreover, the ability to defend any proposition is incompatible with genuine knowledge, and can only exist in a mind whose knowledge is superficial and verbal, and which has never penetrated to the essential verities of things. The word-knowledge and logical dexterity, taught by the Sophists, would naturally, therefore, tend to puff their pupils with a conceit of knowledge that concealed even from themselves a real ignorance. Hence, whilst it was true that the celebrated Sophists, who taught in Athens, prepared their pupils to act their part in the restless life of that turbulent democracy,

Digitized by Google

it is also true that it was at the expense of that love of truth, and that modesty of true science, without which the active intellect of this mercurial people would soon effervesce into mere frivolity and weakness.

Such was the state of things in Athens when Socrates was forming his character. The republic was haughty, powerful, and magnificent, yet cherishing elements of inevitable decay. Her fevered activity was in part a factitious energy, a hectic glow that was a symptom of disease rather than a token of health. Pericles, after breathing some of his own lofty spirit into the people, and leading them into the Peloponnesian war, lay down, amid the terrible scenes of the plague, with a heavy heart, to die, and left his darling city to feebler and meaner hands. No great intellects were left to seize the reins that dropped from his hands, and the state was left to the action of the elements of decay already planted in her bosom. In this heaving rush of social life Socrates daily mingled, and saw clearly its radical defects. He saw that the prevalent teachings of those who directed the public opinion of Athens were eating but its heart, and must end in inevitable decay and dissolution.

Had Socrates been an ordinary man, he would have yielded to the powerful tide that swept along the channels of Athenian life, and been ranked with the other names that appear in Grecian history. But his was no ordinary nature. With a body of incredible endurance and strength, he had a mind equally marked by strong, clear common sense, and power of logical analysis. These analytical powers were cultivated partly by the schools, and partly by solitary reflection, but mainly by those keen colloquial combats that formed so marked a peculiarity of Athenian life. By these agencies his power of tracing a thought through every doubling of sophistry was developed until it became like the eye of the hunter, who follows his trail with unerring accuracy where others would see nothing but pathless confusion. But his most remarkable traits were those of his moral nature. Other men had nobler impulses, and warmer affections, what is commonly called a better heart; but no man ever lived who had a larger development of natural conscience. This was, indeed, the master faculty of his soul. Clear perceptions of the right and the true, and proper feelings in regard to them, furnish the key to the character and history of Socrates. Here we find the secret of his revolt against the philosophy of the day and the teachings of the Sophists. The whole tendency of philosophical speculation at that time was sceptical and irreligious, and against this the fine moral nature of Socrates rose up in emphatic protest. He hated wrong, falsehood, and unreality, wherever he found them, but

Digitized by Google

especially among the leaders of the public mind; and his conscience recoiled with disgust from the insincerity, indifference to truth, and sham pretension of the Sophists. Hence he was by nature a reformer, and, like every other true reformer, the deepest, broadest, richest subsoil of his nature was religious, and from this massive substructure of his character all the rest drew their vitality and strength. Here we find the element that lifts him above all other Greeks, and most other men. Aristides before him had a fine moral development, but lacked that fervent enthusiasm of the religious emotions that lay warm and deep in the heart of Socrates, giving vigour to all the outgrowths of his life. Aristotle after him had more subtlety, more searching power of logical analysis, but lacked this primary formation of every truly great nature; for as the tallest mountains always lay bare at their summits the deepest rocks that underlie the crust of the earth, so the loftiest natures of our race ever lift up toward heaven those deep granitic elements of the religious nature which lie nearest to the great, glowing heart of the world. Socrates had faith, and hence he had power. Indeed, the fact that has impressed us more than any other in his character, was his amazing spirituality, using the term to designate that predominance of the unseen and the eternal in their influence over the soul that is not necessarily confined to the form in which we find it among Christians. Never was there an uninspired man, perhaps, who acted more constantly in view of the right, the true, and the divine, and whose nature was less enthralled by the visible, the temporal, and the sensible. Such then were the natural elements of this extraordinary character—conscience, and common sense, to a wonderful degree; and such the influences acting upon them—a form of social life that sharpened the intellectual element to an amazing acuteness, dexterity, and power, and a tone of thought and action that roused the moral element into indignant and powerful protest.

At what age Socrates began his labours as a public teacher is not entirely certain; but it was probably about the age of thirty, when mind and body had reached their most perfect development. The causes that led to this course of life are apparent from the preceding statements. Like the earnest monk of Erfürth, who found the problem of the Reformation in the struggles of his own great heart, this Luther of Athens found in questioning his own soul the secret of social reform, and seeing the corruption that false teachers were spreading, he set himself steadily to effect a reform. Like every other great reformer, he deemed himself summoned to this work by a divine call, and kindled his soul at the fire of the altar. The

Digitized by Google

Delphic oracle was, to the devout Greek, a veritable expounder of the will of Heaven, and hence regarded with religious reverence. Whatever was its real character, it was the visible representation of the divine will, and hence concentrated on itself the religious emotions of the Greeks. Its "heaven-descended" *know thyself* fastened on the mind of Socrates, and led him to that searching self-scrutiny, and that exhaustive analysis of his opinions and grounds of belief, that made him the Bacon of Grecian philosophy. In these intense processes of solitary thought he acquired that wonderful power of abstraction that makes credible the story that in the Potidæan expedition he was once seen standing from sunrise to sunrise the following day, in the same posture, absorbed in profound meditation; and that enabled him, in all the confusion of a noisy crowd, to pursue a thought with an undeviating tenacity that was never baffled. Acquiring thus a clear sense of the defects of the prevalent forms of thought, a nature like his would be desirous of attempting to correct them. But we have reason to believe that he had more direct and specific impulses than these.

His friend Chærephon applied to the Delphic oracle to know who was the wisest of the Greeks, and received the response: "Sophocles is wise, Euripides is wiser, but the wisest of all men is Socrates." This utterance of the oracle, which we have no reason to suppose was unfairly obtained, caused Socrates to suspect that he had a divine mission to fulfil to his people. He began to feel that he was called to be a prophet and a missionary, sent forth to recall the wayward and worldly Athenians to the true principles of virtue and piety. This he asserts in the most solemn manner in his Apology, resting the defence of his conduct on this divine legation. (See Apology, c. 18.)

We here find a clew to the proper understanding of the vexed question about the demon of Socrates. This is, undoubtedly, the most difficult matter in his life, and has given rise to the most varied theories of explanation. The difficulty lies in reconciling the accounts we have of it, with what we know to be truth on the one hand, and what we know to be the character of Socrates on the other. It is represented as an internal voice, that warned him in regard to doubtful things, such as, not to take the road that most of the army took after the battle of Delium, and were overtaken by the enemy; not to take a certain street, which his friends taking met with an accident; that the Sicilian expedition would be unfortunate, although everything seemed to promise success, &c., &c.; so that it was said by Socrates himself, that no man ever neglected his advice without having reason to regret it. The most remarkable peculiarity of it

Digitized by Google

was, that it never commanded, but only forbade, confining its intimations to simple prohibitions of what would be inexpedient.

What was the exact nature of this intimation? If natural, why did Socrates represent it as supernatural, and why did it warn in regard to things beyond the scope of ordinary foresight? If supernatural, how can we conceive of God giving him a messenger that should descend to such trifles as preventing him from coming in contact with a herd of swine, or Crito from being scratched by the branch of a tree, when we have no evidence that such a messenger was ever given to any other mortal? Without discussing the various explanations that have been proposed, in ancient and modern times, we shall give what we deem to be the true one, that whilst Socrates honestly believed it to be supernatural, it was merely natural, the intelligible action of those powers of mind with which he was so preëminently gifted.

To suppose that Socrates pretended to such an internal guidance, knowing that it was not supernatural, is simply absurd. There is no possible mark or test of sincerity which he did not repeatedly give. It is usually forgotten in discussing this point, that Socrates was a firm and reverent believer in the traditionary religion of his country. Without receiving the absurd fables of the poets, he held to certain great doctrines, such as the existence of a supreme God, and also of certain subordinate gods, who, although not supreme, were yet endued with a divine nature. (See a very remarkable passage in the Memorabilia, lib. iv, cap. iii, especially § 13, where a supreme Creator and Preserver is distinctly asserted.) He further believed in an intermediate order of beings, demons, or angels, who had direct admission to the soul of man, and were capable of conveying to it impulses and impressions. Their aid he believed could be obtained by any man who would seek it in virtuous living. Acts and states of the mind that could be referred to no other cause, he referred to their agency, as one adequate and intelligible, and of whose existence he had not the slightest doubt.

There is a class of mental states, the exact origin of which is somewhat obscure. We believe that a certain thing is so, because we perceive it to be so by a kind of direct intuition; we feel an impression that we ought not to do a certain thing, although we cannot tell why; we have an instinctive attraction to, or recoil from a person, an impression at first sight, for which we can give no valid reason; or we have what is called a presentiment as to the future, not based on reason, and not subject to it, which often precedes some adverse event. There are some men, who always know how to say and do the right thing in the right time and place, not as the result of any logical process, but by a sort of direct intuition.

Digitized by Google

These are men of strong common sense, or mother wit, or lucky men, as the case may be, and if they were to attempt an explanation of their states of mind, they would simply say, "I felt that I ought to do so, and did it." Suppose these men to believe in the admission of superior intelligences to the soul, and there would be nothing strange in the belief that they caused these direct convictions by immediate impression. Here then was the precise position of Socrates. Along with his wonderful logical powers, he had, to an unequalled degree, the intuitive action of the faculties, and excelled most other men in clear, direct common sense, that inexplicable ability of perceiving the expedient and proper at a glance, without waiting for any process of reasoning. His mental habits gave an unusual distinctness to all his mental states, causing them to come forth to the cognizance of consciousness with the vivid clearness of a voice. Believing in the admission of superior intelligences to the soul, and accustoming himself to regard these mental states under that conviction, we can easily see how they would readily be referred to this supernatural source. The very logical structure of his mind would impel him to give such an explanation of these instinctive impressions; for he could rest only in an adequate cause for every effect, and such a cause for these phenomena he found only in spiritual agency. That these intimations were only prohibitory, arose, doubtless, from the fact, that such is their natural tendency in the mind. It is always easier to know what we ought not to do than what we ought; what is not the truth than what is; and this was preëminently the case with Socrates, who was always more ready to show the error of another man's opinions than give the truth as his own. This negative, protestant character of his mind, would naturally give a mainly prohibitory action to his intuitions, and when the habit was once formed, would grow in emphasis and distinctness. Making the necessary abatements for exaggeration, there is nothing in the accounts of this demon of Socrates that is not explicable on this supposition, and nothing at variance with right reason. There are incidents in the lives of Napoleon, Talleyrand, and every man of extraordinary sagacity, to the full as wonderful as anything recorded of Socrates, which, had they believed in his psychology, would have been referred to the genius, as Napoleon, perhaps, did often refer them to his star, and the hypothesis of the Greek was every whit as reasonable and as intelligible as that of the Corsican.

We have now reached the impulse that lay deepest in the heart of Socrates. The Delphic oracle, which to him was the voice of God, had pronounced him to be the wisest of mortals, and thus designated him as a teacher of his fellow-men. He, therefore, de-

Digitized by Google

termined to go forth and ascertain by actual experiment the meaning of the oracle, and thus began his work as a public teacher. He felt that he had a lofty mission to fulfil, a mission to which he was summoned by the highest of all authorities, and therefore to which he was impelled by the deepest of all obligations. There pressed upon his heart a most vehement prophetic impulse, which, like a rushing mighty wind, filled and fired his whole nature, making him feel that a necessity was laid upon him, yea wo was unto him, if he fulfilled not this divine summons; and hence, conferring not with flesh and blood, he went right onward to his task. He saw that the grand defect of the Athenian mind was a conceit of knowledge whilst they were ignorant, mistaking words for things, and thinking that they understood a subject because they could argue about it. With as cordial a hatred of all shams, unrealities, and insincerities, as the cynical Sartor Resartus, he went to work for their overthrow much more effectually than the rugged Carlyle. He determined to aid every man in ascertaining precisely what he did know, by an inventory and analysis of the contents of his mind, and thus bring him to an exact estimate of his own powers and attainments, and reach such an estimate himself.

In entering on this work, he first selected a leading politician, esteemed wise both by himself and others, and after listening to his views, he began to question him as to what he meant by this and that phrase which he used, and soon found that he attached no very definite conception to those words, and that his supposed wisdom was at last really little more than a knowledge of terms, whose real significance was as unknown to him as to others. He tried to prove this to the politician, but very naturally without success. Finding then at last the politician knew no more than he did himself, but could not be made to admit the fact, he began to infer that the superior wisdom attributed to him by the oracle consisted not in greater knowledge than others, but in more exactly knowing wherein he was really ignorant. He then went to other prominent men, statesmen, poets, and philosophers, but with the same result. His relentless questions about the meaning of such and such terms soon carried them beyond their beaten track to a region of indeterminate vagueness, where they were soon entangled in confusion. He then went to the artisans, and found that whilst they understood their own occupations, they were equally deluding themselves with mere word-knowledge in regard to other subjects, and yet equally unwilling to admit that they were really in ignorance or error. Here then was the work of his life: to convince the Athenians of their real wants, to disenthrall them from the influence of the Sophists, to give them

Digitized by Google

clear notions of the great subjects of human thought, and thus lead them to the knowledge of truth and the practice of virtue.

Here then we meet with Socrates fairly embarked on his new career, leaving his statuary shop, and exchanging the moulding of marble for the moulding of men. Uncouth, odd, almost ludicrous in his appearance, never have such a body and such a mind been brought together among men. His great goggle-eyes, snub-nose, thick lips, satyr-like features, and obese stomach, made him fitting game for the Satirists; but to the eye of a closer observer the huge mass of brain, the strong lines of character about the mouth, and the square, stalwart frame, evinced an underlying manliness that excited other emotions than those of the comic. He had a body so firm and enduring in its powers, that on a few olives, or a little bread and water daily, he was capable of undergoing incredible fatigue, wearing no under garment, and the same upper one for both summer and winter, going barefoot through the whole year, and retaining the same scanty costume, even through the Potidæan campaign with its Thracian frost and snow, and suffering no inconvenience from the stifling heat of Athens during the dread season of the plague. Calm, good-humoured, and imperturbable, he could come to the theatre to hear himself lashed by the merciless wit of Aristophanes, and even rise up during the play that strangers present might see the original of this laughter-moving picture; and yet he had by nature a lion-like fierceness of temper, which, when at rare intervals it escaped beyond his control, was terrible in its fury, and a courage which could not only rescue Alcibiades and Xenophon from the battle-field at the risk of his own life; but more than all this, could, as presiding Prytanis for the day, refuse to put the question that would, contrary to law, sacrifice the ten generals to the rage of the people, although every other senator shrunk from the storm; could refuse to obey an unjust order of the Thirty Tyrants, though enforced with threats that constrained the obedience of all the others included in it; and could defend the affrighted Theramenes, when even the sacredness of the altar could not furnish him protection against the fury of his murderers. Poor to utter destitution, he had no habit that demanded riches, and no taste that they could gratify. He did not despise the luxuries of life, like Diogenes, or glory in being ragged and dirty, for he was commonly neat in his attire, but was simply indifferent to the elegancies of life for the same reason that he was indifferent to the toys of a child; he had outgrown them. Although rejecting with scorn any fee for his instructions as a degradation of their priceless and Heaven-sent character; and steadily refusing the costly gifts that his admiring

Digitized by Google

disciples were continually pressing upon him—partly because he would not be cumbered by the care of keeping them, and partly because he preferred to be independent—he yet made no scruple of asking any of his friends for a new cloak when he needed one, and had no money to buy it. He did not despise luxurious living; for he could sit down, at the splendid tables of Crito and Alcibiades, and share their dainties with as much and no more relish than he enjoyed his barley-porridge and water in his simple dwelling. Though habitually temperate, even to abstinence, he could sit and tipple and talk until he had drunk the whole company of bottle heroes under the table; and after reasoning, and disputing, and drinking the live-long night, until every disputant was overcome with drunken sleep, could rise up in the early dawn, and go forth with his head of granite unmoved by the night's work, and hunt some fresh company with which to spend the day in fresh disputations. All that he demanded of the world was simply food and raiment to support life in the plainest manner, and these he commonly provided by his own manual labour. Such was this strange city missionary of Athens, who undertook to reform its mercurial population.

His method of procedure was peculiar. Having found by experience that the public assemblies of the people were not suitable places for his labours, he directed his attention to individuals. He went from place to place, and from man to man, ready to talk with every one, rich or poor, young or old, scholar or clown, one or many; and was withal so simple, so frank, and so communicative, that none could refuse to listen to him. Now he would go and sit down in the workshops and talk with the workmen about their trades, until he had found out all that they could communicate, when he would give them his own sagacious suggestions about their work, thus enlisting their respect and sympathy. He would then insensibly lead them to higher themes, speaking of the great work of human life, until he imparted to them some deeper breathings after virtue than they ever had before. Next he would be found at the house of a friend surrounded by a circle of eager listeners, or at rare intervals walking under the shade of the plane-trees on the banks of the Ilissus, arguing about the true office of the poet, the philosopher, or the man. Then he would go forth into the crowded market-place, where his short, unwieldy figure, rolling along like a half-sobered Silenus, and yet broad and muscular as a dwarfed Hercules, his quaint dress, his naked feet, his enormous head, with its goggle-eyes, snub-nose, and thick lips, would produce an impression on the gay Parisian crowd of Athens, not unlike the appearance of George Munday or Lorenzo Dow, in the gardens of the Tuileries. Ever

Digitized by Google

ready to bandy a jest or to hold a colloquy, he would soon have around him a crowd of listeners. At first he would talk to them about the smiths and carpenters who were at work around them, or discuss some topic of Athenian gossip for the day, until they would shout with laughter at his sly jokes and homely hits. Their attention being thus gained, he would insensibly glide into other topics of graver moment, and as he talked of these majestic themes his eye would begin to dilate with a strange glow, and his voice to thrill with a wondrous melody that would steal from heart to heart like a spell of fascination. The noise of the laughing crowd would subside, the eager listeners would press closer and closer as if drawn by some resistless attraction, every eye would become fixed, and every ear bent forward to catch those solemn tones that came from his lips at these times of inspiration, which those who heard them compared to the dread chiming of the sacred cymbals in the worship of Cybele, until at last every heart throbbed with the most intense excitement, every eye swam with tears of emotion, and old and young, grave and gay, friend and foe, all stood entranced and spell-bound by this Orpheus of the tongue.

But this continuous discourse was not his usual method of procedure, nor perhaps that which was most pleasing to the mercurial people of Athens. The scene that most delighted them was his handling of a Sophist. Never did opera or bull-fight in modern times draw together a more delighted crowd than did the merciless dissection of a Sophist by Socrates charm the intellectual and excitable population of this Paris of the ancient world. A conceited professor of dialectics, who had been swollen to enormous self-admiration by the applause of gaping scholars in his native city, would resort to Athens to increase at once his fame and his fees. Ignorant, in those times of imperfect intercourse, of the person, and, perhaps, even of the character of Socrates, and kept in this ignorance by the mischief-loving citizens into whose hands he would fall, by some seeming accident he would be brought near him, and encouraged to launch out into one of his high-sounding harangues. A little, and rather plain-looking man in the crowd, after listening in seeming admiration to this grandiloquence, would, with the utmost deference, beg leave to ask a few questions, as was customary in such cases. He is delighted, the little man, with the wisdom of this fluent stranger, rejoiced that now at length he has met one who can instruct his ignorance, and though he would not venture to dispute conclusions so eloquently maintained, yet there are a few difficulties in his slow mind that he would gladly have solved, and which he doubts not such superior wisdom can solve at a glance. The unhappy

Digitized by Google

Sophist, completely thrown off his guard by this affected humility and ignorance, begs him with the most patronizing condescension to proceed, assuring him of instant and entire satisfaction. The modest little man, then, asks him a question, very simple, and apparently remote from the subject, so absurdly simple, that, with a smile of pity at his stupidity, the luckless Sophist instantly replies. Then comes another, and another, not quite so simple, coming nearer and nearer, until soon, like a narrowing circle of hunters closing on their prey, the astonished Sophist finds himself hemmed in with a tightening coil of difficulties, from which there is no possibility of escape but in the abandonment of the position with which he so confidently started. Vexed and irritated, he takes another, which he is sure must be safe from such obvious overthrow, and triumphantly, almost defiantly, plants himself there. Again does this merciless querist ply him with his difficulties, not seeming to doubt for a moment that now at last he had found the truth, and question follows question with frightful rapidity, until again the hapless wight finds himself landed in the flattest contradiction. Sometimes, with a refinement of cruelty, the wicked tormenter would himself suggest an opening of escape for the hunted Sophist, condoling him with affected sympathy over these unexpected difficulties, and offering his assistance to get out of them. The poor Sophist falls into the lure, and eagerly catches at the offered deliverance, and begins to breathe freely at his escape; but again, to his consternation, he finds these entangling questions enfolding him, until finally he falls helpless, exhausted and enraged, a butt of ridicule to the laughter-loving Athenians, and a victim of the merciless dialectics of Socrates.

These exhibitions, or rather executions, were renewed with every new Sophist that came to display his abilities in Athens. They would have been positively wicked in their cold-blooded cruelty, had it not been for the pernicious influence of the men who were thus flayed; but they displayed a reach and subtlety of thought so consummate as to make Socrates the idol of a large circle of intellectual young men. Had these wonderful powers been exercised only on strangers and Sophists, he would have been the pride of the whole city, and regarded as its most illustrious ornament. But they were exercised on all around him, without discrimination and without mercy. No man was safe from the scalpel of his relentless analysis, and no man was ever thoroughly dissected by it who was not humbled and perhaps irritated by the process. However much this kind of surgery may have been necessary, the subjects of it were not likely to feel much love for the practitioner. Few persons can love the man who humbles them and makes them feel that they are

Digitized by Google

ignorant when they thought themselves intelligent, and in a population so vain and glory-loving as that of Athens there must have been many who retained sore and unhealed memories of the keen anatomizing of Socrates. As these men were likely to be the most influential in the community, the orators, politicians, poets, &c., there was thus gradually accumulated a most formidable amount of personal grudge against him in all classes of society. His peculiar mission was not understood, and he was regarded as only a more subtle kind of Sophist. Assailing as he did so many settled notions on all subjects, and often assuming a tone of seeming levity about religious subjects, he was esteemed as a secret sceptic, who was silently undermining the foundations of society. Attacking so much, and defending so little, denying rather than asserting, and often doing this with so much drollery, he was naturally classed with the other philosophers. Hence we find him very early in his career brought on the stage by the stinging and scurrilous wit of Aristophanes, and held up to ridicule in the comedy of the Clouds, as a sort of irreverent and transcendental dreamer, whose doings and doctrines were alike novel and dangerous. The favourable reception of this comedy showed that an antipathy to this troublesome cross-questioner had become very general.

But there were other causes at work to render him unpopular. Besides his firm resistance to popular injustice on two memorable occasions, he entertained political opinions that were not in perfect harmony with the democratic constitution of Athens. Moreover, the independent spirit that he breathed into his disciples, manifested itself in forms of insubordination to parental and civil authority, in a few cases, such as Critias, Alcibiades, and the son of Anytus, one of his accusers, and naturally excited prejudice against Socrates. The few prominent men who, in spite of his teachings, became corrupt, gave colour to the charge of his enemies that he was a dangerous citizen, sowing in the minds of the young the seeds of sedition and anarchy. Hence instead of wondering that such a man should be arraigned as a state criminal, after such a life, the wonder is, that in such a community, so jealous, excitable, and intolerant as that of Athens, he was not arraigned earlier. It is a striking proof of his wisdom that he could pursue a career that must inevitably accumulate around him such an amount of rankling odium for more than thirty years, and not be arrested by this popular dislike in some legal form, when legal forms were so facile and flexible to the popular will.

But at length it did overtake him, and B. C. 399 there appeared on the portico of the office of the king-archon a tablet with these

Digitized by Google

fatal and memorable words: "Melitus, son of Melitus, of the people of Pythos, accuses Socrates, son of Sophroniscus, of the people of Alopecæ. Socrates is criminal because he acknowledges not the gods that the republic acknowledges, and because he introduces new deities. He is further criminal because he corrupts the youth. For his punishment, death." This accusation spread consternation and sorrow among the friends of Socrates. Having passed unharmed through war, pestilence and famine; having lived through the French Revolution scenes of the Thirty Tyrants, and reached the three-score and ten that marks the usual limit of human life, they had hoped that this smothered dislike, so long kept in abeyance, would await the inevitable summons that so soon must relieve his enemies of his presence. But they knew that if this enmity was afforded scope, there was little hope that he could be shielded from its deadly purpose. Hence they strained every nerve for his protection. They urged him to prepare for his defence; but he refused, saying that the genius had warned him to take no thought how he should speak, and that if a blameless life of seventy years was not defence enough, mere words would be unavailing. Hence when Lysias the orator offered him an eloquent oration, he declined it as unsuitable to the simplicity of his character, and preferred calmly to await the trial without any special preparation.

The simple truth is, that Socrates was indifferent as to the result. Endowed by nature with a temperament that never knew fear, he had none of that physical shrinking from death that exists as an almost uncontrollable instinct in weaker organizations. Looking forward to a scene of everlasting reward in the life to come, with unwavering confidence, that mighty spectre whose shadow falls with so deep a gloom on other hearts, had no power to appal him. Death he regarded but as the narrow gateway to the scenes of Elysium, where he should wander over the fields of light with the good and the brave who had gone before him, and hence regarded its approach with serene composure. Knowing it to be inevitable, believing it to be the beginning of a better life, and aware that his work in life must soon cease in any event, he felt that the difference of a few years in this cessation would be too dearly purchased by the slightest compromise of the principles that his whole life had been spent in enforcing. Hitherto he had lived in lofty superiority to the common frailties of our nature, his frame of iron never conscious of exhaustion or fatigue; but soon he must descend from this eminence, and yield to the advancing decrepitude of age. This to him would have been a positive humiliation, less desirable than an honourable death. Better to fall like the giant oak beneath the woodman's axe, whilst

Digitized by Google

its stem was yet strong, and its leaf was yet green, than ignobly perish at last by the dishonouring touch of slow decay. Better, like Moses, depart with an undimmed eye, and an unabated strength, than, like feeble old Priam, remain to present a pitiable spectacle of superannuated weakness.

Moreover, there was here perhaps a chance of crowning with a fitting close the labours of his life. Having lived with a martyr's constancy to witness for certain great truths, if their final attestation demanded that he should seal them with a martyr's blood, the same unfaltering purpose that directed him how to live would also dictate to him when to die. If his enemies were successful, he might thus reach the most heroic and impressive close that could be given to his labours; and, like Samson, do more to tear down the fabric of error by his death, than he had done by his life. If unsuccessful, their failure would be the triumph of his teachings, by the most solemn act of the people. In either event he had reason to be satisfied, and between the two alternatives he had but little to choose. When, therefore, we remember his absolute devotion to this high apostleship of reform, we can readily see why the genius forbade the preparation of an elaborate defence, and led him to leave the issue quietly to the decision of Providence.

The trial came on—a trial which, for sublimity and absorbing interest, has but one superior in the world's history. Five hundred and fifty-six Athenian citizens sat down in the dikastery that was to try this memorable cause, and before them stood this fearless old man, conscious of his rectitude, and aware of the malice that had dragged him there. Other hearts were throbbing with anxiety, and other lips trembling with emotion; but he stood before his accusers and judges with as unquailing an eye and as unfaltering a tongue as if he were about to encounter a Sophist in the crowded agora. Anytus and Lykon sustained the political charges, and sought to rouse the anger of the people by showing that he undervalued the democratic constitution of Athens, and disliked the beggarly trickeries of its mouthing demagogues. Melitus took the accusation of irreligion, and sought to prove him a sceptic and a heretic to the established religion of the state. Scarcely noticing the political accusations, he addressed himself to his main accuser, who had sought to rob him of his fairest fame, and, by almost a single touch of his Ithuriel logic, he unmasked him to the assembly, in his confusion, contradiction, and falsehood, a malignant and perjured accuser. Then, in a tone of lofty superiority, he asserted, that the life he led was by the special call of Heaven, and that it was a blessing to the city. Although there was something offensive in the tone of this

Digitized by Google

vindication, yet so triumphant was its reasoning, that in spite of the gathered grudges of thirty years, the rancour of political hate, the power of personal influence, and the shielding of suborned perfidy by the ballot, on the vote whether he was guilty of these vague and general charges there was but a majority of six against him in a court of nearly six hundred.

A gleam of hope inspired his friends; for a second vote was required to fix his sentence, and the closeness of the first vote showed that if he would assume the attitude of submissive deprecation that was common in such cases, his only punishment would be a fine that they would have paid on the spot. The rules of criminal trials required that the accuser should name one penalty, and the accused another, when the court would determine the final award. If the demeanour of the accused was respectful, his crime not very great, and his proposed penalty in any due proportion to the proved offence, it was adopted. In the case of Socrates, his uprightness was so unquestionable, his fame so wide, and his career so nearly ended by the course of nature, that had he made any concession to the pride of the court, any acknowledgment of the justice of their sentence, and named an ordinary fine, he would almost certainly have escaped with this award. But, to the consternation of his friends, when he rose to answer the customary question as to his penalty, he seemed to stand before them in the proud dignity of a judge rather than the humble attitude of a prisoner. So far from cringing to his judges to beg his life, as others had done, by a tacit admission of his guilt, he refused to abate a jot of the truth, or retract a syllable of his claims, or do a single act that should concede that his former course had been wrong. He would not purchase his life by the abatement of a single line of his inflexible truthfulness, or the stooping to a single act of dishonour. He, therefore, told them with an honest bluntness that had all the effect of defiance to them, that having given up all his private business for the good of the city, when he was forced to say in sincerity what he thought such a man deserved, he must say, that he deserved to be maintained for the rest of his life at the public expense in the Prytaneum—the highest honour ever conferred on an Athenian citizen. Perceiving the blank astonishment that this declaration produced, he proceeded to defend it by saying, that having never done an injury, or uttered a falsehood as to another, he could not do either to himself by awarding what he honestly did not think his deserts. Death he did not know to be an evil, imprisonment or exile he did, and he could not, therefore, choose what he knew to be evils to avoid what he did not know to be such. A fine he did not regard as an evil; but such was his poverty,

Digitized by Google

that he could not pay more than a mina of silver, about $17 50, and in this sum he would amerce himself. His friends knowing that this paltry sum would be regarded as an insult, urged him to name thirty minæ, offering to advance the sum themselves, which accordingly he did, and submitted the case for decision. We cannot wonder that his judges should be exasperated by what seemed to them contempt of the law, and that a majority of them voted that he should die by the hemlock. Considering the facts of the case, no other decision could have been expected after such a defence, and yet, considering the man, no other defence could have been desired.

He heard the result without a throb of emotion, and turned to the judges as calmly as if they had declared his acquittal, and first addressed himself to those who had voted to condemn him. Without a word of anger, bitterness, or defiance, he solemnly assured them that they had done wrong; that the cause of his condemnation was his unwillingness to stoop to beg his life, a thing he had scorned as cowardly in war, and could not regard as honourable in peace; that the effect of his condemnation would be more disastrous to the city and his accusers than himself; and concluded by saying, "Now I depart, condemned by you to death, but my accusers condemned by truth as guilty of iniquity and injustice. I abide my sentence, they theirs. These things, perhaps, ought so to be, and I think them for the best." Then turning to those who voted for his acquittal, he assured them that this event was not for evil, and rising to that high discourse on the immortality of the soul, in which he delighted to revel, he closed his address in a passage which for sublimity and pathos has no parallel in uninspired writing, and which we would not attempt to condense, in the hope that our readers may be led to peruse it themselves.

Then followed those memorable prison-scenes that are so vividly portrayed in the Crito and Phædo of Plato; his calm discourse on high and holy themes; his refusal to accept the proffered plan of escape; his heroic bearing though loaded with fetters; and his calm awaiting for thirty days the return of the sacred ship from Delos, during whose absence none could be executed in the city. Then came that last memorable day, the description of which in the Phædo Cicero tells us he could never read without tears. The hours of this mournful day were spent in discoursing of futurity, of heaven, hell, and the judgment, in words that thrill us now as we read them, and then as the shadows began to grow long on the slopes of the Hymettus, and the bustle of busy Athens to wane toward the quiet of the night, the old man eloquent began to prepare to lay aside his mortal part as calmly as he had ever laid aside his garments to sleep,

Digitized by Google

and made himself ready to die. Then followed that scene of parting and of death, so touchingly and minutely described by Plato that his pages are wet with the tears of twenty-three centuries, and we can only refer the reader to their moving words, if he would learn how Socrates died. He died as he lived, the martyr missionary, the hero sage, the model man of Greece, the tallest and strongest spirit that ever stood on that classic land whose soil is hallowed by the dust of the mighty dead.

A crowd of thoughts press on us, which our limits must exclude, or permit us only to suggest. For his character and relations as a philosopher, we must refer to the pages of Schleiermacher, Grote, and others, who have well nigh exhausted this theme and left but little more to be desired on this aspect of the subject. He was the Bacon of Grecian philosophy, the father of that wondrous method the use of which by his immediate successors carried the science of metaphysics at once to that verge of possible thought, beyond which its boundaries have scarcely been carried a line since the days of Plato and Aristotle, and yet a method which none have ever been able to use like its mighty master. Like the weapons of Goliath, none have been found strong enough to wield them since the giant arm has been laid low. But this theme is too wide for our present limits, and we pass it by.

The relation of Socrates to the history of religion is a theme that has been much less discussed, and one which we would gladly pursue at length, were it possible. The best features of the Platonic element, that have acted for good as well as for evil on the religious history of man, are due to the influence of Socrates. The counteraction of that deadly scepticism that was working in the Grecian mind, and eating out all belief in the divine, the unseen, and the eternal, was furnished by the influence of Socrates. He was the great prophet to the old heathen world of the soul's immortality, and saved it from total corruption. And there was a strength of belief in the great facts of natural religion, and a working of them up into the texture of his daily life, that was amazing. Never have we felt the materialism and the worldliness of the modern Church, and of our own hearts, more sternly rebuked than in reading the words and tracing the life of this wondrous old man. There was a constant sight of the unseen and eternal in his view, a practical acknowledgment of them in all his conduct, and an evident realization of them visible in his maxims of reasoning, his forms of thought, and his whole life, that come nearer the requirements of the Christian teachings, than anything that modern Christianity often furnishes. We stand abashed and condemned, with our Bibles in our hands, before this

Digitized by Google

high-hearted old heathen, and learn new lessons from his life in regard to the possibility of conforming to its spiritual teachings.

And yet we gather instruction of the most valuable nature from this life. It is the farthest reach that human nature has ever made without the Bible, and far though it be, the errors, fables, and defects that we find mingled with this peerless pagan, are a most powerful proof of the necessity of a revelation. Human nature never went further than this, and yet human nature must go further, or fall far short even of Socrates. He reminds us of some sightless giant, groping in his greatness to find the path that the open-eyed child can run along with ease.

But there are many points of comparison as well as of contrast. We feel that we better comprehend that awful Presence that walked the shores of Galilee and the streets of Jerusalem, as we follow this apostle of reform along the streets of Athens, denouncing the Phariseeism of the Sophists, mingling alike with the lofty and the lowly, living in contented poverty, and dying in unfaltering faith. Wide and wonderful as is the difference between them, we feel that the one aids us to rise to a more distinct conception of the other. And as we carry the comparison yet further, we find new points of instruction. The diverse portraits of Plato and Xenophon enable us the better to understand the representations of Matthew and John, and see how the same character may be depicted from opposite points, and yet be still the same. The silence of Josephus about the son of Mary finds its exact parallel in the silence of Thucydides about the son of Sophroniscus. The hatred of Jews and Romans toward Christ and his apostles, and the strange *strabismus* of Tacitus and Pliny, are more readily understood when we look at the hatred that assailed Socrates and his followers, and the misapprehension of their mission by Aristophanes and others. And the very partial manifestations of repentance that the Jewish nation made for the murder of their Messiah, finds its counterpart in the conduct of the Athenians after the death of Socrates. For although the common impression is that they bitterly repented it, and put to death his accusers, Mr. Grote shows very clearly that there is no evidence that they ever did thus feel or act, and that this common impression is wholly erroneous. These thoughts would furnish us themes of most interesting reflection; but we must close with the opinion, that there are few characters the study of which will better reward the Christian than that of Socrates.

Digitized by Google

Art. V.—EXPOSITION OF I. COR. III, 1–17.

It may scarcely be worth while to present here the different views which have been taken of this portion of Holy Scripture by expositors of note. In some parts most of them agree, while in others they widely differ. Their views will, to some extent, be given, in connexion with those of the present writer, as he advances in his exposition.

The state of the Church at Corinth was deplorable; and without a full examination of that state it may answer every purpose for the present, to consider the charge which the apostle brings against its members, together with the specifications which sustain the charge.

Verse 1. *And I, brethren, could not speak unto you as unto spiritual, but as unto carnal.* Like those described in the previous chapter, who "received not the things of the Spirit."

Verse 2. *I have fed you with milk.* They had made so little progress in things spiritual as to be still in infancy, not able to bear strong truth, or be taught in the deep things of God.

Verse 3. *For ye are yet carnal.* This is the charge, and it is a sad one to stand against a professedly Christian Church.

The specifications are undeniable, and fully support the charge. Their *envying, strife, and divisions* were notorious, and proved that they walked *as men;* as the *natural,* or carnal man—*κατὰ ἄνθρωπον.*

These divisions, &c., were caused merely by their individual preferences of men. Some preferred *Paul,* some *Apollos,* and so parties were formed in their names. Such was the condition of many in that Church: but we must not suppose that all had so far departed from the spirit of their religion; doubtless there were some who were spiritual.

For the purpose of leading them back to the way of peace, the apostle places himself and Apollos before them in their true relation.

Verse 5. *Who then is Paul, and who is Apollos?* They are only the servants, or *ministers* of God, by whom these Corinthians were brought to faith in Christ. It was not by the power of the ministers that they were converted; but *as the Lord gave to every man,* to each minister, his share of success.

Verse 6. *I have planted, Apollos watered.* They were employed in the field, while success, or *increase,* was only from God. Those that plant, or water, are nothing; and it is very foolish to divide on their account.

Digitized by Google

Verse 8. *Now he that planteth and he that watereth are one.* There is no occasion to *divide* and *strive* in favour of men who are themselves perfectly united. Paul and Apollos were of one heart, engaged in one work, and each was sure of his reward, according to his own labour. Paul planted the seed of the kingdom there, by preaching Christ; and he had the satisfaction to see it spring up and give promise of a harvest. In due time Apollos "succeeded him on the circuit," and watered the growing plants.

Verse 9. *For we are labourers together with God*—θεοῦ γάρ ἐσμεν συνεργοί—God's labourers together, or labourers together *for* God. *Ye are God's husbandry;* his field, farm, or tillage. This figure is now laid aside, as belonging only to what has been said. *God's building;* a new metaphor, still farther to illustrate.

Verse 10. *I have laid the foundation:* Christ, see verse 11. All who should come after would build thereon, if they were *God's labourers. But let every man take heed how he buildeth thereupon.* Every *minister* is the *builder* here cautioned to *take heed.* In this discussion the apostle says not one word of any work, or labour, performed by any but ministers. The Church had then, and has now, work assigned it; but of this the writer was not treating at all. As a *husbandry*, or as a *building*, the Church could not work. A farm does not plant, or water; neither does a building procure its materials, nor erect itself. Having chosen such metaphors, it would be contrary to all good usage, as well as rhetoric, for the apostle to speak of them as working. All that is said of work, or labour, refers to the ministers. WE *are labourers;* YE *are the building.*

All the commentators consulted by the writer agree in this interpretation. Wesley, Clarke, Coke, Benson, Henry, Doddridge, Macknight, and Scott, apply to ministers all that is said in this connexion about work. This is regarded as a sufficient answer to all those expositors who imagine that the work belongs to Church members, and consists in works according to holiness which will abide, or sin which will be burned. Some have supposed that here is proof of the salvation of such as die in a partially sanctified state, provided they were built on Christ as the true foundation. It is supposed, if such leave the world partially impure, the fire will purge away their remaining sins, and fit them "for the inheritance of the saints in light." This sentiment is too near the minds of some who are called Protestants, while it is one of the favourite tenets of the Church of Rome. Neither purgatory, nor restorationism, nor death-purification can find aid here. Nor can another sentiment resort to this portion of Scripture for support. We are told that this scripture teaches the final salvation of the sincere, but erring Christian: he bases his faith and hope on

Digitized by Google

Christ, the true foundation; that with the true and fundamental doctrine of faith in Christ, he mingles various errors; and that in the *day* which shall *declare it*, these errors shall be destroyed, or burned, and the man himself shall be saved, "so as by fire."

It is doubtless true, that all who have the faith which works by love, and who persevere to the end, shall be saved; for holiness, and not orthodoxy, will be their qualification for heaven. But this is not *the* idea which was in the mind of the apostle; nor can it be derived from his teachings in this place, except indirectly, and by inference.

Verse 12. *Now if any man build on this foundation.* If any labourer, any builder, any *minister*, *build* with *gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay,* or *stubble.* Here are three kinds of materials mentioned which are good, and will bear the trial by fire; gold and silver will receive no harm by such a test. The stones are not such as we call *precious stones*, in familiar language; but *valuable* stones, such as are fit for building purposes. There are, also, three kinds mentioned which will not endure, or *abide* the fiery ordeal. *Wood, hay,* and *stubble* will burn. The building which ministers are employed to erect is a fire-proof one. But the question here arises, What are we to understand by these metaphors? And it is just here that the doctors disagree.

The greater number who have been consulted agree in saying: The *gold, silver,* and *precious stones* represent true and important *doctrines;* while the *wood, hay,* and *stubble* signify false, or unimportant *doctrines.* In this agree Wesley, Clarke, Coke, Benson, Henry, Doddridge, and Scott. Here is an array of great names, sufficient to settle the question, if these were the court or jury. And in venturing to differ from them, the writer will, perhaps, incur the charge of temerity. But, in all humility and modesty, he is constrained to adopt and express another opinion.

On this one point in the subject, there is but one expositor known to the writer who has, in his estimation, given the true meaning. That writer is Macknight, who says:—

"Now if any teacher build on this foundation, Christ, sincere disciples, represented in this similitude by *gold, silver, valuable stones;* or if he *buildeth* hypocrites, represented by *wood, hay, stubble, every teacher's disciples* shall *be made manifest* in their true characters."

Dr. Coke is, in this matter, a witness not to be relied on, because there is a discrepancy in his testimony. It may be well, notwithstanding, to hear him. In one place he says:—

"If, therefore, any teacher built on that foundation sincere converts, metaphorically represented by *gold, silver,* and *precious stones;* or if he built hypo-

Digitized by Google

critical professors thereon, represented by *wood, hay,* and *stubble,* he told them the fire of persecution, which was ready to fall on the temple or Church of God, would discover the nature of every teacher's work."

This is found in his general introductory remarks on this chapter, and they do not very well prepare the reader for what is found on the next page but one. In this last place he says:—

"If what he taught be sound and good, and will stand the trial as *silver,* and *gold,* and *precious stones* abide in the fire, he shall be rewarded for his labour in the gospel; but if he has introduced false or unsound *doctrines* into Christianity, he shall be like a man, whose building being of *wood, hay,* and *stubble,* is consumed by the fire."

Some of the many commentators who are mentioned above, suppose these metaphors represent morals as well as doctrines, and, indeed, include the whole of the minister's teaching under these figures. Only one of them enters at all into the work of defending this view of the meaning of gold, silver, &c. Mr. Benson, after quoting Macknight, as above, says:—

"But, as by the *foundation,* which he says he had laid, the apostle undoubtedly meant the doctrine concerning Christ, and salvation through him, it seems more consistent with his design to interpret what refers to the superstructure attempted to be raised by different builders, of doctrines also, and not persons introduced by them into the Christian Church."

But does not Mr. Benson forget the leading metaphor of the apostle? "YE are God's building." He does not say, Your *opinions,* received from your teachers, are the building. This would be a strange figure in itself—one which, it is believed, is not used at all in the New Testament. And this idea would mar and disfigure the leading metaphor which the apostle had chosen. A building is in process of erection, ministers are the builders, and "YE," the Corinthians, are the *building.* Besides, What sort of building would that be which should consist of *doctrines?* At most, a theoretic house. The idea expressed by Mr. Benson, that such a superstructure would be more consistent with the apostle's design, appears weak and erroneous; and the reason which he assigns is not satisfactory. Because the foundation laid is Christ, or the doctrines concerning Christ, it does not follow that the superstructure is also Christ, or the doctrines concerning Christ; especially as the apostle plainly declares, "*Ye are God's building.*"

Doctrines have a near relation to the building, it is true, but not as composing its materials; and it is believed that this *relation* has, by a little confusion in the mind, caused the error which is here noticed. The means used for the purpose of preparing material for the building have been confounded with the material itself. The

Digitized by Google

preaching of Christ as the foundation, the proclamation of the doctrines concerning Christ, are the means used; or, to speak metaphorically and familiarly, they are the implements, the tools with which the builders work. But to call these the *work itself*, would be contrary to the plainest rules of interpretation, and would utterly spoil the apostle's leading figure, and defeat his main design. "*Ye* are God's building." This is a metaphor peculiarly fitting, and one which is often used by New Testament writers. Eph. ii, 20–22, "*Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone; in whom all the building fitly framed together, groweth unto a holy temple in the Lord: in whom ye also are builded together, for a habitation of God through the Spirit.*"

Mr. Benson himself, in his comments on these verses, teaches that believers are the building, or temple; and though it may appear inconsistent in him, actually refers to 1 Cor iii, as to parallel passages.

Dr. Clarke, also, speaks very plainly and to the point on the above passages. On verse 21 he says:—

"By which foundation corner-stone, Christ Jesus, *all the building*, composed of converted Jews and Gentiles, *fitly framed together*, *συναρμολογουμένη*, *properly jointed and connected together*, *groweth unto a holy temple*; is continually increasing as new converts from Judaism or heathenism flock into it."

1 Peter ii, 5, "Ye also, as lively stones, are built up a spiritual house." The commentators are well agreed in their interpretation of this verse. They regard the *converts* as the materials which compose the house, or holy temple; and let the reader decide if there is any stronger reason for this interpretation here than in the passages more directly under consideration? Does the language of the apostles, in the quotations from Ephesians and Peter, require such an interpretation more imperatively than in the following:—"YE *are God's building*;" "*Know ye not that* YE *are the temple of God?*"

The more time has been devoted to this one question, because it is believed that this is the key to the meaning of the whole; and it is submitted if this point is not made sufficiently plain. Is it not apparent that the *gold*, *silver*, and *precious stones* represent such members of the Church as are holy, sincere, enduring, and approved of God? And that the *wood*, *hay*, and *stubble* represent such members as are unfit for the place they occupy in the Church—are such as will be disowned and displaced in the day of trial?

Verse 13. *Every man's work shall be made manifest; for the day shall declare it.* Expositors are not agreed with regard to *the day* here mentioned. Some suppose it is any time of persecution which should come upon the Church and try its members. But do

Digitized by Google

not those men appear a little inconsistent who first represent the minister's work as consisting of doctrines, and then the trial of his work as the trying of the genuineness and integrity of his converts?

Dr. Clarke inclines to the opinion that the *day* of *trial* is the time of tribulation which should come upon *Jerusalem*, and try the virtue of the two systems, Judaism and Christianity. But this is very improbable. Corinth lay far away from Jerusalem, had very little intercourse or connexion with it, and the members of the Corinthian Church were chiefly, if not entirely, Gentiles. All these circumstances would combine to render such a reference unintelligible to those addressed. It is probably true that very few, except the Christians in and about Jerusalem, had any clear views of our Lord's prediction of its destruction; and even these had but confused notions concerning this event, until the predictions began to be fulfilled. Then, and not before, they prepared for their flight. None but the inspired apostles had Jerusalem's downfal in their field of vision; and it could not be, with them, the "central idea," as it now is with some expositors.

Again, this interpretation is not in accordance with the subject treated by the apostle. He speaks of the trial of the works of *ministers* who were building, or had built, or who should build *on the foundation which he had laid at Corinth.* Hence the trial is not to be the issue of a competition between *systems*, but the test of the works of the builders of *God's house.* How the works, or, as we have seen, the *converts* made at Corinth by the teachings of ministers, were to be tried in the fire of Jerusalem's tribulation, is not very apparent.

It is freely admitted that there usually comes a time of trial soon after a season of revival; and the integrity and steadfastness of professed converts are sometimes tried as by fire. Still, it is most probable, that the *day* in the text is that day in which God "will judge the world in righteousness;" when "every work shall be brought into judgment." This is the view taken by most commentators. The use of the definite article, *the* day, *the* fire, carries the mind forward to *that* day, and to *that* trial. And the statement appears to be of general application. It refers to all men, all builders, who shall be employed in that work; and the time seems to be that which shall *declare* for them all at once. The language *sounds*, at least, as though the works of all will be tried, revealed, and declared at the same time. If so, it must be after they shall all have done their work.

"*Because it shall be revealed by fire; and the fire shall try every man's work, of what sort it is.*" There shall be a complete and final

Digitized by Google

investigation, which shall accurately determine the works of every builder. It is true, the *works* of professors and sinners too will all be tried, for "every one of us shall give account of himself to God;" but this is not the point under discussion. The apostle is speaking here only of the trial of the builder's work; not of the means employed, or the implements used, but of the work as a result. A man employs a builder to erect a house according to specified description, as to dimensions, apartments, and materials. Now, when the owner of the house comes to examine it, he will not turn his attention in whole, or in part, to the implements used. There were the tools of the quarry-man, with which he separated the stones from the mass, and formed and fashioned them for their places in the building. There were the various means or powers by which these were elevated to their positions. There were the various implements with which the whole building was finished; but these are not the *work* to be examined in order to determine whether the house is built according to the contract. The house itself is the subject and object which is to be tried by the inspection. If several labourers were employed, the work of each will be inspected, and every man's work *declared*. So in the case under consideration. God has men employed to build him a house, which is to consist of men—of persons who, collectively, should be a spiritual house. This house, as a whole, and every builder's part in particular, is to be inspected. The gospel, or the preaching of the gospel, including both public and private teaching, with all the means which a minister uses in the prosecution of his work, are his implements—his *tools*. These are not, in this discussion, considered as his work. His work is seen as a result, and as such it will be subjected to the test. To speak metaphorically, the building is designed to be *fire-proof;* and the test must be applied to the materials which compose it, and not to the implements with which the labourers wrought.

Verse 14. *If any man's work abide—he shall receive a reward.* "They that turn many to righteousness, shall shine as the stars forever and ever." "For what is our crown of rejoicing? are not ye in the day of the Lord Jesus?" Such a labourer shall receive a reward in proportion to his labours.

Verse 15. *If any man's work shall be burned, he shall suffer loss.* If the materials which he brings into this building, which is to be proved by fire, are burned; if his converts are spurious, and will not bear the test, he shall lose his reward. He was never employed to erect a house on *that foundation* with such materials. His work will be burned, and he shall lose his labour and his anticipated reward. It is feared that many will suffer loss in that day who are looking

Digitized by Google

for large rewards; and it is important that all builders receive the apostolic caution, "Let every man take heed how he buildeth thereupon." As no builder can succeed, except in the use of the proper means, or by using the proper implements, it may come to pass that the work will be so badly executed as to cause its rejection. The doctrines and duties inculcated by ministers have a very direct and powerful bearing upon the Christian character of their converts. "Take heed to thyself and to the doctrine," is most important counsel.

Should a minister preach self-conversion, and teach that the only change to be expected is that change of mind or preference which the man effects in himself, he would be very likely to bring into the Church those who will be found on the trial unholy and reprobate. Have not many such found a resting-place in the Church as professedly component parts of the holy temple? Another labourer may teach the doctrine of baptismal regeneration, and lead those under his care to believe themselves in the favour of God, merely through this external rite. In such cases they will scarcely seek for an inward work of the Spirit, by which they may be made partakers of the divine nature. They will be at ease in Zion, fancying themselves secure through the merely outward operation of the administrator; and it will surely be found in the day of trial that this qualification is insufficient. Such work will not *abide*. Without holiness no man shall see the Lord. Another may teach Antinomianism, and lead his converts to *despise*, and not *maintain* good works. They will, through such teaching, remain unholy; and while professing faith in Christ, which is not productive of good works, they will remain under condemnation and be doomed to the fire. Another may use "enticing words of man's wisdom," and draw many disciples to himself, rather than to Christ; and when brought into the visible Church they may know nothing of justification through faith in Christ. Even "the things of the Spirit of God" may be "foolishness to them." Men are sometimes converted to a party, or a faction, and brought into the Church, who have never been converted to anything better. These may say, "I am of Paul, or I of Apollos," and yet be "carnal and walk as men." If this evil be the result of erroneous or defective teaching on the part of the labourer, he is building with *hay, wood*, and *stubble*. The members introduced into the Church, who are of such a character, will not bear the *test*.

If, in times of revival and general excitement, men are brought into the Church who were never converted, it is building with combustible materials. It is feared many of this description have, in

Digitized by Google

years past, been admitted; and the successors of such labourers have inherited a house upon which they must work, where there is more of *wood* as the frame-work, *hay* as the thatch-roof, and *stubble* as the mixture in the walls, than of *gold, silver*, or *precious stones*, to give it beauty and strength. Jachin and Boaz are not there.

Some men may succeed in that part of the work which consists in leading sinners to Christ, who are yet defective in that which is necessary to their future edification. If, through the neglect or unskilfulness of the labourer, converts are left to spiritual famine and death, the workman will suffer loss. It is a very important part of the work of a builder for God, to build up converts in their most holy faith; and if he neglect this branch of duty, many may fall away and perish, and the fault will be charged upon him who should watch for souls as he who must give account.

There are many ways in which a builder may fail in his work, even while, in general, he may be owned and employed by the owner of the building; and, as a consequence of his failures, his work will be burned.

But he himself shall be saved, yet so as by fire. The supposition all along is, that the builder is a sincere Christian. He is a labourer employed by the great Proprietor of the house, and he builds on the true foundation. This shows that the apostle is not speaking of such teachers as were labouring to destroy "the faith," such as would subvert the gospel of Christ. He is speaking of God's labourers. Yet such as are here described are not sufficiently careful or skilful in their preparation or selection of materials with which to build. The result is, some, at least, of their work is burned. But they are not condemned as wicked servants or perverse builders, and, therefore, they shall be saved.

The man who builds *himself* a house of combustible materials chiefly, may put into it some which are fire-proof, yet that house may be consumed by fire so rapidly as to allow him barely time to escape with his life. He has lost all his labour in erecting his house, and all the comfort which he hoped to enjoy in it as his shelter and home. His life is saved, but he is left destitute of many comforts.

So the builder for God has failed to construct a fire-proof house, and he receives no reward for such labour, and is "scarcely saved" himself from the fire which burns his works. This may be the experience of some who, in our day, are acquiring extensive popularity as revivalists, and gathering crowds into the Church for their successors or the fire of the great day to displace.

Verse 16. *Know ye not that ye are the temple of God?* Here the apostle applies what he had so fully illustrated. Know ye not—

Digitized by Google

do ye not now understand—that ye are the very temple I have been describing? As if to take away all obscurity and all doubt of his meaning, he sets a guard both in van and rear. In the van he has placed, "*Ye* are God's building;" and in the rear, "Know ye not that *ye* are the temple of God?" The whole is intended to save us from the error into which so many fall, notwithstanding the precaution. How could he have made this meaning plainer? His Alpha and Omega both declare that the building—the temple—consists of the Church members collectively; and it follows that those who are the builders *must* use *persons* as materials in its erection. And it follows with equal conclusiveness, that the *works* of builders which are to be tried are *persons* brought by them into the Church. He is not discussing the question of individual temples of God; and while it is certain that the Holy Spirit dwells in the heart of each believer, it is certain that here St. Paul is speaking of a building made up of the aggregate of members in that one place.

Verse 17. *If any* man *defile* [destroy] *the temple of God, him will God destroy.* Here is the warning for which he had been all along preparing their minds. By their strife and divisions they were destroying the Church. If they continued to "bite and devour one another, they would be consumed one of another."

The enormity of such an offence is placed before them in its true colours and dimensions. *For the temple of God is holy.* The act which destroys it is a sacrilegious act; and those who are guilty *will God destroy.* Whatsoever tends to this disastrous result should be avoided as both dangerous and wicked. It is no small matter to be guilty of causing schism in the Church, or separations from it; and such as cause divisions and offences will meet a fearful doom, unless they repent.

The subject will justify brief remarks in conclusion. The exposition here given harmonizes in all its parts, and gives an easy and good sense to every expression. All other explanations appear to lose sight of the leading metaphor, which is the key to the meaning of the whole. It is believed that here is nothing strained and nothing fanciful. The whole is not only consistent in its parts, but is also in harmony with the analogy of faith. No violence is done to any doctrine of Scripture, nor to any rule of sound interpretation.

This view accords strictly with the *scope* of the apostle—with his manifest design. On any other principle it is not easy to see why he should have chosen such metaphors, and especially why he should have adhered so closely to the main one, "*We* are labourers, *ye* are God's building." The apostle saw the evils which were rapidly increasing in that Church. It was in imminent peril because of divisions. To

Digitized by Google

bring it back to the way of peace, he places ministers and members in their proper relation to each other, and all in their true relation to God. A familiar, but forcible metaphor is chosen: a building, with the labourers employed in its erection, and the materials used in its construction. The whole subject is treated in a way to cure them of their folly, and avert the threatening ruin.

The subject is eminently practical. It teaches ministers caution and discretion, as well as diligence in their work. In the apostle's days, especially, ministers were the sole judges of the qualifications of candidates for Church membership. It belonged to them alone to select or reject materials with which to build a house for God. They went where no Church existed, and it was their work alone to prepare materials for its erection. They laid the foundation, preached Christ, and when God gave success, as wise master-builders, they made the selection, brought *persons*, as *lively stones*, together, and rejoiced to see the "whole grow into a holy temple in the Lord." Even now the ministers are held responsible, to a great extent, for the character of the visible Church. They are the builders of that sacred edifice, and their work in this respect, as well as in all others, should be performed in view of the *fire* which shall *try*, and the *day* which shall *declare* it.

The subject is eloquent in warning to Church members. Let them know, that if found unholy when they go hence they will be as fuel for the fire. Instead of looking for a moral purgation in that fire, they should hasten to the atoning and cleansing blood. "For behold the day cometh that shall burn as an oven; and all the proud, yea, and all that do wickedly, shall be as stubble. And the day that cometh shall burn them up, saith the Lord of hosts, that it shall leave them neither root nor branch."

Art. VI.—THE HEATHEN AND MEDIÆVAL CIVILIZATION OF IRELAND.

The Irish, it is known, pretend to have possessed learning and civilization, while the rest of Europe, including England, was wrapt in mediæval ignorance. Is this pretension well founded? Did the civilization exist? And if so, to what extent—in what degree? These are questions of high importance, in both their special and their general bearings.

In truth, the first question, besides determining a point of local and

Digitized by Google

national history—the fact that Ireland had an exceptional civilization at this period—would, if decided in the affirmative, present us two ulterior queries: the one, as to the source of this high refinement; the other, as to the cause of its subsequent disappearance. And each of these, again, would subdivide into other great branches. For, of necessity, the source must have been either indigenous or derived. But, if indigenous, it were a thing without example in all history, excepting Egypt—an exception however due only to our ignorance—and if, therefore, derived, then from which of the traditional colonizations? And as to what had caused its loss, the practical question would come to this: Whether England, instead of civilising, as she says, has not in truth rebarbarized Ireland?

Such is the double series of ascending and descending consequences which depends on the decision of the first inquiry. If the decision be affirmative, the consequences become principles for analytical and systematic exploration of Irish history. And if negative, that is, if no such civilization has existed, then its origin and end, and the thousand contests about its splendours, would, of course, be cut off, once for all, by the root; the Irish people would come themselves to see both what they have been, and where they are; and philosophical inquirers would turn attention to a country among the most ancient, the most interesting and most monumental of Western Europe. But to the results of either order, the first and cardinal condition is to have ascertained the fact, whether the civilization did, or did not, exist.

The other fundamental question, as to its nature or degree, would be found prolific of still larger elucidation. For to measure any one degree must presuppose a general scale, which amounts, in this case, to a complete theory of civilization and human history. And then, again, to recognise such theory in the actual developments of a given society, it is indispensable to invoke a philosophy of historical evidence and interpretation. Yet all these principles we are forced to glance at, to bring the question to any issue. It is precisely for want of such a procedure that Irish history is still half-fabulous.

The leading inquiries then are these, in order: 1st. Had Ireland, at any time, from say the first to the twelfth century, a civilization in the proper sense, or at least superior to the rest of Europe? 2d. And if she had, what was its absolute extent, or as compared with the current standard of the present day?

To answer the first, we should begin by defining the thing inquired about. Civilization, then, is the education whether of a special society, or of the entire race. It *commences*, therefore, in the social

Digitized by Google

as in the intellectual being immediately after its independent existence. In this sense, of course, it exists in all communities at all times. But it is only when the collective mind attains that ripeness, that self-consciousness, which the law considers, in the individual, to be the age of responsibility, that its grade of culture gets the name of civilization; just as civilization attains maturity, that is to say, social manhood, with the age of reason, that is, of *science*, in society. Discarding here, then, this last degree, as beyond the province of the present inquiry, the previous social evolution may be divided into two periods. We shall name them the Unconscious and the Conscious Civilization, or, synonymously, the Infant and the Adolescent. The latter is the period of political constitutions, of æsthetical arts, and of inchoative science; the former, that when all these things are still spontaneous and rudimental.

To which description belongs the condition of the Irish nation, at the time in question?

To the earlier, the Infant epoch, responds the English, and, indeed, the general opinion. The Irish had no political organization of the entire people. They had at best but a hierarchy of chieftains, an organization of *personality*, and plunder under the name of tribute. They had manifestly no arts, excepting music and poetry, and these but in a primitive condition. Of science, in fine, they were destitute utterly. In short, so far were they from civilization, of even the Conscious or second stage, that they had not yet the institution that gives it origin, and also name; for, except Dublin, which seems besides to have been, from earliest times, a foreign colony, the Irish had not a single *city* of any consequence throughout the island. They lived dispersed over plain and mountain as agriculturists, and, more commonly, shepherds; they were, therefore, not indeed quite savages, but still barbarians. This, we say, is the most general opinion outside of Ireland.

The Irish deny all this indignantly, and denounce it calumny; and the scholars of impartial Europe, and more especially of France, are coming to yield some countenance to the protest. They appeal to the frequent testimony of contemporary writers; to the records of their literature, of their arts, and of their laws. Let us briefly take the deposition of those monumental writings.

AUTHORS.

Selecting the best informed, the most ancient, we believe, is Cæsar, who says that the Druids (as well of Ireland, of course, as of Gaul and Larger Britain) had a knowledge of Greek letters, and employed the language for public records. The passage has, however, been

Digitized by Google

called in question. It is said to be an interpolation by the famous or infamous Celsus, who certainly could serve a purpose, a double purpose, by the device. For, besides the patriotic one of exalting his country's learning, he had also the controversial one of depressing the Jewish pretensions put forth by Origen, his adversary, to give character to Christianity. And, quite accordingly, the answer of this very erudite father was, that he was not aware the Druids had the knowledge of any letters whatsoever.

Claudian introduces Britain returning thanks to a Roman general for having rescued her from an Irish invasion, in these words:—

> Me quoque vicinis pereuntem gentibus, inquit,
> Munivit Stilico, totam cum Scotus Iernen
> Movit, et *infesto spumavit remige Thetys.*

Ireland menacing England and moving ocean with a fleet! What a notion of their ancient greatness must not such a record give an oppressed people, who have, for centuries back, seen and suffered from the sad reverse. A fleet the Irish had undoubtedly, when England was without one, and which might thus, however rude, inspire the terror the poet describes. But it was merely such a fleet as the savage pirates of the North had often terrified both England and Ireland with; and, like theirs, it was copied from the Greeks or Romans. In fact, the vessels were no more than a mass of planks or trees, tied together, like a raft but rudely shaped into a concave form, and covered over (for all caulking) with oxhides on the outside. Hence the Irish name of *corach;* no doubt, from *corium*, the Latin for hide. And, besides, the art of navigation is among the earliest to be developed, and is, therefore, no criterion of a high civilization.

Passing downward to the seventh century, we meet the best known, perhaps, of all the testimonies, that of the learned Italian Bishop Donatus, whose elegant eulogy upon the arts and the antiquities of Ireland is too familiar to need citation, and will be designated by the opening lines:—

> Far westward lies an isle of *ancient fame,*
> By nature bless'd, and Scotia is her name;
> Her teeming fields are fraught with bearded corn;
> Arms and *arts* her envied sons adorn, &c., &c.

But the value of this testimony is, of course, relative, like the preceding, and depends upon the notion which an Italian ecclesiastic, however erudite, could have, in that age, of either arts or antiquity. We know the arts were all comprised in the *quadrivium* and the *trivium;* and that ethnology went no higher than the twelve tribes of Israel.

Digitized by Google

The antiquity is, however, vouched for by another writer, and of an earlier age, who himself refers it to the authority (which he calls *then* ancient) of the Greek geographers. The following is from Festus Avienus:—

> Ast hinc duobis in *Sacrum*, sic insulam
> Dixere *prisci*, solibus cursus rati est:
> Hæc inter undas multum cespitem jacit,
> Eamque late gens Hibernorum colit.

It appears then that the "Isle of Saints" is not a modern or Christian title; but that Ireland was called the Holy Island in remote heathen antiquity. But whether this species of sanctity implies science, or even civilization, we must leave Ireland and experience to decide.

From the eighth to the twelfth century the passages are numerous in attestation of the preëminence of Irish letters. For instance Sulgenus, at the latter epoch, although an Englishman, writes the following:—

> *Exemplo patrum*, commotus amore legendi,
> Ivit ad Hibernos, *sophia mirabili claros*.

Here is argument that it was the Irish who civilized the English. But what was understood in those days by "admirable learning," may be inferred from the famous epithets bestowed upon their doctors, of "admirable," "angelic," "inexpugnable," "irrefragable," &c. The latter brings to mind a better evidence of Irish eminence than all the declarations of all the writers of all such ages—we mean the living fact of Scotus, the "irrefragable doctor." Not, however, for being irrefragable, as will be noted in the sequel.

The best citation which we stop to make is from the much later but learned Mosheim—whom, however, the Irish do not adduce, we think, perhaps because he was a heretic. With others, on the contrary, this fact will only enhance his credit. To be praised by the praiseworthy was Cicero's test of merit; but to be praised by an enemy, and a religious enemy, is something higher. The excellent author of the Ecclesiastical History says of Ireland in the eighth century: "That the Hibernians were lovers of learning, and distinguished themselves in those times of ignorance by the culture of the *sciences* (!) beyond all other European nations—travelling the most distant lands with a view to improve and communicate their knowledge—is a fact with which I have been long acquainted, as we see them in *the most authentic records of antiquity* discharging with the highest reputation and applause the function of doctors in France, Germany, and Italy, both during this and the following century. But that these Hibernians were the *first teachers of scholastic*

Digitized by Google

theology in Europe, and so early as the eighth century illustrated the doctrines of religion by the principles of philosophy, I learned but lately from the testimony of Benedict, Abbot of Aniane, in the province of Languedoc, who lived in this period, &c." He also adds: "The Irish, who in the eighth century were known by the name of Scots, were the only divines who refused to dishonour their reason by submitting it implicitly to the dictates of authority; naturally subtle and sagacious, they applied their philosophy to the illustration of the truths and doctrines of religion—a method which was generally abhorred and exploded in all the other nations."

Here precisely—although this writer of some two centuries back does not see it—here is the seat of the real distinction and true source of the fame of Ireland. Irishmen alone applied *philosophy* to religion. But they did so, not because they were more civilised than France and Italy; but because they were more free—and more free, because more remote from the crushing centre of the mental incubus that pressed in those days upon southern Europe so as to stupify the human intellect and keep it to rosaries and recitations. How full of reflection is the contrast of Ireland's position towards Rome at that day—all "dark" though the day be deemed—with that she occupies at present! And a contrast no less striking, but more encouraging, is this. Pelagius and Scotus Erigena were damned as heretics by their respective ages; in ours, they are appealed to by many as the greatest glories of their age and nation. Why? Because they alone applied *philosophy* to religion; that is to say, were reformers, were emancipators of the human intellect. This then is as sure a road to the barren applauses of posterity as its conservative opposite is to the honours of the present hour. We admit the consolation is a poor one to a man of sense; but no better can be offered to those whom nature has infected with what is termed, in our Southern States, the "disease of the large head."

The preceding gives a sufficient abstract of the evidence from testimony for the early civilization of the Irish. We should add that other authors might be cited on the opposite side, from, perhaps, all of the same ages and in equal number. For instance, Strabo describes the Irish as cannibals and root-eaters. And alas! are they not root-eaters to this day? And what, again, are their fierce dissensions, their mutual hatreds and persecutions, but a moral form of the ancient physical cannibalism?

However, let us pass to the next article of proof, by which the Irish would evince their early civilization, which is their

Digitized by Google

LITERATURE.

The alleged literature is even still almost entirely in manuscript, and thus its antiquity, whether absolute or relative, is a previous question. By impartial connoisseurs in parchment and chronological chirography, the records are allowed, in large part, to be both ancient and authentic. The extant manuscripts, however, none of them, go further back, it seems, than the tenth century. But very many of them are plainly copies, and perhaps from other copies which themselves had been supplying for centuries the outworn originals. There can, at all events, be then no doubt that a large proportion of the contents must have ranged far back along the ample period we have assigned in the investigation. And besides, the lower they dated, the higher the civilization which must be indicated by their intellectual character, and the more favourable thus the test to the affirmative and Irish side.

But the general character of the whole literature, as well the more modern as the ancient, belongs exclusively to either chronicle or poetry.

The chronicles are more than usually meagre of circumstance and composition, and consist of little more than genealogies and dates. But on these things, the particularity and primordiality leave nothing to ask for. For example, the aboriginal immigration into the island is duly registered as having occurred just "forty days before the flood;" and further, that it was "the fifteenth of the moon;" and to be still nicer, that the day fell "upon the sabbath." We are also given the statistics of this antediluvian immigration, which was composed, it seems, of "three men and fifty girls:" a disproportion which makes one surmise it the Irishman's version of Eden. And then, in pedigree, those Irish annals go back to Noah, if not to Adam. They detail you, with name and date, an unbroken line of Irish monarchs, to the number of one hundred and thirty-six before St. Patrick, and of whom they also record the fall of no less than a hundred in the field of battle. To this heathen list are superadded some forty-eight Christian kings, the line concluding in the eleventh century with Brian Boroihme. And these were monarchs "of all Ireland;" not including the provincial kings, who, though they must be without number, are yet all chronicled with like assurance.

In the Christian times, when war became sufficiently unfamiliar not to seem to the Irish annalist, as it did to Hobbes, the state of nature, the date of battles and the death of bishops are found the most conspicuous topics, and the style makes some pretence to composition. Take the following as a specimen of what would seem the

Digitized by Google

fit forerunner of a sort of eloquence a little distinctive of the nation in later times: "Died, &c., Murray Coffey, Bishop of Derry, and Raphoe, a son of chastity, a precious stone, a transparent gem, a brilliant star, a treasury of wisdom, a faithful branch of the canon-law, &c." This is taken from a compilation called the *Annals of the Four Masters*, the latest, and we believe the most comprehensive in Irish literature, and also its maturest sample, being composed in prose; whereas all the earlier chronicles are written in verse. These will, therefore, fall conveniently for specific review, and in relation to the form, under the second head of Poetry; and again, this head of Poetry under the general title of

ARTS.

Poetry. The earliest extant scraps of Irish poetry as well as letters are three poems, ascribed to Amergin, who is also said to have been the earliest writer of the country, and was brother of Ire, the leader of the Milesian colony from Spain. This primordiality is recorded by a native annalist in the following couplet:—

> *Primus* Amerginus Genu-candidus auctor Iernæ,
> Historicus, judex lege, poeta, sophus.

Here we see Irish literature and genius spring forth full-armed, in all their provinces, at all points, like the Grecian Pallas, from the very first; and this first, be it remembered, at the lowest date, was coëval with Solomon. This sort of universality is, however, an intrinsic evidence of the antiquity, real or relative, of the personage. Precisely the same qualities were given to Solon, to Trismegistus, and even to Alfred. It is the true traditional type of the primitive prominent author, who is always, by *confusion*, what developed genius is by comprehensiveness, to wit, "historian, bard, philosopher combined." The epithet of "fair-kneed" would seem similarly characteristic, and reminds one of the golden-thighed Pythagoras.

It is clear, however, that Amergin cannot be the author of the pieces in question; for one of them makes allusion to the famous palace of Tara, which was not erected for several ages later, and after the full establishment of the said Milesian dynasty. Still, their high antiquity is manifest. The dialect is underlined, in the MSS., with a gloss, which itself is, again, become somewhat obsolete to modern scholars, and in some parts is to be read from *bottom to top*. But whatever be the author or the age assigned to the contents, these productions are of small consequence for either length or composition. One consists of two *rauns*, or eight verses, that is, lines. Another, of twenty verses, or five stanzas or *rauns*. And the third

Digitized by Google

has six *rauns*, or twenty-four lines. The subject is in all military—a confirmation of their antiquity.

There is also another ancient piece, ascribed to the same Amergin, and preserved in the "Seabright Collection" in Trinity College, Dublin. The proof of the imputed authorship is founded on the opening line, which runs: "I am Amergin *Glunzel* (white-kneed) of the hoary head and the gray beard." But the declaration is, on the contrary, a fair presumption of naive imposture. And the suspicion is confirmed by the subject of the poem, which is no other than "The Qualifications of a Bard." This is too self-conscious and systematic for an early epoch. Men sing for many ages before bethinking them of asking how; and in all things, gay or grave, the arts are ripe before the rules are gathered. Still the author wrote in character when he suggests in the bards of those days the now remarkable "qualifications" of a hoary head and a gray beard. For to the contrary of modern times, it is well known that in primitive ages, in Greece as well as Ireland, in Anakreon as in Amergin, old age was thought to brighten, instead of damping the poet's fire. It is, perhaps, that the head, in those times, continued childish to the last interiorly—unlike the ivied ruin, so earnestly sung by the modern poet:—

"All green and gay without, but worn and gray beneath."

To the same epoch (A. M. 2935) is referred another poem in the same Collection of Irish MSS., and of which the author (we forget his name) is said to be the son-in-law of Milesius. The subject is a *lament* on the death of his wife. The next in assigned order dates less than a century before Christ, and is ascribed to Congal, (*Anglice* Connell, the *g* gliding into *y*,) son to the monarch of that period, and also author of a book of laws. This poem, too, is a lament, and is duly longer as being later, though not extending to over thirty-four verses. The external or material evidence of high antiquity seems undoubted; and the mental test of topic is quite accordant. For these *laments* are the primitive form of the lyric order of poetry; as witness their present prevalence among the rudest classes of the same people. The finest extant piece of this description is, however, attributed to a later age; we mean the famous "Lament of Cuchallin," a Fenian hero of the third century, over the body of his dead son, who had been slain by the father's hand. And, the story being no doubt fictitious, the composition should date much lower.

The same remark, as to the mental primitiveness but much restricted antiquity, might be applied to another poem which is referred to the above age, and is a sort of Meliboean contention

Digitized by Google

between two sages, in dialogue. For this is the poetry of the shepherd state—as witness its origin on the Sicilian Mountains, and the language as well as manners of most primitive simplicity, which remain its character along from Theocritus down to Gesner and Shenstone. This Irish specimen belongs, however, much more proximately to the same age than one or two others, more elaborate, which are attributed to Ossian, and consequently fall below at least the third century. These are the poems entitled severally, "Magnus the Great" and "The Chase." And as they are, we believe, the finest and most popular in Irish literature, we may overstep chronology to note their intellectual character. For brevity, however, we must limit our notice to "The Chase," which proceeds in dialogue, as does the other, between Ossian and St. Patrick.

It is a piece of some three hundred and fifty lines in the original, and turns on a feat of magical incantation. Fionn Mac Comhal, the father of Ossian, and chief of the Fenian heroes—a band of Irish Knights-Templars of the third and fourth centuries—gave, one day, in his palace of Alwyn, an entertainment to his followers, in the course of which he left the hall to take the air. As he stood on a hill hard by, he was passed by a milkwhite doe, which the habitual hunter could not resist the temptation of pursuing, with his famous wolf-dogs. He follows her from Kildare to the banks of Loughshieve in Ulster, where the doe is metamorphosed into a beautiful woman in tears. The hero asks her sorrow, and offers his assistance. He is told that she has dropped a ring in the lake. Forgetting or disregarding in the ardour of his gallantry a certain tradition, that any one bathing in the waters became instantly old, he plunged in, recovered the ring, but could scarce return a crawling spectre to the shore. In this plight he is found by his companions, who had come in search of him. What they see, he tells them has been done by a celebrated enchantress who kept her cave in an adjacent hill. This they besiege furiously, and compel the occupant to prepare their chief a draught which at once restores him to his former vigour. Such is the story which St. Patrick is supposed to ask Ossian to relate him.

The poem, however, has a long preliminary dispute between the saint and the bard as to the greatness of the Celtic hero and the Christian God. To prove the glories of the latter, St. Patrick points triumphantly to the wonders of the vegetable world that bloomed around them. To this the heroic heathen replies:—

> It was not on a fruit or flower
> *My* king his care bestow'd;
> He better knew to show his power
> In honour's glorious road.

Digitized by Google

To load with death the hostile field;
In blood his might proclaim;
Our land with wide protection shield,
And wing to heaven his fame, &c.

Then he goes on to allude to the battles fought in this protection, and asks the saint, in relation to such, what the God he boasts of had done in those days for the cause of Ireland, of justice, or of bravery:—

While round the bravest Fenii bled,
No help did he bestow;
'T was Osgar's arm avenged the dead,
And gave the glorious blow.

Thy Godhead did not aid us then:—
If such a God there be,
He should have favour'd gallant men
As great and good as he, &c.

Not by thy God in single fight,
Those deathful heroes fell;
But by Fionn's arm, whose matchless might
Could every force repel.

In every mouth *his* fame we meet,
Well known and well believed:—
I have not heard of any feat
Thy cloudy king achieved.

Nettled at this rather sharp though simple argumentation, the saint breaks into anger, and answers quite abusively. Ossian, however, rejoins with the same generous heroism:—

If God then rules, why is the chief
Of Combal's generous race
To fiends consign'd, without relief
From justice or from grace?

When, were thy God himself confined,
My king of mild renown
Would quickly all his chains unbind,
And give him back his crown.

The apostle here seems softened, and requests the poet to proceed to the story. The maid into whom the doe was metamorphosed is thus described:—

Then he beheld a weeping fair
Upon a bank reclined,
In whose fine form and graceful air
Was every charm combined.

Digitized by Google

In her soft cheek, with tender blooms,
The rose its tint bestow'd;
And in her richer lips' perfume
The ripen'd berry glow'd.

Her neck was as the blossom fair,
Or like the cygnet's breast,
With that majestic graceful air
In snow and softness drest.

Gold gave its rich and radiant die,
And in her tresses flow'd;
And, like the freezing star, her eye
With heaven's own splendour glow'd.

Thyself, O Patrick! hadst thou seen
The charms that face display'd,
That tender form and graceful mien,
Thyself had loved the maid.

This assuredly beats the famous compliment to Helen's beauty by the aged Priam. The whole description is unexcelled by any poet. But the comparison of the "freezing star" has a felicity moreover local; and this both as respects the appearance of the object itself through an Irish atmosphere and the quite peculiar azure of an Irish woman's eye. It is remarkable that this colour is found in Ireland to accompany not only fair, as in all countries, but even the most coal-black hair. It is the meek and magical azure of the Irish female eye to which the French, with a quaint significance, apply the epithet "terrible."

The companions of Fionn, while in search of him, meet a decrepit old man, and

—— Ask him had he seen the chase—
Two hounds that snuff'd the gale,
And a bold chief of princely grace,
Swift bounding o'er the vale.

He drops his head in shame, and only whispers his identity.

With terror struck, aghast and pale,
Three sudden shouts we gave,—
Affrighted badgers fled the vale,
And trembling sought the cave.

They then vow to bring the sorceress to terms, and beset her den for eight whole days:—

Then forth the fair enchantress came
Swift issuing to the light,
The form of grace, the beauteous dame,
With charms too great for sight.

Digitized by Google

A cup quite full she *trembling* bore
To Erin's alter'd chief,
That could his pristine form restore,
And heal his people's grief.

He drunk . . . O joy! his former grace,
His former powers return'd,
Again with beauty glow'd his face,
His breast with valour burn'd.

O! when we saw his kindling eye
With wonted lustre glow,
Not all the glories of thy sky
Such transport could bestow, &c.

Now, Patrick, of the scanty store
And meagre-looking face,
Say, didst thou ever hear before
This memorable chase?

This is true poetry; but it owes its excellence to the age of simplicity, of semi-barbarism which produced it: also, we imagine, somewhat to the temperament of the Irish. This will be better discerned if we contrast it, for instance, in point of delicacy, with the similar ballad of Chevy Chase. It has nothing of the vulgar tone and the brutal bluntness of this fine old ballad. The Chase of Ossian is suffused with the most exquisite combination of that gentlemanly sentiment and infantile simplicity which constituted the ideal of a mediæval knight. The poem belongs, accordingly, most probably to this period. We should add, that the exceedingly spirited version, above quoted, is by Miss Brooks.

Then follows—that is, according to the Irish antiquaries, but, as we conceive, *precedes*—a poem of one hundred and fifty-six verses, of which the character is *genealogical*, and the subject or the object the celebration of the royal family of Connaught. This is certainly anterior, at least in development, if not also in date. It marks the primary or the popular commencement of *epic* poetry, which itself precedes the lyric in even its first and funereal form. The true historical successor to this is the *didactic*, which, in turn, is the rudimental form of the drama.

And in fact, in the chronological arrangement by Irish authors, the next production is entitled "Precepts to a King." It is naturally in a fragmentary shape. But there are also short poems of the same description, deemed contemporaneous. This then was the mental epoch which the ancient Greeks called "Gnomic," and it reached its Irish acme at the commencement of the third century, in the reign of Cormac Mac Art, a sort of Hibernian Pisistratus, who himself wrote a book of *precepts*, which is in verse and preserved entire.

Digitized by Google

To this age, too—though the Irish say earlier—appertains a relic which were really wonderful, unless its character (as we conjecture) has been entirely misconceived. It is called "Precepts of the Poets;" and the Irish patriots thence assume that their literature had a Horace almost as early as Rome herself. But in the absence of all specific acquaintance with the piece itself, we must suspect that they have misinterpreted the title, and thus converted into an "Art of Poetry," what is but a collection of miscellaneous precepts composed *by* and not *for* the poets or wise men. Hesiod would, therefore, doubtless, be a fitter parallel than Horace.

We are now verging upon more famous, if scarce less fabulous times. This royal author, (and it is remarkable that Irish authors were, down to this period, almost all royal or at least connected with royal families—to the reverse of modern times, when such are much more commonly idiots,) this Cormac, we say, was father-in-law to the renowned Fionn Mac Comhal, the personage we have just heard celebrated by his still more renowned son. From this proximity, it has been urged, against the antique claims of the modern Ossian, that if Macpherson's poems were genuine, the originals must be coincident in point of dialect with the productions ascribed to Cormac. But while the latter are incomprehensible to all, except the ripest *Celticists*, the MSS. published by the Highland Society are said to be plain to the least learned reader. The argument seems crudely inconclusive. For, not only by oral tradition, but even by successive copyists, the dialect would, of course, be modified to suit the age. Whether the poems were really Ossian's, in whole or in part, we need not canvass. The pieces above ascribed to him, and which are certainly within our period, say quite as much and perhaps more in behalf of Irish civilization. We merely add that the fourth century is the true epoch of the Celtic Homer, and the last and highest of Irish letters as of heathenism.

With St. Patrick, and Christianity, were recommenced, upon the new theme, the same succession of poetic forms, and first biographies and hymns. The biographical or epic stage is engrossed by versified Lives of Saints. The lyrical is represented by the compilations termed *psalters*, and named after various particular localities; such as the Psalter of Cashel, of Clogher, of Tara, &c. The didactic is represented in the posterior Collections, not of "Precepts for Kings" or "poets," but of "Rules for monks and nuns."

The poetic efforts after this and down along to the eleventh century resume the epic form, but on broader ground. They sing the origin of families, the event of battles, the eminence of dynasties, invasions of Ireland, &c. This is the date and the description of the longest

Digitized by Google

poem encountered hitherto, and the longest, we believe, of entire Irish literature; and yet it counts but some twelve hundred verses—the highest anterior length being but one-fourth. Nor, such as it is, does it presuppose a quite commensurate invention, if only we consider its abundant subject. This was no other than the genealogy of all the sovereigns of antiquity, Assyrian, Persian, Grecian, Roman, &c. Here, in turn, was the prelude to the medley compilations which were conglomerated cyclopedically during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and have been designated from the family or personage by whom, or from the province or locality where, compiled. For instance, the "Book of the O'Kellies;" the "Book of Leinster," "of Munster;" the "Book of Lecan" (Sligo), "of Ballymore," &c. The last, which may be taken as a sample of the genus, is a hodge-podge of all subjects, up to Adam and Eve inclusive. Commencing with this proper starting-point, it passes in order, or rather disorder, down to Noah and each of his sons; thence to the siege of Troy, and the battles of Alexander, and thence to a panegyric on the *mothers of Irish heroes*. The article last-mentioned reminds us curiously of one in Hesiod, entitled similarly, on the "mothers of the demi-gods." The books themselves, as above suggested, are quite analogous throughout, and belong, of course, to corresponding stages of social backwardness. As strikingly characteristic of such an age, it may be added that this Book of Ballymore contains a statement, in a marginal note, to the effect that it was once sold for one hundred and forty milch cows. Be that as it may, it was the last production of our Irish chronicular poetry.

Then followed, quite accordingly, the bards of *satire* and contention, those usual heralds of approaching reason and revolution, and which are always observed to rise on the decline of effete literatures in their incipient as well as ultimate developments. Thus the fall of Greek letters from both their golden and silver ages, in the days of Pericles and of Alexandria, was announced respectively by Aristophanes and Lucian. The "Augustan age" declined with the rise of Juvenal and Persius. The French one of Louis the Fourteenth, with Beaumarchais and Voltaire. The Spanish, with Cervantes and Quevedo. The English epoch of Anne, with Swift, Pope, and Churchill. And the Irish, with Tiege Mac Daire, Lughaidh O'Clery, Angus O'Daly, &c., &c. You laugh at these outlandish names. But what, we ask you, do they lack to sound as sweetly as the others? Merely the prestige of a lofty stage, and the passage through the mouths of ages, that would have worn down their seeming angularities. Not at all, perhaps, poetic genius, and still less satire; for the Irishman is by nature the first of satirists: he has fire,

Digitized by Google

fierceness, intensity, acrimony, subtlety—all things, except refinement.

Concurrently with this transition form, from the versified chronicle to history proper, appeared the earliest compilation in prose. It is the work already cited as the "Book of the Four Masters," but named more properly "The Annals of Dunagall." It was commenced in 1632, in the Franciscan convent of that place, and purports to record the principal occurrences of Irish history, down from the antediluvian colonists aforesaid. Notwithstanding this monkish extravagance, (for the compilers, of course, were monks,) which is not in the least peculiar to Ireland, this register does contain what is, in large part, peculiar to Ireland—a complete, consecutive, and credible body of national annals, extending up, from the period named, as high at least as the Christian era. An English version has been recently completed in Dublin, under the auspices of one of the literary societies, and by Dr. O'Donovan, one of the few remaining great Erse scholars. With the Irish text and copious notes and appendices by the translator, it fills four volumes of massive quarto dimensions. This work may be regarded as the last and greatest of the *native* literature, and was followed in the next century by the History of Keating, the Irish Herodotus.

The preceding survey of Irish Poetry, in its specific characters and composition, discloses nothing, down to the twelfth century, or even to the seventeenth, that does not imply the comparative infancy of the art. This conclusion will be further evident when, in the sequel, we come to indicate that it evinces but a still more infant civilization.

But, although this were true of the topics and texture of the poems, yet the metre, urge our Irish antiquaries, is unequalled for its mechanism; and metre is the distinctive attribute of poetry.

We fear that neither of these positions is quite tenable. Metre is but the form, not the substance, of poetry. It is consequently the earliest in relative proficiency for the sufficient reason that the necessity for it is earlier and more urgent. The original cause of metre is the need of the primitive intellect for a rhythmical, in the necessary absence of a logical, medium of connexion. A secondary aim is to similarly aid the infant memory. It is only in a third stage that, like all the arts of hard utility, it blossoms into a luxury, an ornament of poetry. Hence, for instance, the thousand metres that arose in the middle ages to meet the exigency of the dissolution of the Latin tongue into its modern dialects. It would prove nothing, then, unless indeed the very contrary to what is sought—though we admitted the allegation in behalf of Irish poetry—that it possessed

Digitized by Google

before the Christian era, as many as a hundred varieties of verse. The Troubadours, &c., far exceeded this number, and yet the ages to which they belonged are named the opposite of civilized. We stigmatise them as the "dark" ages by excellence.

But the Irish mechanism is, it seems, peculiar and preëminent. Now, to judge from even the highest specimens of Irish verse above alluded to, we can see nothing to warrant either of those pretensions. The measure is, in almost all of them, the same, and extremely simple. The alleged peculiarity consists, however, in a chime, set in some cases between the final syllable and the cæsura of each line or verse; in others, between these respectively and the answering syllables in the following line; in a third form, the respondence is alternate—alternate as between the syllables of either each of the lines singly, or also of each pair of them continued in the strophe. To these three progressive forms may be reduced, in the last analysis, all the mystical imbecilities of native writers on the subject. We further cite an example of such, but from the Latin imitations—this idiom being less unintelligible to our readers than the Erse.

The example of the first and rudest of these forms of cantilena may be found in the following lines from a hymn by one Ultamus, a bishop of the seventh century, and addressed to St. Bridget:—

> Christus in nostra insula—quæ vocatur Hibernia,
> Ostensus est hominibus—maximis mirabilibus.

Here we see that the emphasis (in contempt of profane prosody) is to be placed upon the final syllable both of the line and the cæsura, and the consonance confined to the separate lines. And this, in accordance with its primitive place, was the mode appropriate to chanting.

The syllabic alternation is exemplified in the following couplet, by Sedulius, a bishop also of high antiquity:—

> A solis ortus cardine—ad usque terræ limites,
> Christum canamus principem—natum Maria virgine.

The third and most complex specimen has been constructed, we believe, on purpose to display this superior artifice of Irish verse. The meaning, therefore, or Latinity, should not be any more scrutinized than we do the schoolboy exercitations in prosody:—

> Te duce stat' præsens' pax'—dudum' dextera pugnax;
> Das bona' munera mas'—funera' dona' dabas.
> Phœbe' libenter' huc—gaude' garrula voce;
> Alma' puella' place—Care dapsilis' duce.

Digitized by Google

The alliteration is so patent and profuse as to need no sign. And yet this climax of the artifice exhibits but a high refinement of the same mnemonical exigence of early metre in general. The Irish versification was itself excelled in very ancient Rome, as witness the following familiar specimens from old Ennius:—

O Tite tute tute tibi tanta, tyranne, tulisti.

And again:—

Machina multa minax minitatur maxima muris.

Yet this had been condemned in very nearly the age of Ennius as a vicious affectation and in bad taste: a proof, then, that the Roman taste and therefore civilization must have been superior, at this confessedly semi-barbarous epoch, to the Irish condition of both, in quite modern times.

From metre the transition would be easy to the art of *music*, had this not been the earlier in development. It was, therefore, not essential to the claim put forth for Ireland, to treat the subject separately from the later art of poetry—the latter in fact substituting all its evidential value—as to prove the greater is *a fortiori* to prove the less. It is true no doubt that Irish music has been preëminent of its kind. And we may also grant that kind to be the true perfection of the musical faculty—its age of sensuous sweetness, simplicity, and soul. Still, it would be thus the incident of an infant civilization. It was by music that Amphion allured the savage Greeks to live in cities, not by reasoning, or even by political economy. In modern societies, too, the love of music, and, of course, the musical faculty present the same direct proportion to the mental backwardness of the people. Not France, nor even Italy, but Germany and Bohemia, America and Ireland, are now the lands of music. Children and the multitude are lovers of music everywhere. And finally, the very brutes (although they show, we think, no partiality for any other of the arts or accomplishments of civil life) are yet, many of them, "*charmed* by the concert of sweet sounds."

It were charity then to Ireland to leave in the background so equivocal a sign as this of civilization. Besides, the art is one, for alleged reasons, which leaves few traces upon record; but Ireland seems to abound in the traditional record of memory. In Dublin there has lately been formed a "Society for the Preservation and Publication of Irish Melodies" (meaning mere airs); and of these, the president, Dr. Petrie, an eminent Irish *savant*, supplies alone, and from his private collection, a mass to surfeit some three large volumes. And other members are, many of them, said to be

Digitized by Google

equally rich in this fairy treasure. But, if Ireland's learned men can be thus occupied at the present, what must we not conclude of her whole people in a remote past?

Of this past her only other art to testify is ARCHITECTURE. And this supplies her far most plausible pretension. Her celebrated Round Towers are a relic otherwise peculiar than the vaunted perfectness of her versification. There is nothing of the kind in any other western country, whether ancient or modern, of the old world; and scarcely anything in the East to be imagined their original. These structures are, then, *sui generis*, and quite peculiar to the Irish. Nor are they much more singular for this than the proficiency which they imply in the architecture and the intellect of the builders. It was recently argued * *a priori*, from their *hollow circularity*, that they evince a civilization beyond the boasted one of ancient Egypt; of which we know the architecture never passed beyond the *angular* state. But the writer seems to take for granted the high antiquity of the Round Towers, and also that the native Irish were the builders. Now one or other, and perhaps both, of these propositions are incompatible with the condition of the nation as now examined in the other arts.

Not but that these mystic edifices are of great relative antiquity. The mystery that shrouds their origin is evidence of this. Even popular tradition, with its usual ignorant confidence, is found to hesitate about the authors of the Round Towers. These were said to be at one time the Druids, at another the Danes, then again the Thouthah de Danaans, who were possibly the same people. General Vallancey was the first to propound an Oriental origin; and thus he opened to succeeding writers a field for every extravagance. The *name*, however, which they bear in Irish, refers these towers to Christian times, and the latest theory advanced respecting them essays to ratify this indication.

The author of this theory is Dr. Petrie—the Irish scholar abovementioned—of British fame for his architectural and antiquarian information. His book (entitled "An Essay on the Origin and Uses of the Round Towers of Ireland") devotes a first part to the refutation of all the antecedent systems, and then proceeds to the establishment of his own. His conclusions may be summed up in the eight following propositions, of which equal numbers represent the negative and the positive reasons for his opinion.

The negative reasons are:—

1st. That there is no evidence that the Pagan Irish had the art of constructing an arch or the use of cement; that nothing of

* Vestiges of Civilization, p. 278, note.

Digitized by Google

either is found in the numberless remains of buildings of that period.

2d. That no building in Ireland ascribed to the Pagan times has anything resembling the forms or features of the Round Towers, and indicating an approximate degree of skill.

3d. That previous to General Vallancey—an author of poor authority—no writer had ever ascribed to the Round Towers any higher than a Christian or at least a mediæval origin.

4th. And that the arguments of Vallancey and his successors have been proved (by Dr. Petrie) to be of no weight.

The affirmative reasons are:—

1st. That the Towers are *never* found unconnected with ancient ecclesiastical foundations.

2d. That their architectural styles exhibit no features or peculiarities not equally found in the original church with which they are connected, when such remain.

3d. That, on several of them, Christian emblems are observable; and that others in the details employ a style of architecture universally acknowledged to belong to Christian times.

4th. That they possess invariably architectural features not found in any building in Ireland ascertained to be of heathen times.

So we see the investigation has been comprehensive and minute. The author's ultimate conclusion is, that they were erected by the church-builders, and that their uses were for belfries in the main; but also that they served occasionally as fortresses or places of refuge.

But why, one cannot help replying, have not the same church-builders, spread over Europe, erected anything of this description in any other spot of earth? This patent objection Dr. Petrie has left untouched. It is an example of the lack of philosophy which is the great defect of his technical essay. If all his statements be quite reliable, he refutes, indeed, his predecessors, and renders positively probable his own position. But he leaves this position a singularity, an eccentricity in Christian history, and therefore such as no rational intellect can be content with upon any proof. There must be not only evidence, but *explanation;* and explanation comes alone of philosophy. Even though the builders were ascertained, therefore, still the "origin" of the Round Towers, that is to say, their *rationale*, would remain to be discovered. Dr. Petrie has, however, established sufficient for the purpose here, in showing that they are neither ancient nor strictly Irish; for if Christian, the art to build them was imported with the Roman creed. In fact, this negative conclusion concurs, on the one hand, with our deduction as to the higher than heathen civilization they presuppose;

Digitized by Google

and on the other, with the preceding survey of the other arts in Ireland which proves that the natives could have attained no such civilization.

LAWS.

Of these the manuscript remains are all unpublished and obscure. Not only the text, but the added glosses, are said to have been unintelligible to even the ablest Irish scholars of the last and preceding centuries, such as O'Connor, M'Firbis, and Lynch. The latter tells us that the Irish laws were, in 686, compiled by their learned men, and entitled "Celestial Judgments." This name speaks sufficiently the barbaric character of the laws. This is confirmed in the following description by the same eminent antiquarian:—

> Quod sit jus cleri, satrapæ, vallisque falcisque,
> Nec non agricolæ, liber iste docebit abunde.

Here are the class and caste laws of barbarism and feudality. And we should add that the representation is from the hand of a special advocate of all things Irish against the alleged calumnies of Cambrensis. Also that this learned Irishman was suspected, as above noted, of being incapable of understanding the earlier text of these Brehon laws.

Of these laws, however, we are now speedily to have an English translation. Lord Eglinton, the present Lord-lieutenant of Ireland, has very laudably obtained from the government a special commission for this purpose, and this quaint code is to be printed at the government expense. How the difficulties of dialect are to be now vanquished, we are not aware. But certainly the production will be curious and useful; useful not only to the philosopher, but also to the historian who would drain off another swamp of Hibernian mist and mirage.

But this publication need not be waited for to pronounce upon the general character and social correlation of these laws. They are manifestly feudal and barbarian; in fact, they coincide in most points with the Gothic codes of the middle ages. All crimes are tariffed for money, which the Irish termed *eric*—the Saxon appellation being *were-gild*. Gavel-kind, another Gothic usage, existed also in the Irish law, and with certain aggravations of its absurdity. Also Fanistry, a sort of political gavel-kind. The latter allowed their kings and chiefs but a mere life-interest in their positions; the former allowed the tenant but a like interest in the land. So with the fall of each generation, the public offices and the private possessions reverted to chaos and a certain species of communism: for communism is the primitive condition of society; and this is why

Digitized by Google

we find it make its reappearance at the present day, when the old systems are fast dissolving towards their foundation.

May not these two fundamental usages have had some influence in perpetuating the political dissensions and the arbitrary tenant-tenure which, even still, are the principal agents of Irish semi-barbarism? Be this as it may, their original character was evidently barbarian; and they furnish a full specimen of the Brehon laws. The Irish had, besides these laws, a compilation called the Book of Rights. It seems to be appropriated to the regulation of the various kinds of tribute—a notion which men conceive without very forward civilization. It was perhaps something approximating to the nature of a statute-book; even as the Brehon code might be distinguished as the "judge-made law" of ancient Ireland.

From its laws, its arts, its letters, and even its laudators, there arises, then, one joint protest against the pretensions of the Irish *nation* to a civilization either such at all as we now distinguish by the term, or even signally superior to the surrounding barbarism. This conclusion might be fully confirmed from other aspects of national interest, for instance language and religion, the most essentially significant. But to give an idea of either would transcend our space. Respecting religion, we may remark, however, that the Irish idols were large stones—the gods precisely, in our own day, of the South-sea savages. The Irish covered theirs, indeed, with gold; whence *cloch-oir* (golden-stone) and the modern Clogher, a bishop's see. Yet, with all credit for this advance, it cannot still be well dissembled, that the *Cromlech* and the *Cromcroagh*, with which St. Patrick had to compete, betray a rather primitive state of intellect, if not of taste.

Thus is answered our first question:—Did a civilization, indeed, exist? And the conclusion being in the negative, of course, the second is superseded, which related, it will be remembered, to the *degree*. A non-existence has no gradations. And as to the Unconscious, or primitive sort of civilitude, the grade attained to by the Irish, and which was certainly quite high, has been designated in the march of the inquiry.

Another result of the conclusion is equally to obviate the double train of difficulties indicated at the outset. Of the "golden age" of Ireland, reduced to rank with all the others, we need no longer discuss the origin, the accidents, or the catastrophe. Thus, at one fell swoop, have all these consequences of the leading query been cut away. Nor are the incidental explications of the second question any more obligatory, since the principal has not itself come into play. Not having had to measure the degree of Irish civilization,

Digitized by Google

we do not want the theoretic scale. And we are too happy, at this late hour, to be dispensed from the necessity. Practically, however, such a scale has been applied through our whole analysis. It has been shown how letters, laws, and arts, such as the Irish, appertain but to a primitive development of intellect; how, among the several arts, the first, as simplest to be cultivated, are successively language, music, and then their joint production, poetry—which make, accordingly, the whole possessions of ancient Ireland in this line; and finally, how the whole æsthetic series may be unfolded without implying a strictly social or scientific civilization.

Art. VII.—THE SIGNS OF THE TIMES.

"Can ye not discern the signs of the times?"—In this interrogatory, addressed to the Sadducees and Pharisees, the infidels and formalists of their day, our Lord intimates that each age has certain characteristics peculiar to itself, which may be called the signs of the times; that these signs may be understood and interpreted by careful thought and inquiry; that we ought, as far as we are able, to read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest them; and that it is our duty, when we have truly discerned the signs of the times, to regulate our conduct accordingly.

The signs of the times are the transactions, events, and general spirit of the passing age. Every age has certain peculiarities of its own, which distinguish it from every other. As no two faces, so no two ages are alike in all things. Time is like a river, ever flowing; but its flow is not always equable. In some places it is more, in others less, rapid. Now it is smooth and placid; now ruffled by winds and tempests. At one time it glides silently along as in a clear and unobstructed channel; at another, it dashes over rocks, circumgyrates in whirlpools, and roars, and foams, and chafes against the various obstructions which impede its course.

The things wherein the present age is distinguished from other ages are the signs of the present times.

Times and seasons are at the divine disposal. The signs of the times, therefore, are such as God makes them. There is an unseen but almighty hand behind the scenes of providence, which brings them forward, directs, adjusts, moulds, and removes them, according as the accomplishment of his purposes demands. Hence the signs of the times signify something, in which the divine counsel and

Digitized by Google

plan are concerned. As the face of the sky indicates what sort of weather is approaching, so are the great events of the age an indication of what God is doing, and about to do, in the kingdom of providence. To discern the signs of the times, is to understand them; to know their significance; to feel their force; and to act conformably to their lessons. God's doings in providence are as instructive as his words in Scripture; and if we are bound to give heed to the latter, an equal obligation lies upon us to attend to the former. The importance of discerning the signs of the times, and, of course, of studying them, is implied in the question of our Saviour; is affirmed in explicit terms in the Bible; and is enforced by examples of divine judgments inflicted upon men in consequence of neglecting to observe and comprehend them. To study and unfold the signs of the passing age, and the duties to which they point, is the design of the present article.

Before entering upon this labour, however, we crave the reader's attention to three preliminary remarks:—

1. We have reached one of the great landmarks of time. We occupy a position midway between the close of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth. It is a position not only favourable to observation, but inviting it. At such a time, to a contemplative mind the past rises to view, as it were, unbidden; and the future, with almost equal facility, shapes itself, to the eye of the imagination, into a picture approximating, less or more, to the solemn realities which the coming years and ages shall evolve.

2. The present age has a character all its own. No times were ever more original, marked, and peculiar, than the times in which our lot is cast. Their leading characteristic is,—earnestness, movement, action, vitality, positiveness. Every day almost is teeming with great events; events having a positive and marked influence upon the destinies of our race. Negatives have no place in these stirring times. It is an age of steam, of electricity, of haste, of prodigious movement and significance. Its best type is its own greatest and most wonderful invention,—the magnetic telegraph.

3. In a survey of this nature, it is important, that we do not confine our observations within too narrow a field. The range of vision should be broad and comprehensive. "Remove the diadem," says the Lord of hosts, by the mouth of his prophet, "remove the diadem, and take off the crown: this shall not be the same: exalt him that is low, and abase him that is high. I will overturn, overturn, overturn it; and it shall be no more, until he come whose right it is; and I will give it him." This passage is based upon a principle,

Digitized by Google

elsewhere expressly affirmed in the word of God, viz., that "the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will." He, therefore, who would obtain a just view of the signs of the times, must not limit his inquiries to the Church and the affairs of religion: but must extend them to all the departments of human activity; to all that is occurring among men; and to the whole world of nature. All the schemes of ambition, all the enterprises of trade, all the revolutions of empires, all the discoveries of science, all the inventions of art, all the refinements of learning, all the projects, doings, and aspirings of men, of whatever name or kind, fulfil the counsel and reveal the purpose of the Most High, as truly as what occurs in the kingdom of grace, and within the enclosure of the Church.

In the prosecution of our main design, we now proceed to inquire into the signs of the times, as they manifest themselves in the world of nature, the world of science and art, the world of learning, the political world, and the religious world.

In the department of nature the proofs of the divine bounty and goodness are manifold and abundant. Doubtless, death is busy in our age, as he has been in all that have gone before it, and will be in all that shall follow it. He is continually striking down his victims with unrelenting and resistless hand; and fatal epidemics prevail from time to time in different quarters of the globe. Nevertheless, famines, earthquakes, pestilences, the sea and the winds roaring, and men's hearts failing them for fear, unwonted and fearful sights, blood and fire, and vapour of smoke, the sun darkened, the stars falling, and the moon rolling through the heavens an ocean of blood,—these are not the signs of our times. The elements are at peace with each other. The earth brings forth abundantly for man and beast. And not only is her soil more prolific, and her harvests richer than at any preceding period, but, obedient to the behests of human ingenuity and skill, she is revealing to the knowledge and yielding up to the use of man stores of wealth and happiness, new, strange, wonderful, and inexhaustible.

In the world of science and art an amazing scene opens upon our view. Here the activity of the human mind, during the last half-century, has been most conspicuously displayed. Here its achievements have been signal and splendid beyond all precedent, throwing all previous ones completely into the shade, and conducting the world to the verge of new triumphs, still more comprehensive and wonderful. The most enlightened nations of antiquity—Egypt, Greece, and Rome—knew no such day as this for invention and discovery. In the monuments of mere taste—architecture, sculpture.

Digitized by Google

painting—we must, perhaps, acknowledge their superiority; but in science and the useful arts, in all that contributes to the progress of man and the purposes of human happiness, at what an immeasurable distance were they behind us!

The strides which science has made within the present century are, indeed, gigantic. Nearly all of what are called the natural sciences, as distinguished from the mathematical and moral sciences, have been born within the memory of men now living. And it would be incredible, if it were not a matter of known certainty, that such a vast multitude of facts as now compose the body of these sciences should have been observed, classified, and marked with so much precision, within such a short period of time.

But the laws of science, however wonderful or brilliant, do not strike the general mind as powerfully as the applications of science to mechanical improvements and the various arts of life. Here the results are tangible and visible; and while they are, on this account, level to every body's apprehension, they produce such prodigious changes in practical life, that they affect almost everybody's interest. Let us glance at some of these applications. The name of labour-saving, time-saving, and expense-saving machines is legion. The number of patents issued at Washington within the present century is over fifteen thousand; and every year adds largely to the amount. The increase is in a constantly accelerated ratio. Almost everything is now done, in whole or in part, by machinery. Books are printed and bound, cloth is woven, fields are ploughed and reaped, boards are planed, grain is thrashed, corn is planted, wood is sawed, merchandise is transported, bricks are made, clothes are sewed, bread is kneaded, clocks are constructed, and a thousand other processes performed, by machinery. In spinning cotton, one man, with the aid of machinery, can perform the work of twenty-five thousand under the old hand system. Chloroform and sulphuric ether now suspend all sensibility to pain during the most difficult and protracted surgical operations. The sun is employed as a painter of pictures, transferring, in a moment of time, to imperishable tablets, the manifold scenes and objects of nature, and the minutest lineaments of those who are dear to us.

But it is in the domain of commerce that science has achieved her proudest triumphs. The steamboat and the railroad are but of yesterday; yet have they already revolutionized the business and the opinions of the world. There are thousands of persons now living whose memory runs back beyond the time when Robert Fulton made his first experimental trip in a steamer on the Hudson River. That was only in 1807; and what mountains of ridicule were heaped upon the projector! And now what do we see? All rivers, lakes,

Digitized by Google

inland seas, and the ocean itself, covered with steam-vessels. Two thousand steamers are plying American waters; one thousand, British waters; and several thousand more, the waters of continental Europe. The railroad is of still later invention Indeed, it is scarcely a quarter of a century since it came into use at all. And now "the entire surface of Europe and North America is reticulated with networks of iron, on which iron-ribbed and flame-breathing monsters whirl enormous loads of freight and vast multitudes of passengers, with the rapidity of the bird's flight." Two years ago the amount of capital invested in railroads finished or in process of construction was estimated at twenty-five hundred millions of dollars. And what astonishing results have followed! At the close of the last century, with the exception of a few military roads, inherited from the Romans, or built by Napoleon, there were no roads in Europe that deserved the name. It was almost as bad as in the days of Shamgar and Jael, when "the highways were unoccupied, and the travellers walked through byways." One Arthur Young, "actually measured ruts four feet deep," and "passed three carts broken down within three miles of execrable memory." Such a thing as internal trade, except by means of inland seas and the larger rivers, was almost unknown. The roads were impracticable for such purposes. Now the bulkiest articles are transported, at the rate of thirty miles an hour, and at an expense little more than nominal, to almost every nook and corner of the civilized world. But a little while ago, the regular time for the transportation of the mail between the cities of New-York and Albany was eight days. Now it is only four hours. These statements will serve to give some little idea of the stupendous, though silent and peaceful revolutions, which steam and coal have produced, within a period commencing since the most of those who compose the present generation came upon the stage of action.

But by far the most wonderful of all the achievements of the inventive genius of man is yet behind,—we mean the magnetic telegraph. Here we have an agent which literally annihilates space and time; an agent, by which persons at the two extremities of a continent can converse with each other just as if they were sitting in the same parlour, and a speech delivered in the Senate of the United States could be read, supposing the wires to be extended across the continent, by a man on the shores of the Pacific as soon as by the President of the republic, whose residence is only at the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue. Quite appropriate is it, that the close of a half-century, signalized by such astonishing progress in science, and the applications of science, should also be

Digitized by Google

signalised by a World's Fair, at which the varied, and brilliant, and countless products of modern genius and industry are enshrined in a crystal palace,—itself a greater wonder than all the wonders it contains.

Doubtless, great purposes in the divine plan are to be answered by all these discoveries, inventions, and contrivances. What those purposes are, in all their relations and results, we may not be able fully to comprehend. The entire breadth of the divine operation is known to God alone; yet has it a meaning open, in some degree, to the lowest intelligence. One plain design of Providence in all these things is to relieve labourers from constant and oppressive toils, and afford them more time for pursuits congenial to their spiritual and immortal nature. Another is, to remove the material barriers by which nations have heretofore been separated; to promote good neighbourhood among them; to melt all hearts into one; and so to hasten the reign of universal love and peace. Still another design, clear as the sun in a cloudless day, is to open an effectual door to the gospel-message in every clime, to facilitate the passage of the gospel heralds to their various fields of labour,—in short, to pave the way for the fulfilment of the prophecy that "many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased."

Our next inquiry relates to the signs of the times, so far as learning is concerned. Here our age has a character quite as marked and original as in any other department. It is not, however, in the depth and vastness of its learning, that the peculiarity of the present age consists. The Bacons, Hookers, Miltons, Souths, Baxters, Howes, Taylors, Barrows, and Owens of former times, have few, if any, representatives in our day. But what we want in depth, we more than make up in breadth. If the few are less learned, the masses are more enlightened. In respect to knowledge, it is an age of expansion, diffusion, universality. This it is which distinguishes it from all the other periods of time. It is the age of the free school and the free press; the age of the cheap book and the cheaper magazine and newspaper. When Dr. Franklin proposed to start a newspaper, his friends dissuaded him on the ground that there were two papers already in the country. With that deep sagacity which belonged to him, he replied: "More papers will make more readers." A great truth, attested by the fact, that there are now published in the United States about two thousand seven hundred newspapers, many of them with a circulation of five, ten, or twenty thousand; while one, "the Sunday School Advocate," has one hundred and ten thousand subscribers; and the "American Messenger" has a circulation

Digitized by Google

of two hundred thousand copies. The million are now readers. To satisfy so vast an intellectual craving, the press pours out its thousands of volumes daily. Many of these, doubtless, are worthless. But the great majority are not so. On the contrary, they embrace works of the highest value, in all the multifarious departments of knowledge, "issued and re-issued," as has been said, "till one doubts whether the world can contain them all. Yet is there no cessation to the labours of the compositor and pressman; for what books fail to hold, is uttered in the periodical and the newspaper, which, like the motes in the sunbeam, fill the whole air. A single religious society will now send the words of John or Paul to a greater number of minds in seven days, than John or Paul could have preached to, had they preached incessantly for seven times seven years." In short, the press in our age, by its prolific energy of production, has become a centre and source of influence mightier and more pervading than the world has ever seen before.

Our fourth inquiry relates to the political world.

And here we observe, that with the advance of human freedom, the world itself is advancing to its great destination of universal light and happiness.

> "'T is liberty alone that gives the flower
> Of fleeting life its lustre and perfume."

Freedom, especially when combined with the higher element of Christianity, ever hastens the development of the higher faculties of man, as well as the promotion of domestic refinement and happiness. Such freedom is the great moving power of human affairs. It is the source of the mightiest and sublimest efforts of human genius. It is the grand instrument of human advancement. Its leading characteristic is energy; energy, arousing the dormant strength of the masses of society; energy, awaking to life and action the power that sleeps in the peasant's mind, the might that slumbers in the peasant's arm. The grandest achievements of intellect, the noblest efforts of valour, the sublimest ministrations of benevolence, the richest fruits of human industry, that have ever illustrated and adorned the annals of our race, have all sprung from this principle. What was Holland, before she became free? The minds of her people were as stagnant as the marshes that covered so large a portion of her soil. But freedom roused them to action. Freedom drew forth and warmed into vitality their latent and lifeless energies. Freedom bridled the stormy waves of the German ocean. Freedom built and manned the ships that poured into her lap the riches of the world. Freedom covered her boundless marshes with a velvet carpet, and made

Digitized by Google

them smile with fertility, and rejoice in abundance. Freedom made her seminaries fountains of light to the nations, and her statesmen, lawyers, and divines, the oracles of their generation.

And what was England, before Magna Charta burst her chains and ended her thraldom? The extinction of fires and lights, enjoined upon her whole realm, when

"The curfew toll'd the knell of parting day,"

was an apt emblem of the darkness which shrouded the minds of her people. Freedom wrought for her as it did for Holland. What is England now? Preëminent, among the nations of Europe, in "all that the wise most seek to know, or the good most desire to do." And we have in her advancement, as compared, for instance, with the stationary condition of China, a striking illustration of the power of the gospel, as an element of progress. Chinese peasants could read and write, when the princes who sat upon the throne of England could do neither. Since then China has made no advance, while England has attained a lofty height of civilization. Her name resounds in all lands; her empire encircles the globe; her keels vex every ocean; her influence reaches to the ends of the earth; and "she sits like a star on the lap of the ocean," emitting a mild and healthful radiance on the surrounding darkness. Wherefore such a difference? Wherefore such a change in the relative position of the two nations? England has had the gospel; China has been without it. That is the whole explanation of the phenomenon.

Let us now turn our regards to our own country, and the continent on which our country holds so conspicuous and prominent a position.

In eastern fable, the world is a harp. Its strings are earth, air, fire, flood, life, death, and mind. At certain periods, an angel, flying through the midst of heaven, strikes the harp, and its vibrations are those mighty issues of good and evil which mark the destiny of our race. At one time, tempests, earthquakes, inundations, war, famine, and pestilence follow the mystic touch. At another, all nature is dressed in smiles and flowers. The earth is covered with waving grass and luxuriant harvests. The fields are gay with bloom. The air is filled with fragrance. Rich flocks and herds crown the hill-tops, and spread themselves out over the valleys. And laughter rings out its merry peals upon the glad ear of hope.

This is the fable. The moral is obvious. The mighty tract of human affairs is marked by great epochs. Time is full of eras. Every nation has its eras,—its birth, its revolutions, its great deliverances. Every family has its eras,—eventful occurrences in the domestic history. Every heart even has its eras,—the wedding-day,

Digitized by Google

the death of a dear companion or a first-born child, the last farewell of a departed friend.

The mystic harp was touched when our pilgrim fathers set foot on Plymouth Rock; and its quivering strings discoursed their most eloquent music. The burden of the strain was,—human freedom; human brotherhood; human rights; the sovereignty of the people; the supremacy of law over will; the divine right of man to govern himself. The strain is still prolonged, in vibrations of ever-widening circuit. That was an era of eras. Its influence is fast becoming paramount throughout the civilized world. Europe feels it to her utmost extremities, in every sense, in every fibre, in every pulsation of her convulsed and struggling energies. The great birth of that era is practical liberty; liberty, based on the principles of the gospel; liberty, fashioned into symmetry, and beauty, and strength, by the moulding power of Christianity; liberty, which "places sovereignty in the hands of the people, and then sends them to the Bible, that they may learn how to wear the crown." What a birth! Already is the infant grown into a giant. Liberty, such as it exists among us, that is, impregnated and vivified by gospel principles, and freed from all corrupt and corrupting alliances with royalty, has raised this country from colonial bondage and insignificance to the rank of a leading power among the governments of earth. It has given her a career unparalleled for rapidity and brilliancy in all the annals of time. The five millions of population which her territory contained at the beginning of this century have swelled to twenty-five millions. Her one million of square miles have expanded into nearly four millions. Her sixteen states have grown into thirty-one. Her navigation and commerce rival those of the oldest and most commercial nations. Her keels plough all waters. Her maritime means and maritime power are seen on all seas and oceans, lakes and rivers. The growth of her cities seems more like magic than reality. New-York has more than doubled her population in ten years. The man is still living who felled the first tree and reared the first log-cabin on the site of Cincinnati, and now that city contains one hundred and fifty thousand souls. It is larger than the ancient and venerable city of Bristol, in England.

Such has been our career, and such are its results. In resources, present and prospective; in available talent; in popular education; in religion; in practical philanthropy; in indomitable industry, to which obstacles are but incentives,—we would not, at this moment, exchange conditions with the proudest nation on the globe. We are, in every sense, a positive people. Negatives have no place in the elements either of our nature or our institutions. Every man, every

Digitized by Google

organization, is instinct with earnest vitalities. Science, among us, is in order to art; and art is the handmaid of utility. Philosophical speculation itself is valued only as it conducts to practical issues. Life is a great school, in which the problems to be solved are realities, not abstractions. Thought, decision, action, are the grand elements of our character. Thus situated, and thus characterized, we cannot, if we would, avoid a high and momentous responsibility. We hold a trust of mightiest significance. We hold it in the sight of suffering and struggling humanity. Our example and destiny must affect millions of our fellow-beings in their most vital interests. The behests of Heaven are upon us. Let us see to it, that the trust is not betrayed by exalting faction over patriotism, and by giving to party what is due to mankind.

When the nineteenth century opened, the United States was the only republic on the American continent. What astounding changes have since taken place in this western world! There is now but one country on the whole continent—the empire of Brazil—where the monarchical form of government still continues to prevail. All the rest, excepting Canada, in imitation of the United States, have, by successive throes, cast off colonial dependence and bondage, and, having thus redeemed a continent from the grasp and tyranny of foreign domination, now rejoice in the name, and strength, and elastic vigour, and energy of young republics. And there are pregnant indications that a similar destiny awaits the only remaining monarchy; that, ere the lapse of many years, the empire of Brazil will have been blotted from the map of America; and the imperial crown and purple, as appertaining to this continent, will be known only as among the things that were.

Contemporaneous with these transactions on the western continent, great movements have been going on, and great results have been effected in other parts of the globe. As far back as 1787, that intelligent and sagacious emperor, Joseph II. of Austria, observed, that the American revolution had given birth to reflections on freedom. The fact, which the penetration of that monarch discerned at so early a day, now stands out, with the clearness of sunlight, to the observation and knowledge of the whole world. The people of Europe have deeply felt this influence; and their sentiments, and opinions, and action have been greatly modified thereby. High thoughts, high hopes, high aspirings have been kindled in men's bosoms by the example of American freedom. During the entire of the half-century now closed, there has been a perpetual struggle on the part of power to retain and enforce its rule. Revolutionary

Digitized by Google

agitations have never ceased; but they burst forth with a violence, hitherto quite unknown, in the great crisis of 1848. Then kings fled. Tyrannical ministers fled. The pope fled. And it seemed as if the whole system of aristocratic and arbitrary rule was about to fall into irretrievable ruin. Great was the tumult of kingdoms, deep calling unto deep, with responses loud and portentous. There is a lull in the storm at present; but the tempest is not over. There is a suspension of the volcanic action; but the lava boils and rages, deep in the bowels of the fiery mountain. In due time, it will burst forth, and there will be an eruption of popular power that will bury despotism deeper far than the lava and ashes of Vesuvius entombed the cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii. We have a most significant token of the times, in the present condition of the papacy. Never before, since Luther hurled his iron gauntlet at the door of the Vatican, has Rome tottered and reeled as under the heaving of the political earthquake of 1848. The papacy, though not dead, is dying; and, like an expiring giant, it puts forth gigantic energies, even in the death-struggle. Its latest usurpation, the daring attempt to reëstablish its ecclesiastical rule and cast the fetters of its worn-out superstition over gospel-enlightened England, is not the effect of conscious health and power, but rather a spasm of waning vitality.

But American thought, American genius, American freedom have extended their influence far beyond the confines of European life and society. Turkey, Egypt, Algiers, and a long belt on the western coast of Africa, have felt their genial power. The Sultan has established religious liberty by law. Persia owns the healthful pressure of Christian intelligence. In India, England has subjected to her laws, and is bringing under the power of her civilization, an empire of one hundred and fifty millions. She has unbolted the gates of the celestial empire, and thrown open to all the agencies of Christian benevolence a population of three hundred and sixty millions of souls. She has discovered, and peopled, and blessed with gospel light and institutions, the vast island, or, more properly, continent, of Australia. The wild Indians of America, the roving hunters and herdsmen of Asia, the imbruted savages of Africa, the cannibal barbarians of Polynesia, and the stolid and changeless dwellers in the flowery land, fenced round as they have hitherto been by an adamantine wall of prejudice, have all been breathed upon by the influences of a higher life.

Before leaving this branch of the subject, there are two other signs of the times which deserve a distinct, though it must be a brief, notice. One is the growth, power, and character of the Russian

Digitized by Google

empire; the other, the swelling floods of foreign immigration continually pouring into this country.

Russia, as a European power, started into being nearly contemporaneously with the United States. Her growth has been quite as rapid. The elements of her power are,—a territory covering a full seventh of the earth's surface; a population of fifty-four millions; a standing army of one million well-disciplined soldiers; a vast military and commercial marine; extensive manufactures; inexhaustible resources of wealth; the most ambitious hopes and aspirings; and, last though not least, the bounding vigour and elasticity of a youthful existence. She is the leading power of the old world. She dictates the policy of most of the European cabinets. As to her government, she is the impersonation of despotism. She centres all authority in a single head, all power in a single arm. The whole virus of European absolutism is distilled and concentrated in her. There must be some great design of Providence in this. Mr. Godwin has made a rational conjecture as to what it is; viz., that by the defeat of a single power, when the fulness of the time for Russia's fall has come, tyranny might be extinguished forever, blotted by a single blow from the face of the whole earth.

We have mentioned immigration into this country as another pregnant token of the times. Famine, oppression, and political disturbances at home, and the inviting prospects held out by these climes of the setting sun, are rapidly draining the old world of its superabundant population. Within the last ten years, nearly three millions of British subjects have transferred their home to our shores, and their allegiance to our government. From Germany, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, and Hungary, the emigration has been, during the same period, unwontedly great. The stream continues to flow steadily, with a constantly widening sweep and accelerated force. This stream is already beginning to be met by a contrary current setting towards the shores of the Pacific, now our western boundary, from the isles of the ocean and the countries of eastern Asia. So numerous are the immigrants from China, that they have erected an idol-temple in San Francisco, the first that ever polluted American soil.

From this rapid survey of the signs of the times in the political world, it is manifest, that Providence is teeming with great designs, that the future is pregnant with stupendous and beneficent events. "The world is opening to receive a Christian civilisation, by which the process of universal redemption will be rapidly consummated."

Our last inquiry relates to the domain of the Church.

In glancing at this department of our subject, we are constrained

Digitized by Google

to exclaim, "What hath God wrought! How wonderful are his signs!" Great are the changes that have been wrought, and the results that have been achieved, within the last fifty years. Until a few years before the opening of the present century, no sect of Christians had sent out missionaries to the heathen, except the Moravians. No Bible, tract, or missionary societies were in existence. An infidel press was busy in scattering its pestilent productions far and wide; and the poison of infidelity had distilled its venom deep into the vitals of society, corrupting the very fountains of social virtue. No bow of promise in respect to the heathen world had as yet appeared in the spiritual heavens. The cities of northern Africa were nests of pirates. Her long line of western coast was a mere hunting-ground of slaves. The British East India Company refused to let a single missionary set foot on the soil of India. Walls of adamant shut out the heralds of the cross from China, from Japan, from Turkey, from Persia, and from the territories of the papacy. Few of the languages spoken on the islands of the sea, the continent of Africa, and by the various tribes of American Indians, had ever been reduced to writing; and they were all scanty in terms fitted to convey the truths of the gospel to the mind. The written languages of Asia were but little if any better suited to such a purpose. The Bible was translated into scarcely one of them. Such were some of the obstacles and discouragements in the way of missionary efforts for the conversion of the heathen.

But what a change! Almost the entire globe is now freely open to missionary labour. The spirit of intolerance is chained. There is no beheading and no burning for religious opinions in any quarter of the earth. Christ crucified can be everywhere preached in safety. The chief of the Ottoman empire now protects and honours the faith which once he destroyed, since he sees it bringing forth abundantly the fruits of righteousness. "Scarcely an evangelical denomination exists that has not its society for giving the gospel to the heathen. The missionaries of these societies are found over the whole world: in our western wilds; on the islands of the sea; in Labrador and Greenland; far towards the centre of Africa, as well as along its extended coasts; dotting with their stations the Ottoman empire and Southern Asia; and gaining a foothold on the sides of China. They are already numbered by thousands. Everywhere churches are springing up. Those among the heathen who call upon the name of the Lord are hundreds of thousands. In one instance, that of the Sandwich Islands, a nation has been created. More than two hundred versions of the Bible have been made and circulated. When a language had not been

Digitized by Google

written, its fleeting sounds, as they issued from the tongue, were caught and fixed; its laws determined; and at length, after incredible pains, they to whom written words had been a matter of greatest astonishment, were able to read, in the tongue in which they were born, the wonderful works of God."

At the beginning of the present century, there were not four millions of copies of the Bible on the globe. Since then more than thirty millions of copies have been issued by Bible societies alone, a greater number than had been issued in all preceding ages, since the invention of printing; and these are over and above the millions that have been published by private enterprise. When the century opened, the Scriptures had been printed in languages spoken by about two hundred millions of people; now they have been published in languages spoken by the great majority of all the dwellers on earth's isles and continents.

Such are the signs of the times in the department of the Church. The world lies open for the reception of the gospel, and a great highway has been cast up for spreading the knowledge of salvation to the utmost limits of human abode. The benevolent institutions of the Church are sending out their agents by thousands, and causing a wonderful increase of knowledge. Steam-presses are scattering the words of life far and near, in every direction, thick as autumnal leaves. The corrupting alliances of religion with worldly pomp and power are giving way. The crescent is no longer a fitting emblem of the Moslem faith; for its moon is on the wane. The papal superstition, which has degraded Christianity almost to a level with paganism, and the idolatries of paganism itself, are sinking into decrepitude together. The papacy, which flourished in the darkness, is confounded by the blaze of day; and false religions, the most venerable for their antiquity, the most deeply-seated in the hearts of men, and the most strongly entrenched in their prejudices, are melting away before the genial warmth of a better faith. Even in India, the great stronghold of idolatry, a moral revolution is in silent progress, which is shaking the system of Hindooism, blotting out its darker features, and introducing into it more liberal and enlightened elements. The star of hope for the benighted nations shines brighter, and peers higher above the horizon, than ever it has done before. In short, all things seem tending to one grand consummation, when the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ, and he shall reign forever and ever; when the whole earth shall become a great temple, whence prayer and praise shall ascend to the universal Father from the hearts of all his children. Well may our hearts exult in these bright tokens of coming glory,

Digitized by Google

as they catch a portion of that joy which swelled the hearts of the eastern sages, when, on leaving Jerusalem for Bethlehem, they saw the star that guided them to the spot where the infant Redeemer was cradled.

The signs of the times, as thus developed, lay upon us solemn duties and inspire cheering hopes. We proceed to unfold both the one and the other.

Here we observe, first, that the signs of the times point to a great duty incumbent upon us, as American patriots. It was a celebrated saying of Archimedes, that, if he had a fulcrum for his lever, he could move the world. The dream of the ancient philosopher is the realization of our youthful republic. Standing upon the soil of freedom, and using the lever of Christian civilization, we have a place whereon, and a power wherewith, not only to move the world but to transform it from a desolate wilderness into the garden of the Lord, covering it with the light of truth and the beauty of holiness. There are two principles, American principles we may call them in a preëminent sense, which may be made to mould and sway the destinies of this earth. These principles are popular constitutional government and universal Christian education. If we are true to our position and the trust which it involves, these principles will move on, with a constantly increasing momentum, till they shall have completed the circuit of the earth, dropping everywhere, in their course, the inestimable blessings of truth, liberty, virtue, refinement, and happiness. Such is our mission as a nation; such the part assigned us by Providence in the great work of improving human affairs. Our path is straight onward, and as clearly defined to the view as the milky girdle of the heavens in a cloudless night. We must stand by the constitution of our country. If that perish, our happiness perishes with it; the hopes that now swell the hearts of millions of our race are extinguished; the sublime enterprises of Christian philanthropy are arrested; and the chariot-wheels of the gospel, that are now rolling on to the conquest of a world, are stopped, turned back, and made to recede far within the line to which they have already advanced. We must stand by the laws of our country, frowning upon those sentiments of revolutionary violence which have of late been so freely proclaimed from various quarters. We must stand by the rulers of our country, honouring them as the ministers of God to us for good. We must stand by the schools of our country, multiplying and purifying these fountains of knowledge. We must imbibe the spirit, and pray the prayers, and live the life of Christ; for then are we the best citizens when we are the best Christians. A free government, a

Digitized by Google

free gospel, a free education, an open Bible, a reverence for law, and an enlightened, earnest, active piety,—these are the appropriate, the vitalising elements of American institutions and American character. To give them a broader development and a higher activity is the paramount duty of American citizenship.

We observe, secondly, that one of the signs of the times, noticed above, involves a duty which presses with great force on American Christians,—we refer to the foreign immigration, which is pouring, like the tides of the ocean, upon our shores. The oppressed and stifled millions of Europe are rushing to this new land of promise, to breathe the air of hope and freedom. A stream of Asiatic and Polynesian immigration has already begun to set towards our territories on the Pacific coast. We may not be able, and probably are not able, to comprehend all that God intends by this movement; for his purposes, in whatever he does, stretch forward into eternity, and spread themselves out over his illimitable empire. Yet there is a meaning in it that we can understand. We may not know enough for curiosity; but we know enough for duty. Our cravings may not be satisfied by what we see; but our conscience is bound by it. To these strangers from such a multitude of strange lands we owe many and solemn duties. The first is a Christian welcome to our shores, a Christian care for their bodily comfort, and a Christian solicitude for their spiritual welfare. Then we owe them the blessings of a Christian press,—the Bible, the tract, the religious newspaper, and the volume breathing the gentle spirit and freighted with the living words of Christ. Next we are under obligation—God has laid this obligation upon us by sending them here—to provide a body of devoted missionaries, who may preach to them the story of the cross in the various languages wherein they were born. We owe their children a Christian education. Every proper inducement ought to be held out, and every proper effort made to bring them into the common school and the Sabbath school, where they may be taught to practise the duties of citizenship here, and to aspire to the privileges of a higher citizenship above.

For ourselves, we do not share in the fears felt by many on account of the influx of foreigners. We do not believe that our institutions are thereby endangered. On the contrary, we feel thankful to the sovereign Disposer of all good, that we have a country which is the true Bethesda, a house of mercy for the suffering of all lands. It is true, they come here deeply ignorant, but they come that they may be enlightened. It is so much work brought to our own doors, without the labour and expense of seeking it elsewhere. Lessons of wisdom are here

Digitized by Google

imparted to them, which neither they would have been so apt to learn, nor we so earnest to teach, if they had stayed at home. When they become fellow-citizens with us, we *must* instruct them. The penalty of neglect is our own ruin. Either we must give the truth to them, or we must lose it ourselves. Thus to all the other motives impelling us to seek their enlightenment and conversion there is superadded the powerful one of self-interest.

But we believe that Providence has a higher end in view than the benefit which these emigrants receive here. There is an incident in the early history of the Church which is highly instructive in this connexion. At the wonderful effusion of the Spirit on the day of Pentecost, there were present, and among the converts, persons from all parts of the civilized world. These, when they returned to their respective homes, carried the story of the cross to the ends of the earth. So it may be, so it probably will be, in this case. God has sent these "sons of the stranger" to school in this western hemisphere, to learn our religion, laws, and institutions; that, when the door is opened in providence, they may carry these blessings back to their father-lands.

We observe, thirdly, that the signs of the times call for a higher type of Christian character, for a more active, stirring, laborious piety, than the exigencies of the Church have heretofore demanded. The essentials of personal religion must ever be the same; but they will manifest themselves variously, according to the varying circumstances in which they may be placed. When war is at our doors, when pestilence is marching through the land, when famine is piling its dead in our streets, when the fires of persecution are raging, when death is in the dwelling, the behaviour of a Christian is different, and ought to be different, from what it is under circumstances the reverse of all this. So the aspect of the times will modify the bearing of the Christian. The colour of the age, so to speak, will tinge the piety of the age. The Puritans of the age of Baxter were men of deep religious feeling, and acted up to their convictions, as much as men ever did. But we must not ask how much the Christians of that age gave for the conversion of the heathen, in order to judge how much the Christians of this age ought to give; for the conversion of the heathen was then scarcely thought of. Two thousand godly ministers were then driven from their pulpits, and they retired to their closets to write books; for which God be praised. If the same thing should happen to-morrow, the sun does not shine upon the regions which would not resound with their voices, before he had completed another annual revolution.

To know, then, what is the particular phase of Christian character

Digitized by Google

which God would have us wear, it is only necessary to inquire, "What are the signs of the times? What is the spirit of the age? What do passing events foretoken?" If, then, it should now be asked, in the words of the prophet, "Watchman, what of the night?" The answer is furnished by the same divine book, "The morning cometh." Yes, the time of rest, the promised Sabbath, is approaching. The millennial era is casting its goodly shadow before. And no other times have ever portended the millennium. The apostolic age, glorious as its signs were, did not. That age could not give the Bible to the whole world; and without a general diffusion of the word of God, as experience has shown, there cannot be much stability of religious doctrine. Hence the ten centuries of darkness which afflicted the Church—a darkness nearly as deep as that of the paganism out of which she had emerged. The signs of the Reformation times did not promise the millennium. The idolatries in the Church gave the reformers too much trouble to leave them much time to think of the idolatries out of it. The pagan world was then almost as much unknown as if it had belonged to another planet. The Scriptures had been translated into but few of the languages of earth. The means of intercourse between distant places were limited. Conveyance was slow, cumbrous, expensive, and perilous. There were no facilities for multiplying Bibles, tracts, and religious books. Indeed, few had then been written, except by monks and schoolmen; the former, silly legends of pretended saints; the latter, finespun and ponderous metaphysical treatises. Nobly, and with unrivalled ability, did the reformers do battle against the errors and absurdities of popery; but to usher in the millennium was not their mission. That is an honour reserved for our times; a laurel, with which the Church of the nineteenth century shall encircle her brow, if she do not prove recreant to herself and her God.

It is a blessed privilege to live in this age,—an age of such high and glorious promise. Better to live now than to have been attendants upon the personal ministry of Christ. Better to live now than in the millennium itself; since we may share in the glory of hastening its approach. But the spirit of the millennium must breathe upon us, or we shall do little towards promoting the coming of the millennium. The piety of the Puritans, the piety of the reformers, the piety even of the apostolic age, is not the piety which the present times demand. We want a giving piety; a missionary piety; a piety that feels as Christ felt, and acts as Christ acted, and prays as Christ prayed; a piety that is ready to forsake kindred, home, and country, and go far hence among the Gentiles. We want missionary merchants, missionary farmers, missionary mechanics,

Digitized by Google

missionary lawyers, and missionary physicians, as well as missionary preachers. We do not mean simply men of these callings to go to heathen lands; but men in all the walks of life, who, here at home, will plan, and work, and live, with the sole end in view of accumulating means to carry forward the benevolent operations of the day. There are some such. But the number ought to be greatly increased. Increased did we say? The Church of Christ, in these days, should contain none who do not act on this principle. A Christian ought to be a follower of Christ; and for what end did Jesus live but the salvation of the world? The furtherance of the gospel, the conversion of the world,—this is the one grand pursuit, which all Christians ought now to propose to themselves. Behold the spirit, the manner of life, and the end, which become the Church of the living God in the present age. Behold the spirit, and imbibe it. Behold the manner of life, and conform to it. Behold the end, and pursue it.

There is, indeed, a constant demand upon Christians to live for the promotion of His cause who redeemed them with his blood. But as surely as the heavens do rule in the affairs of men, this claim presses at the present day, with redoubled force, upon the conscience of the Church, enforced by those signal operations of the divine hand which mark the current century. Let this consideration stir us up to an equally signal exemplification of the power of godliness. "This is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith." Faith enables us to devote our life to the good of those whom we know only as redeemed by the blood of Christ. Faith emboldens us to assail forms of error and of sin, hoary with age, and entrenched in prejudices firm as the lasting hills. Faith gives us heart to toil on, and die in hope, even with the darkness of midnight still resting on the mountains; how much more, when the golden light of the millennial morn is seen shooting above the spiritual horizon. Faith has a might which is infinite, for the strength of omnipotence is hers; and eternity will vindicate her claim to it.

The most exalted and animating hopes are inspired by a survey of the signs of the times. We do but give utterance to the honest conviction of our judgment in expressing the opinion, that, if the whole Christian Church would come up to the mark of duty, if Christendom itself were thoroughly christianized, there is talent enough, wealth enough, and numbers enough, to accomplish the evangelization of the globe within the present century. We cannot but give a momentary indulgence to the pleasing dream that all Christians will open their hearts fully to the influence of the signs

Digitized by Google

of the times. Assuming that this will be so, our thoughts bound forward to meet the men who shall stand in the pulpits of the earth on the first Sabbath of the next century. What a vision of glory bursts upon our eye, and ravishes our soul! The light that shines from Zion's hill is streaming all around. The dominion of Buddha, throughout all the wide realms where his sceptre once bore sway, has been superseded by the dominion of the Prince of peace. The shasters of Brahminism have been exchanged for the oracles of the true God. The hundred thousand deities of the Hindoo pantheon, with all the other idols of the nations, have been banished from under the heavens; their temples are fallen; and their worship is perished. The vision that filled the prophetic eye of the psalmist, when he saw Ethiopia stretching out her hands unto God, is accomplished; and the breathings of a new and higher life stir the soul of the whole African continent. The horrors of the middle passage are known only in history. The thousand islands of the Pacific have heard and embraced the news of a crucified Redeemer. The false prophet of the Moslem faith has fled abashed before the true prophet of the Christian faith. The man of sin has filled up the measure of his iniquities, and has sunk beneath the floods of divine wrath, to appear no more forever. The blindness of the Jews is ended in their cordial reception of Jesus of Nazareth. The eyes of a pantheistic philosophy, and an infidel science, have been couched; and they now see and own their God. The crimson banner of war is furled; his bloody footprints are erased; the trumpet of carnage is hushed; and the chariot of conquest is burnt in the fire. The abundance of the sea—not only the isles which gem its shining bosom, but the riches, power, and glory of commerce—have been converted unto God. In every region of the globe the spires of Christian temples leap exulting to the skies. The worship of this Sabbath—the first in the year 1900—begins on the shores of eastern Asia in the crowded cities of China, Japan, and Australia. The strain, swelled by hundreds of millions of voices, traverses the broad expanse of the eastern hemisphere; leaps across the Atlantic wave; rolls onward, as the hours advance, till it mingles with the murmurs of the Pacific Ocean; is caught and repeated by the dwellers in the sea; and is prolonged from isle to isle, and from group to group, till it fairly completes the circuit of the globe; and the sublime words of the Christian poet are fulfilled, that

"Earth rolls the rapturous hosanna round."

To this consummation all prophecy points; to this all things are now visibly tending. The glorious jubilee may not be so near at

Digitized by Google

hand as we have supposed; but it will surely come. The future is full of sublime promise;—to the Father of all ages we may commit that future with a serene and unfaltering courage. Out of Zion, the perfection of beauty, God will shine; and the Redeemer, appearing in his glory to reign over a ransomed world, shall wear the crown of his millennial kingdom. When the Judge of quick and dead shall sit upon the great white throne, and reality shall have taken the place of seeming, to have contributed but a single prayer to that result, to have swelled by the addition of two mites the charity which has borne the lifeboat of the cross to the stranded and perishing nations, to have bestowed a draught of cold water upon a weary missionary panting at his work beneath an equatorial sun, will be accounted a higher honour, and will meet a better reward, than to have returned from the conquest of a world with garments rolled in blood, and followed by the shouts of applauding millions.

Art. VIII.—FATHER REEVES.

Father Reeves, the Methodist Class-Leader: a Brief Account of Mr. William Reeves, Thirty-four Years a Class-Leader in the Wesleyan Methodist Society, Lambeth. By Edward Corderoy. 18mo., pp. 160. New-York: Carlton & Phillips. 1853.

In the winter of 1808, a poor young countryman found his way to Lambeth Chapel, London. He listened to the message to the Church of Laodicea, opened his heart to the word, and determined to lead a new life. The record of that life is given in the book named at the head of this article,—one of the richest of those "annals of the poor" which illustrate so beautifully the history of Methodism as of Christianity. The story of his early life and conversion is told in a simple autobiography, which forms the second chapter of the volume; and much of what follows is made up from manuscript records left behind him by the good old man. The whole history shows how a single aim can give energy and even glory to the humblest life; how a determination to do the *nearest* duty can make out of an artisan, toiling for his daily bread from youth to hoary age, an apostolic missionary of religion. Mr. Reeves was, through life, a journeyman coach-maker, who probably never earned more than eight dollars a week—in most of his best days rarely more than seven—and who yet

"always maintained a comfortable though frugal home; always sustained according to his ability the institutions of Methodism; saved a trifle for old

Digitized by Google

age; and late in life records rejoicingly, 'that the Lord blessed him in soul and body, in basket and in store,' and 'had indeed led him into green pastures, and beside still waters, and had given him *all* he required.'"—P. 25.

In 1818 he was made a class-leader, and it was in that service that his capacity for usefulness was specially developed. One of his first manifestations of zeal and faith took the form of self-denial:—

"A few years after the appointment of Mr. Reeves as a leader, his classes were largely increased: then came a time of trial.

"He found that working 'from six o'clock in the morning to eight at night,' left his 'time to visit the sick and the absent members too short.' He felt called upon to make sacrifices: his faith in God's promises was put to the test, for to secure the time he required he must give up six to seven shillings per week. But by faith in God and from love to souls he did it: here is his own account of the conflict and the triumph:—

"'I felt it my duty to sacrifice much more of my time for the Lord, to look after the little flock, so that they be not lost or wander back; and now the enemy and carnal reason (who ever stand united to prevent if possible any of God's dear children, however mean, from doing the will of their heavenly Father) began to set me a reasoning thus: "Why, you will soon begin to grow old; you are now much afflicted in body, your club is broken up, and it is sinful not to provide for your own household before sickness and old age; and you know it would be a grief to your mind as long as you live to be a burden to the Church of Christ; and besides, six or seven shillings is a large sum to sacrifice; and your Christian friends will think you have been a very lazy man." These, and a great number of such like vain thoughts flowed into my mind for several days; but I took them all into my closet, and, like Hezekiah, I spread them before my heavenly Father, and prayed him to make his blessed will known to me, and by the strength of divine grace enable me to do it.

"'And, glory be to God, who is ever standing ready to hear a poor sinner's prayer, he soon made his will known to me by the power of his Holy Spirit convincing poor sinners of sin, and manifesting to them his pardoning love when I went to visit the sick; and so he increased the number of our classes. Thus I went on trusting in the mercy of the Lord Jesus for about twenty years.'

"A poor mechanic sacrificing six to seven shillings per week that he might give the *time* to the Lord, is an act of faith and devotion rarely performed, and is worthy the consideration of men of superior social position, who will willingly give a subscription to a benevolent object, in order to do good by proxy, but who shun *personal* service. 'Obedience is better than sacrifice;' a subscription costs a rich man little, and it is not clear from Scripture that anything short of *personal* devotion to the cause of God will be accepted by Him who has said, 'Occupy till I come.'"—Pp. 27–29.

Father Reeves was a model class-leader. At the church he would watch for penitents and invite them to attend class; indeed, he felt it to be his duty to *seek* members, not to wait till they sought him. He "deemed it almost essential to the life and spiritual health of a class that penitents should be constantly brought in." A friend writes:—

"I think it must have been about the year 1834 that my acquaintance with the deceased grew to an intimacy. My presence at week-night preachings,

Digitized by Google

and the Saturday-evening prayer-meeting, attracted his attention. He would intercept my departure from the chapel, or vestry; the aisle, pew, form, or doorway were the points of contact. The expediency of meeting in class had not presented itself forcibly to my mind, and a repugnance to such a step was for a period decisive. His grand object, my personal salvation, appeared to him more certain if external communion were secured. With patient love, unwearied diligence, and great forbearance, in season and (I often then thought) out of season, did he invite, reason with, and exhort me to that decisive point.

"It was in his mind a demonstrated fact, that the turning point of moral and religious history would be found just at that juncture where resolve was taken for visible Church union or the converse. It was this that caused him to esteem the class-meeting of the highest value; here, he would observe, 'an individual draws the line of demarcation between the world and his adopted choice. He makes a new election of friends, pursuits, and interests.'"—Pp. 59–61.

This is the true Methodist and Christian doctrine—far different from the new-fangled notion prevalent in some quarters, that none but persons professing conversion should be admitted to class-membership. As a class-leader, Mr. Reeves excelled not only in the minor virtues of punctuality and readiness, but also in the fundamental one of having a just conception of the responsibilities and duties of his office as a subordinate pastor in the Church of Christ. When a new member came into the class, the good leader at once sought his confidence and affection, and never rested until the evidences of conversion and growth in grace were manifest. And, as many of his members were gathered from the world, and were almost entirely ignorant of the doctrines of the gospel, he became to them an earnest and diligent catechist, teaching them continually, out of the Holy Scriptures, the way of salvation.

"He was not satisfied until each member *could for himself prove from Scripture* every doctrine he professed, and quote from Scripture the warrant for each promise on the fulfilment of which he relied.

"The brother who has had charge of this class since Father Reeves's decease, fully bears out the statement, that the members generally are well-grounded in Scriptural proof of all our doctrines, and can give, in the terms of Scripture, a reason for the hope that is in them. No wonder: for their leader, fearful of conventional phrases,—fearful of the commonplaces of Methodism being put instead of heartfelt experience,—adopted, some years ago, the plan—several times renewed—of setting apart a Sunday, on which every member should search for and read a text descriptive 'of his or her own state or present experience.'"—Pp. 66, 67.

In furtherance of the same object he would often convert the ordinary class-meeting into a Bible-class, giving his members a month to prepare for the subject. Nor was this all. It often happened, as Father Reeves was ever at work among the poor, that he brought into his classes men of middle-age, and even old persons, who knew not how to read. What was to be done with such? Might they

Digitized by Google

not be left to hear the word of God from others, instead of enduring the toil of learning to read it for themselves?"

"By no means. 'We teach them,' says this admirable leader, 'by their children that were taught in the Sunday school, and we set apart a Sunday for them to read a portion of Holy Scripture to us, to hear how they improve, and to stimulate others to learn.'

"And thus many a new convert, but an old man, has evidenced the genuineness of the religious change wrought in him, by toiling through verse after verse, chapter after chapter, till he has been able to read before his classmates the story of the cross.

"The subjoined, rather lengthened but important extract, will show how he managed to turn such an occasion into a means of instruction:—

"'Hymn 87, page 88, to commence the meeting.

"'We set apart this day (instead of meeting the class in the ordinary manner) to read the sacred Scriptures; and especially that those may read who did not know a letter when they began to meet in class; but now, glory be to God, they can read any chapter in the New Testament well. We do this especially for the encouragement of those who are now meeting with us who cannot read, that they may see the benefit and joy there is in reading the word of God for ourselves, and may be provoked to learn.

"'I, William Reeves, am the oldest member of the class, and I could not read a chapter in the word of God when I was converted; but now, blessed forever be the Lord, I can say, "Thy word is a lamp unto my feet, and a light unto my path."

"'I shall begin by reminding myself and you, for our unspeakable comfort here and happiness hereafter, of the authenticity of the word of the ever blessed God, and the love of Jesus, and this from its own truth.'

"Here brother Reeves refers extensively to the fulfilment of the prophecies of Scripture relating to our Saviour—prophecies delivered several hundreds of years before Jesus was born. Then he adds:—

"'I shall now read the 53d chapter of Isaiah.'

"Then this verse was sung:—

"'See, from His head, his hands, his feet,
Sorrow and love flow mingled down;
Did e'er such love and sorrow meet,
Or thorns compose so rich a crown?'

"Then brother P—— was directed to read the 3d chapter of the Second Epistle of St. Peter, after which the class sang this verse,—

"'Should all the forms that men devise,
Assault my faith with treacherous art,
I'd call them vanity and lies,
And bind the gospel to my heart.'

"'Now,' says our friend, 'as God, in so much love to us, has given us his dear and well-beloved Son, that we may be saved, our duty is to repent and believe the gospel. This is needful for all. So we find it in the word of God; what is necessary for *one* is necessary for the *whole* world. Daniel ix; Jonah iii; Psalm li; Acts ii, 37, 38; xvi, 30, 31.'

"Then sister K—— was appointed to read the 51st Psalm, but first this verse was sung:—

"'When quiet in my house I sit,
Thy book be my companion still;

Digitized by Google

My joy Thy sayings to repeat,
Talk o'er the records of Thy will,
And search the oracles divine,
Till every heartfelt word be mine.'

"The 103d Psalm was then read.

"'And now,' continues the leader, 'we will remind ourselves again, that it is by faith alone in the precious blood of atonement that the poor, broken-hearted, repentant, sorrowing sinner can be justified. Romans v, 1; Romans iii, 21 to the end; Galatians iii; Titus iii, 5, 6; Matthew ix, 20–22; Mark v, 28–36. Let these suffice.'

"Then a verse was sung:—

"'The thing surpasses all my thought,
But faithful is my Lord;
Through unbelief I stagger not,
For God hath spoke the word;'

and brother H—— was called upon to read the second chapter of the Epistle to the Ephesians.

"After this the leader again exhorted:—'We would not forget to remind ourselves of our unspeakable privilege; for it is the will of God, our heavenly Father, that we should be sanctified wholly, "spirit, soul, and body," and so be "preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ." 1 Thess. v, 23, 24.

"'But all the work of genuine religion, from first to last, is carried on in the soul by the Holy Spirit; this, so to speak, is his department in the economy of our redemption. The Father is represented as originating the scheme, the Son executing it, and the Spirit as applying it. O then, my dear and beloved friends, you must see how very necessary it is, in all divine things, to have right knowledge of God's holy word. How can you get on in the way to heaven without studying the Bible? The reason why so many turn back, and others get on so slowly is, because they do not study to make themselves acquainted with divine truth. O hear the ever-blessed Saviour's own words: "Sanctify them through Thy truth: Thy word is truth." John xvii, 17; Ezek. xxxvi, 25–29; Eph. i, 13, 14; iii, 15 to the end; Eph. v, 26, 27; 1 John iv, 17, 18; 1 Peter i, 21–23.'

"The members were then called upon to sing:—

"'Satan, with all his arts, no more
Me from the gospel hope shall move;
I shall receive the gracious power,
And find the pearl of perfect love.'

"One more exhortation did the leader give—'Not to forget our glorious rest with Jesus in his everlasting kingdom;' and a number of references to the sacred volume are made, to excite the faith of his class. Finally, brother K—— was called upon to read the 14th chapter of St. John, and brother W—— to read the 7th chapter of the Book of the Revelation. Another verse was sung:—

"'Out of great distress they came:
Wash'd their robes by faith below,
In the blood of yonder Lamb,—
Blood that washes white as snow.'

"One more hymn, the 728th, page 656, was sung; the whole service was sanctified by the word of God and *prayer*, and this unique class-meeting separated."—Pp. 70–77.

Digitized by Google

No part of this long extract could be spared. It is a striking illustration of the excellence of the system of Methodism. Here is a man who could not read a chapter in the word of God when he was converted—whose daily life was that of a hard-working artisan—now instructing numbers of his fellows in the faith and doctrines of the gospel, and training them even to read the word of God, and to read it intelligently. Had Isaac Taylor attended Father Reeves's class for a twelve-month, he could have written a far more sensible and creditable chapter on "Methodist Class-Meetings."

One would think that with four classes and one hundred and sixty members good Father Reeves must have had work enough upon his hands, considering that his truly pastoral labours were superadded to his daily toil at the work-bench. But this was not his only field. The "monthly prayer-meetings" were indebted to him for the same prompt and punctual attendance as the class-meetings for many years. It was his habit to make careful preparation for these meetings: he generally read, at each of them, a brief, pointed, and practical address of ten or fifteen minutes' length, full of Scriptural wisdom. Nor were the financial interests of the Church permitted to suffer in his hands:—

"He was *invariably* present at the weekly meeting of the stewards and leaders; and as he *always* collected the money from his members *weekly*, he as regularly paid the amount to the stewards. The writer cannot imagine the attraction which would have prevented our friend from the discharge of this duty; whoever else was absent, Father Reeves was in the Lambeth chapel vestry on Thursday evening; there he sat, always on one spot, on the left of the minister, his class-books ready, the addition of the last column checked by some younger brother, and the money in the hand waiting for the steward to enter it.

"And his books are models. No blanks, or extremely few, against the members' names, but either the money or a sufficient reason for absence.

"'He was very skilful,' says the female friend who has previously so well sketched his proceedings, 'in keeping the weekly payments straight. "Do n't let Satan tempt you to remain away because you have got behind, and cannot pay up the score; come and begin afresh." But lest this should leave room for laxity and indifference, in what he considered a very important duty, he would describe, in most glowing terms, the immense pleasure some of the "dear people" felt in making sacrifice and using self-denial, as he would say, "for the gospel;" illustrating his remarks by appropriate anecdotes, and always giving us credit for such excellences as he desired we should possess. He would never allow the false idea that religion was expensive. "Let them compare the trifle given for the support of the gospel with those expenses into which sin had led them, and then judge."'

"In one of the addresses referred to, Father Reeves, after enjoining obedience to the rules, 'that we may not bring any disgrace on the Church of Christ,' and urging punctuality 'in private devotion,' adds: 'The Lord hath heard and answered our prayer, and hath sent us faithful and able ministers to preach to us the blessed gospel, and they must be supported. Not by thou-

Digitized by Google

sands a year, for then only the great and the rich could have the honour and privilege of paying; but our ministers have a smaller sum, and, blessed be the Lord, he hath given us that are poor this great luxury—to help to pay the Lord's servants by a penny a week. Let us say, with David, I will not offer "unto the Lord my God of that which doth cost me nothing."' 2 Samuel xxiv, 24.—Pp. 88–90.

Another important part of the duty of a class-leader—the visitation of sick and absent members at their own homes—was diligently performed by this excellent man, even when he was venerable with years:—

"Many modern leaders think they do their duty by meeting (with something approaching to regularity) those members who may *come to them* on the class-night; they, perhaps, send a message by a member to 'the sick, the lame, and the lazy;' or they content themselves by scolding the delinquents in their absence, thus troubling the members present with the condemnation of faults which they at least have avoided. Not so this admirable leader. To estimate aright the following statement, let it be borne in mind, that until Father Reeves was seventy years of age, he had to work daily for his living; that on Sundays, for many years, he was, except during very brief intervals, in the chapel from seven in the morning until eight o'clock at night, and after that at a neighbouring prayer-meeting; that every evening in the week, but one, was spent in the chapel, school-room, or vestry, in some religious service; and yet he undertook and accomplished an amount of house-to-house visitation of his members, such as made his person well known through the neighbourhood, to saint and sinner, and kept up the numbers and spirit of his classes to an unparalleled degree.

"His visits, during the early years of his leadership, were few, or were not fully recorded; but, taking his class-books from 1825 to 1852, nearly thirteen thousand visits may be traced—an average of four hundred and fifty a year; and, during the last five years, they averaged six hundred and fifty a year. These are exclusively to his classes—to those detained by sickness, business, or temptation, and entirely apart from his visits on account of the Strangers' Friend Society, or his visits to members who had unavoidably left his classes. Were these added, it is probable that his domiciliary visitations would amount to one thousand a year for the last three years. 'These visits,' says an old member, 'were seasons of considerable interest; solicitude for your temporal welfare was not omitted, but his absorbing anxieties were directed to spiritual concerns; no member of the household was forgotten. My wife has remarked, "Your old leader is always about his Master's business." Few men within the sphere of my observation won more respect than did he from those who had been educated in accordance with other Church systems.' A poor woman, who with her husband met in Father Reeves's Sunday class, writes: 'If we have been absent from class, through illness, he has been sure to call the next morning before nine o'clock. Many a time he has helped us out of his own pocket, for fear we should not have bread.'"—Pp. 93–95.

The chapter which treats of his own personal religion is replete with instruction, but we must forbear further quotation. We trust that this book will find its readers by thousands upon thousands, and that, like Carvosso, Father Reeves may "lead" even more souls to heaven after death than during his life.

Digitized by Google

Art. IX.—MISCELLANIES.

I.

Meaning of ἐπιλαμβάνεται in Hebrews ii, 16.

Οὐ γὰρ ὄφεων ἀγγέλων ἐπιλαμβάνεται, ἀλλὰ σπέρματος Ἀβραὰμ ἐπιλαμβάνεται.

TO THE EDITOR.

The view taken by Dr. Rounds in the April Number of the Review, as to the signification of *ἐπιλαμβάνεται* in Hebrews ii, 16, is certainly one that at first strongly recommends itself to the student; but a further examination has led at least one of his readers to think that the signification "*took on him*," after all, derives its chief plausibility from our familiarity with it in the common English translation of that passage. Without designing to enter into any controversy on the subject, I will give some of the reasons that have brought me to a different conclusion from Dr. Rounds: if they have any weight, he will doubtless be as free to admit their force as myself; and if they shall appear inconclusive, let them pass for nothing.

1. *The proper sense of the word.* This, it is acknowledged, is rather indeterminate; but it is claimed that the middle form of *ἐπιλαμβάνομαι* favours the idea of *assumption* to one's self. We do not find, however, that this reflexive force ever belongs to the word in the New Testament, although it always occurs there in the middle voice; and the classical usage of the verb makes no such distinction between the senses of the active and the middle voices, nor indeed ever assigns to either of them the idea of *appropriating*, except in a violent manner. In proof of this I need only refer to the citations in the lexicons and philological commentaries in general. The strict middle sense would be, to *seize upon one's self;* and the indirect middle sense would be, to take hold of in order to support one's self, or bring near to one's self. The meaning, to take hold of in order to render assistance, is indeed a very indirect application of the middle voice; but every student knows that such applications of that voice are very usual in the New Testament, and in this case it is the one clearly indicated in Luke xiv, 4, and sustained by classical examples. In Philippians ii, 7, claimed as a parallel passage, the verb is in the active voice and simple form, *λαβών*, and is especially distinguished from this case by the absence of the peculiar construction presently to be noted.

2. *The tense of the verb.* It is impossible to make *ἐπιλαμβάνεται* here a historic present by comparing it with *ἐπαισχύνεται*, five verses preceding, when the historic aorist intervenes and follows, in immediate reference to the same event: for example, *μετέσχε*, verse 14, *ὤφειλε*, verse 17. The present tense here plainly describes an event continuous and extending to the period of writing; and how our translators ever came to render it by "*took*," is a mystery.

3. *The construction of the object.* If we take *ἐπιλαμβάνεται* in the sense of *assuming*, we must supply an ellipsis before *ἀγγέλων* and *σπέρματος*, by understanding *τὴν μορφὴν, φύσιν*, or some such accusative, as our translators have done; for, to make the genitives depend upon the verb in this direct transitive sense, would be wholly ungrammatical, and at variance with its *usus* in the Scriptures as well as classics: such an ellipsis, to say the least, would be very harsh and unauthorized by any similar passage,—in fact it would be an omission of the main word upon which the whole import of the passage would rest, and it might

Digitized by Google

be filled up very differently by different readers. On the other hand, these genitives would very properly depend upon the verb, if used figuratively in the partitive sense; as in Matt. xiv, 31, *ἐπελάβετο αὐτοῦ*, q.'d. helped him by *taking hold (of a part) of him*, and raising him to the same posture with himself. The same construction and meaning obtain with *ἀντελάβετο* in Luke i, 54.

As to the Doctor's endeavour to make out that by *ἄγγελοι* must here be meant only good angels, and that as these never stood in need of salvation, the argument of the apostle would be nugatory, I cannot see that this would follow: it surely would be entirely pertinent to say that Christ did not undertake their salvation, precisely for the reason that they did not require such an enterprise. But it is not correct to infer that *ἄγγελοι* here refers to good angels exclusively, simply because that term is never used in this absolute form to designate fallen spirits: it is of angels as an order of beings, irrespective of moral character, that the apostle has all along been speaking, in contradistinction from Christ both as man and as God; and on this account the article is omitted in every case,—had the article been used, the sense would have been restricted either to good or bad angels.

A similar remark with regard to the use of *σπέρμα* obviates the objection against its extension to cover the human race: being without the article, it of course only points out the class of beings in general to which the Jews belonged, in distinction from angels, to which it is expressly opposed by *ἀλλά*. This mode of designating humanity is readily accounted for by the prominence given to the chosen nation in the eyes of a native Jew writing to Hebrews themselves. To infer from his mentioning them only, that the apostle could mean no others, would be to exclude Gentiles from more than half the promises of the Old Testament, which are couched in similar phrase. But suppose we set out to take *σπέρμα Ἀβραάμ* in its strictest sense, and *ἐπιλαμβάνεται* in the sense of *assumed*, what follows? Why, we are compelled to insert such an adjunctive term before *σπέρματος* as makes it equivalent to "the nature of the seed of Abraham;" in other words, we after all extend it to denote *human nature* in general. Thus, in fact, Dr. Rounds himself at last falls into the same so called inconsistency for which he so roundly rates other commentators. The plain state of the case is, that *ἄγγελοι* and *σπέρμα Ἀβραάμ* are here so contrasted, that no interpreter can avoid making them in the end refer to two distinctive orders of beings. The only question is, whether these terms, thus indefinitely used, mean the abstract *natures* of these beings, or the concrete *beings* themselves, collectively considered; and even this difference is practically unimportant; but whether important or not, it can only be settled, as a matter of interpretation, by the meaning of *ἐπιλαμβάνεται* itself.

4. Finally, the scope and argument of the passage and context require *ἐπιλαμβάνεται* to be taken in the sense of *relieving*, and are impaired by the other sense. Dr. Rounds has correctly stated the general argument of this and the preceding chapter, but fails entirely to see the mode in which this verse articulates into that argument. Having vindicated Christ's divinity in chapter i, the apostle in the preceding verses of this chapter states Christ's humanity, and quotes various passages of the Old Testament to prove that the Messiah was to be of the same nature as the saints of God, (verses 10–13.) Verses 14 and 15 then state the propriety of this identity of nature, and refer to the glorious result that would flow from it. Then follows the verse in question, assigning an additional and the principal REASON for this identity, which is therefore introduced by *γάρ*. Now nothing could be more appropriate as a

Digitized by Google

reason why Christ should assume human nature, rather than an angelic nature, (as might otherwise have been expected,) than the fact that he was to save that very human nature, and not that of angels. But if we make this verse affirm the assumption of humanity, it would be so far from constituting a reason for the preceding verse, that it would in fact be a mere repetition of the same idea. In like manner, verse 17 follows with a *conclusion* from this reason, introduced by *ὅθεν*; which of course is tantamount with the statement of the fact before given, for which that reason had just been assigned. Whereas if verse 16 contains the fact of the incarnation, how could the same fact, in verse 17, follow from itself? In short, our view makes *ἐπιλαμβάνεται* refer to the reason of the parallel statements *μετέσχε* (verse 14) and *ὁμοιωθῆναι* on either side, whereas the other view confounds all three in one reiterated assertion. This assignment of such a reason is a very different thing from "interrupting the tenor of remark to lug in a thought which is not suggested either before or afterwards in any part of the epistle." The contrast between men and angels that prevails throughout these chapters appears to me to be very strongly "suggestive" of the "thought" that Christ did not die to save angels. This thought was the best possible reason why he should not have become an angel; it would have cut off all sympathy with the objects of his mission, as verse 17 goes on to explain. A reason so palpable and conclusive did not need to be repeated in express terms; but it is implied in the whole course of reasoning here pursued.

The only way to avoid coming to this view as to the course of thought, is by regarding *γάρ* here as introducing an *illustrative* clause, rather than a reason, that is, as more fully explaining the *αἷμα καὶ σάρξ* of verse 14, by a contrast with angels; and the force of *ὅθεν* (verse 17) must then be confined to the qualifying clause *κατὰ πάντα*. But this, after all, makes this whole verse in question weak and uncalled for; since no one could imagine a human and an angelic nature in any manner compatible. Such a meaning of *γάρ* is forbidden also, if I mistake not, by the particle *δήπου*, here added to it. The import of this latter word, it is true, is usually rather indeterminate, and its application somewhat varied; but in this case, taken in connexion with *οὐ* and *γάρ*, it appears to have a peculiar and appropriate intensive force. A strict analysis would here probably resolve it into two elements, the *concessive* *δή* going to strengthen the argument of *γάρ*, and the indefinite *που* imparting additional *exclusiveness* to the negation in *οὐ*; so that the whole may justly be rendered thus: "[And this assumption of humanity was the more appropriate,] inasmuch as he certainly is not a Saviour of angels at all." This view of *δήπου* properly brings out the bearing of this clause, as a ground assigned for the preceding verse, and at the same time exhibits its incidental introduction, as a point not calling for proof.

I have examined this passage thus in detail, because the question at issue is a properly *philological* one, and therefore requiring for its solution a careful inspection of the words in which it is expressed.

JAMES STRONG.

FLUSHING, *May* 8, 1853.

Digitized by Google

II.

Was not John the Baptist (and not Elijah) with our Lord on the Mount of Transfiguration?

COMMENTATORS, we believe without exception, understand by *Elias*, in Matt. xvii, 3, the Prophet *Elijah*. May there not be ground to doubt this interpretation, and to answer the question proposed at the head of this paper in the affirmative?

God, by the prophet, (Malachi iii, 1,) declared that he would send his messenger, who should prepare the way before him. This prophecy was pronounced five hundred years after the translation of the literal Elijah, and four hundred years before the birth of John the Baptist. The Jews yet expect its fulfilment. But John the Baptist is acknowledged by the Christian Church to be the subject of this prophecy. As such he was the forerunner of Christ, "coming in the spirit and power of Elias;" and, on some occasions, he is called by that name, as, in fact, he was the spiritual Elijah of the New Testament. Christ calls him "that Elias which was for to come."

On the mount of transfiguration was a personage called *Elias*, who, together with Moses, was conversing with Christ. As they came down from the mountain, our Saviour charged the disciples to tell the vision to no man until he had risen from the dead. They inquired, as they could not comprehend the injunction, if Christ should pass away and the literal Elijah not appear:—"Why then say the scribes, that Elias must first come?" Jesus replied, that "Elias is come already, and they knew him not, but have done unto him whatsoever they listed;" and as he had suffered, so "likewise shall also the Son of man suffer of them."

Here is a positive affirmation that Elias had already come, and a brief description of the treatment he had received from the Jews, and an announcement that as he had been put to death, so also should the Son of man suffer like treatment at their hands. The disciples then understood that Christ spoke to them of John the Baptist.

In this conversation our Saviour mentioned an Elias which should "come and restore all things;" from which it is evident that reference is had to two personages: of one Christ speaks in the past tense—"is come already;" of the other he says, "Elias shall first come," evidently referring to the future. John at this time was dead, and consequently he could not literally make his appearance among them. Now when the deputation from the Sanhedrim inquired of John if he was Elias? he answered, "I am not," but referred them to the prophecy of Isaiah xl, 3, for a description of his character and to prove the authenticity of his claim to be the forerunner of the Messiah. According to the received explanations, these are evident contradictions; and the only mode in which they can be reconciled is to assume that the Scriptures refer to two distinct persons—the Elias of the Old Testament and the Elias of the New Testament. John the Baptist was not the Elijah of Malachi iv, 5; he was only to possess the "spirit and power of Elijah:" not the power of working miracles, which the former Elijah possessed; but the sternness and power of reproof, the superiority to softness, ease, or worldly ambition, and the same influence over his fellow countrymen,

Digitized by Google

that the literal Elijah possessed. In addition to John's denial that he was the Elijah of Mal. iv, 5, Christ likewise denies it, and asserts that this Elijah was yet to come. May not our Saviour allude to a reappearance of the literal Elijah "before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord?" Again: as John possessed the spirit and power of Elias, why should he not bear the name of Elias? That he was the Elias of the New Testament, none, we presume, would doubt; and as such he bore the name. Both the Master and his prophet admit that John is the subject of prophecy in Isaiah xl, 3, and Mal. iii, 1. We may add to the contradiction involved in the admission that the literal Elijah of the Old Testament was with Christ on the mountain, the consequent that the disciples were in a great error in saying that Christ spoke to them of John the Baptist; and the great Teacher did not seek to remove that error for the simple reason that he was involved in the same difficulty: for his remarks will *not* apply to Elijah, but will apply, most truthfully, to John the Baptist.

To those already presented may be added other arguments in proof of the position that John the Baptist was with Christ on the occasion referred to. It is asserted that Elijah, as "the chief of the prophets, came to do homage to Christ, and to render up all authority into his hands." May not this be questioned? Was Elijah the chief of the prophets? We think not. If we refer to his predictions, we find some having reference to local, and comparatively trivial, events. Did he ever utter a prophecy pointing to Christ, or to the great subject of redemption? We cannot place him as a prophet in the same rank with Moses or Isaiah, or with any of the greater, and we may add, with some of the minor prophets. If the greater must represent the less, then Elijah could not represent the prophets; if he did, the lesser would enjoy dignity superior to the greater—an honour to which, we may venture to say, he could lay no claim. If we say, with Dr. Clarke, that Elijah made his appearance to prove that God will change the living at the last day, we offer an opinion that is worth nothing in presence of the express revelation of the fact, in plain and unequivocal language, that the living shall be changed in the twinkling of an eye. If we refer to Elijah as a teacher, in that respect Samuel equalled him: and Elisha surpassed him in the number and extent of the miracles that he wrought. John the Baptist, as a prophet acting as the herald of Christ, or as a teacher preparing the way of the Lord, took precedence of all before him. John was *more* than a prophet: for among all that were born of women previous to his time, Jesus declared there had not risen a greater than John the Baptist. Here we might propose a question, viz.: if the prophets, as a part of the Mosaic dispensation, must be represented, why should not the priesthood?

The Jewish dispensation in the person of Moses here recognised Christ as the great antitype of the types existing under the Mosaic law; but there is another dispensation preceding the Christian, and not to be confounded with it, nor to be swallowed up with the Jewish, viz., John's dispensation. Who could, as the forerunner of Christ, represent this,—who could say that the way of the Lord had been prepared; that Christ was the true Messiah; that he had seen him; was witnessed to by the Holy Ghost; had administered to him the rite of baptism; inducted him into the ministry; that former things were about to be done away, and that all things in Christ must become new,—but the beheaded John the Baptist, the only prophet and teacher found on the page of the history of that dispensation? Was he not selected by the Head of the Church to perform this office?

A. H. F.

Digitized by Google

ART. X.—SHORT REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

(1.) "*Rome, its Edifices and its People; by the Author of Athens, its Grandeur and Decay.*" (New-York: Carlton & Phillips; 12mo., pp. 272.) This beautiful volume is, in point of the value and interest of its contents, and the excellence of its external execution, one of the most creditable issues of the prolific press from which it comes forth. Its chief object is to give an account of the *visible* Rome—its streets, buildings, &c.; but it abounds also in useful historical information. After a chapter on the rise, progress, and decline of the city, we have another on the domestic and social condition of the ancient Romans, describing, after Becker, the every-day life of a Roman family in minute detail. The following passage is a good illustration of the graphic style of the work:—

"It is the third watch of the night: the last rays of the moon are fading from the Capitol and the adjacent temples, and excepting the heavy tread of the watchman on the broad pavement, or the quick step of some one hastening homewards, the mighty heart of the city seems hushed to repose.

"Yet from a house in one of the finest streets some other sounds now break the general stillness. The massive door, creaking upon its hinges, is opened by the watchful porter, flashing thus upon the street a sudden glare of light from the *candelabra* within, burning in the *atrium*, and a freedman of lordly mien, followed by a slave, comes forth upon the pavement, looking out anxiously on all sides, and peering into the distance, as if for some one anxiously expected. The object of their solicitude is their lord, whose late stay has greatly disturbed their quietude, and brought them out of doors to look for his return.

"They do not tarry long; for soon the hurried step of a man emerging from the shadow of a temple hard by, and nearing the vestibule where they stand, puts an end to their apprehensions. The cause of his delay is shown by his outward appearance. A festive robe of a bright-red colour, his sandals fastened by thongs of the same dye, and a chaplet of myrtles and roses hanging from his left brow, —all declare his return from a late-kept banquet. He has supped at the imperial board, and afterwards retired to a convivial circle of noble friends, where the wine-cup and familiar converse have winged away the hours of the night. Gladly welcomed by his servants, he enters his house, and preceded by the freedman, with a wax candle, he hastens through colonnades and saloons to his sleeping apartments. Here the slave in waiting receives his robe and sandals; and the *cubicularius*, after having drawn aside the elegant tapestried curtain, and smoothed again the purple coverlet that nearly conceals the ivory bedstead, leaves his master to repose. But now hours have fled, the earliest dawn has come, and ere yet the tops of the seven hills are tinged with the beams of the returning sun, *the mansion* is all life and activity. Troops of slaves, issuing from above and below, spread themselves over the apartments, and are soon intent, in several ways, on cleaning the lordly residence. Let us then leave them to their work, and catch some glimpses as we may, of *its splendid interior*."

The description that follows gives us a vivid picture of the costly magnificence of the later Roman mansions. A great deal of information, also, as to domestic and social usages is condensed into a very small space. We give a specimen in the account of marriage customs:—

"The Romans had no precise age for *marriage;* the time was dependent on the will of the parties. Augustus, indeed, enacted that nuptials should not be celebrated too soon; but in his time, Roman females were considered marriageable at twelve years of age. It was also unlawful to marry a woman far advanced in

Digitized by Google

years, even though the other party should himself be aged. Like the Greeks, the Romans were lax in their opinions of consanguinity.

"The marriage contract, called *sponsalia*, was written on tablets, and signed by both parties. According to Juvenal, the man put a ring, as a pledge of fidelity, on the finger of his betrothed.

"It was believed that certain days were inauspicious for the celebration of marriage; either owing to their religious character, or that of the days following, because the wife had to perform certain rites the day after her nuptials, which could not take place on any of the *dies atri*. The *calends*, *nones*, and *ides* of every month, the whole of May and February, and a great many other festivals, were all considered *dies atri*, and therefore unsuitable. Widows might, however, marry on days regarded as inauspicious for maidens.

"On the marriage-day, the bride was attired in a long white tunic, adorned with ribbons, or a purple fringe, bound round the waist with a girdle. Her hair was specially distinguished by six knots or tresses, and its division with the point of a spear. She wore on her head a crown or chaplet of flowers, over which was a sort of pink veil, which fell on her shoulders. Her sandals differed in shape and materials from those of other maidens: they were light, and fit only for the house, symbolical, perhaps, of the domestic duties on which she was now to enter.

"The rite of marriage was very simple. A sheep was sacrificed, its skin was spread over two chairs, on this the bride and bridegroom sat with their heads covered; a prayer was then offered, and the presentation of another sacrifice completed the ceremony.

"Pretended force being used to tear the bride from her mother's arms, she was conducted in the evening to the bridegroom's house. A cake was borne before her, and she was accompanied by three boys wearing the *toga prætexta*, whose parents were still living. One of them carried before her a torch of white-thorn or pine-wood, while the others, supporting her arm, walked by her side. A distaff and a spindle, with wool, borne by the bride, indicated her future duties. A fourth boy bore a covered vase containing utensils belonging to the bride, and playthings for children.

"Arrived at the bridegroom's house, having its door adorned with garlands and flowers, the bride was carried over the threshold, lest an evil omen should arise, by her striking it with her foot. Prior to this, she wound wool around the door-posts, and anointed them with lard. She now touched fire and water, which had been placed on the threshold by her husband, most probably as a symbol of welcome, as to forbid her the use of these elements was equivalent to her dismissal. The bride's salutation of her husband:" followed,—*Ubi tu Caius, ego Caia;* "Where you are master, I will be mistress," and on the keys of the house being committed to her hands, there was a feast accompanied with music, at the close of which there were other ceremonies, when the guests were dismissed with small presents.

"During the better days of the republic, the wife occupied the most important part of the house—the *atrium;* she presided over the household, educated her little ones, and shared the respect and honours of her husband. But in the time of the emperors, all sense of morality, and even decency, departed from Roman society. The immoralities of its women were enormous and notorious. Juvenal penned against them his longest satire, teeming with bitter invective; and as he had much reason for doing so, the state of the whole community may be easily imagined. The true elevation of woman is that also of the society in which she moves as its chief ornament; her fall is a sign of its extreme degradation and deep misery."

Not less valuable and attractive is the chapter on the Arts, Language, Literature, Oratory, and moral condition of the ancient Romans, which is followed by six chapters describing the principal public edifices of *modern* as well as ancient Rome. The plates illustrating this part of the work are abundant, and excellently executed. The chapter on the *religion* of Rome shows how the superstitions of the ancient days have passed on into the modern, and how the rites and offices of Paganism have been made subservient to the papal

Digitized by Google

power: how one idol has been pulled down only to make way for another, and change has taken place in the *name*, rather than in the *object* of worship. We earnestly commend this work as one of the best family books of the time, full of interest and attraction for young and old.

(2.) We have before noticed and commended Mr. Mattison's school text-books in astronomy; but none of them, in our judgment, have deserved commendation better than his new treatise entitled "*A High-School Astronomy, in which the Descriptive, Physical and Practical are combined*, by HIRAM MATTISON, A. M. (New-York: F. J. Huntington; 1853, 12mo., pp. 240.) It is substantially a revised edition of the author's "Elementary Astronomy;" but the revision is so ample and careful as to justify the new title. We have examined the book with care, and do not hesitate to pronounce it the best work of its class that has come under our notice.

(3.) "*The Annual of Scientific Discovery, for* 1853," (Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 12mo., pp. 411,) makes its appearance punctually. Like its predecessors, it fulfils its title of the "Year Book of Science and Art," and exhibits the most important discoveries and improvements of the year in Mechanics, the Useful Arts, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Geology, &c., and at the same time gives valuable notes of the progress of science during the year throughout the world. The volume is adorned by a portrait of Prof. A. D. Bache, Superintendent of the Coast Survey.

(4.) "*History of Nero*, by JACOB ABBOTT," (New-York: Harper & Brothers; 18mo., pp. 321,) is another of those clear and graphic narratives of Mr. Abbott's which we have so often praised. They are intended for the young, but we know certain children of a larger growth who read them with avidity.

(5.) CHARLES DICKENS has pleased many people, but he has rarely done a more pleasant and acceptable work than the preparation of the "*Child's History of England*," (vol. 1, New-York: Harper & Brothers; 18mo., pp. 287,) of which the first volume is before us. It contains the history of England from the ancient times down to the reign of Henry the Fifth; and is just the book to entice children to the study of history.

(6.) "*Home Scenes: a Family Story*, by AMANDA WESTON." (Syracuse: L. C. Matlock; 1853; 18mo., pp. 159.) This is a "simple, truthful story," illustrating family duties, misfortunes and joys. The narrative is pleasing and the moral excellent. A few political flings, entirely out of place, are the only drawback to the book.

Digitized by Google

(7.) "*Interviews, Memorable and Useful*, by SAMUEL H. COX, D. D.," (New-York: Harper & Brothers; 1853; 12mo., pp. 325,) is a thoroughly characteristic book, full of Latin quotations, Latin-English words, oddities, sense, dogmatism, and good-nature. It contains accounts of interviews "from diary and memory reproduced," with Chalmers, Emmons, John Quincy Adams, two Mormons, and a lady of fashion—a strange medley, but not stranger than the book and the author's mind seem to be. Yet there is a great deal of good, hard sense wrapped up in the sometimes quaint and often lumbering phraseology of Dr. Cox; while some of his interlocutors are graphically portrayed; albeit we have less of *them* than of the author himself. It is a book that no one who takes it up will be likely to lay down until he has finished its perusal.

(8.) THE history of Methodism in America, especially in the West, is a record of moral heroism unsurpassed by any age of the Church. The story is yet unwritten. The historians of the country have generally ignored, in utter blindness, one of the richest fields open to them; and the historians of the Church have done but little toward a true and ample account of the vast and valorous labours of these modern apostles. We welcome, therefore, every contribution toward such a history—every memorial that rescues from oblivion one of the heroic names of the American Church. Such a memorial is the "*Life and Times of Rev. Allen Wiley, A. M.*, by Rev. F. C. HOLLIDAY, A. M." (Cincinnati: Swormstedt & Poe; 1853; 12mo., pp. 291.) Mr. Wiley was born in Virginia in 1789, and at eight years of age removed with his father to Kentucky. His opportunities of education were, of course, very limited. In 1804 he went to Indiana; in 1808 was converted; and in 1816 commenced his career as an itinerant Methodist preacher. His early labours were very effective and successful. His mind was naturally vigorous, and, by indefatigable study, he made amends for the deficiencies of his early education to such an extent that he stood at last on a level with the trained theologians of his time, if not above them. "For many years previous to his death, he was in the daily habit of reading the Scriptures in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages. He read the Hebrew Bible through with great care." Such results, achieved amid the discouragements and difficulties of an itinerant's life in a new country, should stimulate our younger preachers in the more favourable circumstances that surround the itinerant of the present day, to renewed diligence in study. There is *no* excuse, but want of health, for the young man who fails to cultivate his mind in the Methodist ministry of these times. Without special advantages of voice or manner, Mr. Wiley owed his wide-spread popularity to the force of thought and weight of matter that marked his discourses—a fact as creditable to his back-woods hearers as to himself.

Mr. Holliday has given us an interesting volume, and we trust it will be widely circulated. Besides the memoir of Mr. Wiley, the work contains sketches of several of the early Methodist preachers in Indiana, and an interesting outline of the rise and progress of Methodism in that state. The last half of the volume is taken up with a valuable treatise by Mr. Wiley, entitled, "A Help to the Performance of Ministerial Duties."

Digitized by Google

(9.) "*The Bourbon Prince: the History of the Royal Dauphin,*" (New-York: Harper & Brothers; 1853; 18mo., pp. 202,) is translated and condensed from De Beauchesne's recent elaborate work—"Louis XVII., sa Vie, son Agonie, sa Mort." It contains all that portion of the French work which bears directly upon the personal history of the Dauphin, and gives the tragic story in a form sufficiently extended for ordinary readers. The proof of the Dauphin's death is *not* perfect—at least as it is offered in this volume.

(10.) "*Ellen Linn,*" (New-York: Harper & Brothers; 18mo., pp. 215; 1853,) is one of Mr. Abbott's "Franconia Stories" which are so fascinating for young persons. In point of moral tone, the volumes of this series are unexceptionable; in point of style, they are very nearly so.

(11.) "*Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth,* by AGNES STRICKLAND," (Philadelphia: Blanchard & Lea; 1853; 12mo., pp. 583,) is a volume detached from Miss Strickland's "Lives of the Queens of England," and deservedly published in this separate form, on account both of the intrinsic interest of the subject, and of the way in which it is handled. In spite of the habitual tendency of the author to whitewash Romanism, and in spite, especially, of her blind *patronage* of Mary, Queen of Scots, this biography of Elizabeth is, taken as a whole, the best extant. But that is not saying a great deal.

(12.) "*Letters to School Girls,* by Rev. R. M. MATTHEWS." (Cincinnati: Swormstedt & Poe; 1853; 18mo., pp. 247.) This volume grew out of a series of lectures read by the author to his pupils in the Oakland Female Seminary in 1848 and 1849. It embodies a great deal of practical wisdom on study, manners, morals, &c., and deserves to be widely made known to "school girls,"—which designation, by the way, is an illustration of Mr. Matthews' good sense. We had almost begun to believe that "school girls" were an obsolete race, and that their place was supplied by "young ladies" and "students" at "Female Colleges."

(13.) MESSRS. R. Carter & Brothers have reprinted Dr. Wardlaw's Essay "*On Miracles,*" (New-York, 1853; 12mo., pp. 295,) which contains the substance of seven lectures delivered by the veteran to his congregation during the winter of 1851–52. They have been, however, very wisely recast—Dr. Wardlaw having discovered, as he says, that "pulpit discourses are not a particularly favourite or attractive article"—and now appear under the form of a treatise, or essay, divided into eight chapters. The first or introductory chapter sets forth the importance of the subject, and also gives the author's definition of a miracle; in which he adheres, judiciously, to the old formula, viz., that "a

Digitized by Google

miracle is a suspension of the known laws of nature." Several modern writers (e. g. Trench, Beard, Neander,) have put themselves and their argument upon slippery ground by needless refinements on this point, and especially by denying that miracles can be violations or suspensions of natural law. The second chapter treats of the possibility and probability of miracles, and opens the argument on their certainty; i. e., on the question whether we, at this distance of time from the period at which the New Testament miracles are said to have been wrought, have sufficient proof on which to rest our faith of their having been performed. This is the gist of the whole matter; in other words, it is the question of the *credibility* of miracles. Accordingly, Dr. Wardlaw finds it necessary to examine Mr. Hume's celebrated objection, which he does very thoroughly in his third chapter. In the fourth, he concentrates the principles of the argument on the one great miracle of the resurrection of Christ; and in the fifth, he applies them to the New Testament miracles generally. The sixth and seventh chapters treat of the miracles said to have been wrought in support of falsehood, and of Rationalism, Spiritualism, Mythism, and Romanism. The concluding chapter sets forth the nature of Christ's miracles, and their appropriateness to the design of his mission: showing also the importance of that design and of our duly appreciating it. In spite of a certain narrowness of view, especially with regard to German writers, arising from Dr. Wardlaw's insufficient acquaintance with any literature but that of his own island, the work is a most valuable and timely one.

(14.) "*The Mother and her Offspring*, by STEPHEN TRACY, M. D.," (New-York: Harper & Brothers; 1853; 12mo., pp. 361,) is, so far as we are capable of judging, a very sensible treatise on the subjects indicated by its title, free from all indelicacy and quackery.

(15.) MINUTE local history and topography are not only very pleasant, but very profitable objects of study. Books treating of such subjects have always been popular, and have deserved to be. The materials for such a book about the city of New-York exist in abundance; but they are scattered through many large volumes and bulky records. Certainly a *popular* history of the city has long been a desideratum. The want is now supplied by "*New-York: a Historical Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Metropolitan City of America.*" (New-York: Carlton & Phillips; 1853; 12mo., pp. 339.) The aim of the writer is, in the "*historical* portion, to collect and detail the principal events of the local history of the city down to the beginning of the present century, omitting, as far as possible, all matters of general history in which the city was not directly and individually concerned." A brief and general history of the last half-century is also appended. In the *descriptive* part he has endeavoured to select, out of the vast number of objects of interest offered by the great city, those of most general attractiveness and importance, and to group them in such a way as to present as lively a picture of the town as pos-

Digitized by Google

sible, even for those who have never seen it. In these aims he has fully succeeded, and the book is just what it ought to be, in point both of comprehensiveness and condensation.

(16.) "*Positive Theology: being a Series of Dissertations on the Fundamental Doctrines of the Bible*, by Rev. ASBURY LOWREY, A. M." (Cincinnati: 1853; 12mo., pp. 333.) The design of this work is to furnish (for the use of the laity and of beginners in theology) a treatise setting forth dogmatically, but in plain and untechnical language, the leading doctrines of Christianity. We have examined it with some care, and find in it a sensible and judicious exposition of the main features of Christian doctrine, free from the forms or the hard words of theological controversy. It will not serve the purpose of a systematic manual of theology for the use of students; but for lay readers we think it a book every way worthy of commendation.

(17.) HENRY ROGERS has been, of late years, one of the best contributors to the Edinburgh Review; and indeed, for twenty years no better writer has occupied the pages of that journal, except Macaulay and Sir James Stephen. The "Eclipse of Faith" has made Rogers's name widely known in this country, and has prepared the way for a favourable reception to a volume of his contributions to the Edinburgh just collected, under the title of "*Reason and Faith, and other Miscellanies.*" (Boston: Crosby, Nichols & Co.; 1852; 12mo., pp. 458.) The volume contains articles on Fuller, Marvell, Luther, and Pascal; besides Essays on Sacred Eloquence, The Vanity and Glory of Literature, The Right of Private Judgment, and Reason and Faith—their Claims and Conflicts. While all these are excellent, the fourth, fifth, and eighth are preëminently so. The volume is, emphatically, a book for the times.

(18.) OUR judgment of M'Crie's translation of "*The Provincial Letters*," (New-York: Carter & Brothers; 1853; 12mo., pp. 392,) was given some time ago, in an article on "Recent Editions and Translations of Pascal."* The amount of it was, that Dr. M'Crie's version, though by no means faultless, is the best extant in the English tongue.

(19.) "*Ministerial Education in the Methodist Episcopal Church*, by Rev. STEPHEN M. VAIL, A. M." (Boston: J. P. Magee; 1853; 12mo., pp. 238.) The object of this volume is to maintain that the Methodist Episcopal Church should superadd theological schools to her present system for the training of candidates for the ministry. It is preceded by a very lucid introduction by Dr. Tefft, (in which the question is treated with as much clear good sense as we have ever seen applied to it,) the sum of which is, "that no man

* April, 1852, Art. iv.

Digitized by Google

has a right to preach who has not been called; that the call does not necessarily qualify the subject of it, excepting as to the authoritativeness of his holy mission, and the unction it brings with it, for the daily duties of the profession; that, like all good things here below, spiritual as well as temporal, the needful qualifications have to be acquired by the personal efforts of the individual; that, though there is no *a priori* reason, or principle *per se*, to decide whether these efforts ought to be made in a seminary, or out of it, analogy, experience, and common-sense concur in determining the question, in most cases, on the side of the positive and well-directed discipline of a ministerial school; but that the advantages of these schools should be used only as a help at the beginning of the minister's studious career, leaving him, when they are past, a lifetime of still more diligent and constantly growing zeal in studying into the deep things that a teacher of the 'mysteries of the kingdom' ought to know." A large part of Mr. Vail's treatise originally appeared in the columns of the Northern Christian Advocate. His argument is almost entirely historical; aiming to show that, under the old dispensation, the Levites and the prophets were trained in special schools for the sacred office; and that, in the opening of the Christian dispensation, the apostles and disciples were specially trained by our Lord himself for their great work. He thinks it certain, also, that Paul superintended the ministerial education of Timothy and Titus, and probably of many others. He believes, also, that there was something approaching to a system of theological training in the apostolic times—schools for ministerial instruction, the nature of which is thus summed up: "They were private companies of men, whom a living faith in our Lord Jesus Christ had banded together, first under our Lord himself, and afterward under the apostles and elders of the Church. Their studies and lectures were on the great subjects of the Messiah's kingdom—its doctrines, duties, and relations, as presented in the Holy Scriptures. In this age of the Church, we have no evidence that there were any buildings erected for these schools, or that any books were used, save the Holy Scriptures. The place of meeting was the synagogue, the church, or the private apartment. There were no endowments; but the elders and teachers were supported by the contributions of the benevolent, and of those taught. Gal. vi, 6." These topics occupy the first six chapters of the book; the seventh and eighth set forth the origin and history of the ancient School of Theology at Alexandria. The decay of Biblical study and of ministerial education in the ages following Constantine, and their revival in the British Islands, are exhibited in the ninth chapter. The object of this historical sketch, and of that of the state of the Church in the middle ages, given in the tenth chapter, is to show that the "purest ages of the Church have always produced Biblical schools; while the ages of superstition, corruption, and ignorance have destroyed them." The great lights of the Reformation—Luther, Melancthon, Calvin, and Beza—were all lecturers on Biblical Theology; so was Arminius, whose theological views, modified by John Wesley, have so profoundly penetrated the Church. The eleventh chapter treats of the measures adopted by the Wesleyan Methodists to secure the training of their ministers, and the remaining nine chapters treat specifically of the question of theological education in the M. E. Church.

Digitized by Google

Mr. Vail uses a plain but perspicuous style, and writes like a man in earnest. His book will, we trust, receive a calm and serious consideration throughout the Church. We hope to be able to give our own views of the subject at length in a future number.

(20.) We have received the third and fourth volumes of "*The Life and Works of Robert Burns*, edited by Robert Chambers," (New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1852; 4 vols.,·12mo.,) which are prepared in the same careful and thorough way as the former volumes. The plan of the work, it will be remembered, is peculiar—incorporating the poems in their proper chronological places in the narrative, and thus making them, what in fact they are, part of the biography of the poet. No other edition of Burns can compete with this in fulness and accuracy.

(21.) "*History of the State of New-York*, by John Romeyn Brodhead." (New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1853; 8vo., pp. 801.) This is the first instalment of a work which, if carried on as it has been begun, will be an honour not merely to the author, but to the country. Mr. Brodhead divides the history of New-York into four periods: the first, from its discovery by the Dutch in 1609 to its seizure by the English in 1664; the second extends from 1664 down to the cession of Canada to England in 1763; the third, from 1763 to the inauguration of President Washington in 1789; and the fourth embraces the annals of the state from the organization of the Federal Government onward. The volume before us is occupied with the history of the first of these periods—embracing the settlement and the Dutch history proper—a field congenial to Mr. Brodhead, and which he has treated most admirably. He has a clear and simple style, free in the main from the rhetorical ambitiousness, which is the vice of Bancroft, and, in fact, of American writers of history in general; his sense of truth is strong and prevailing; his selection and grouping of points are artistical and effective; and the work, moreover, has a tone of life and earnestness which carries the reader fully with it. We regret that our space will not allow us to present illustrative passages; but we hope at a future day, with further volumes of the work before us, to give it an extended review. In the mean time, we commend the work to our readers as indispensable to every well-furnished library.

(22.) "*The Preacher and the King; or, Bourdaloue in the Court of Louis* XIV., *translated from the French of L. Bungerer;* with an Introduction by Rev. S. Potts, D. D." (Boston: Gould and Lincoln, 1853; 12mo., pp. 338.) The title of this book conveys no adequate idea of its deeply interesting and attractive contents. In form it is a story, or rather dialogue, introducing Fénelon, Arnauld, Claude, Bourdaloue, and other distinguished preachers of the age of Louis XIV., with glances at the splendid court of the "Great

Digitized by Google

King," and of the vicious retinue that attended him. On the slender thread of the narrative are strung many choice pearls of criticism and observation. The work is, in fact, as Dr. Potts observes in his Introduction, "substantially a book on eloquence, especially sacred eloquence, and none the less worthy of respectful attention because its criticisms are embodied in a spirited narrative, embracing occurrences and persons which belong to the actual history of that extraordinary era." It treats, in that lively and pointed style of discussion which none but a Frenchman can reach, of the handling of the text, of divisions, of the delivery of the sermon, and of most of the other topics of theoretical and practical homiletics.

(23.) We have received the fifth and sixth volumes of "*The Works of Shakspeare, edited by Rev. H. N. Hudson, A. M.* (Boston: James Monroe & Co.; 12mo.) The same judicious style of annotation—not excessive, but sufficient for the ordinary reader—which marked the former volumes of this edition, characterizes the two before us. In point of size, goodness of type, portability, &c., this is certainly the best edition of Shakspeare as a text for *reading* now extant in the language.

(24.) The American Unitarian Association is publishing a series of books which give by authority (so far as there is any authority in that denomination on theological questions) the views of those Unitarians who hold to the authenticity and inspiration of the Christian Scriptures. The first of those that has reached us is, "*Discourses on the Unity of God, and other Subjects*, by W. G. Eliot, Jr., Pastor of the First Congregational Society of St. Louis." (Boston: Crosby, Nichols & Co.; 1853; 12mo., pp. 168.) Mr. Eliot presents the Unitarian theory of Christianity in its very best aspect, and writes with a clearness, moderation, and judgment rarely brought to the treatment (in a polemical way) of theological topics. Whoever wishes to see the most and best that can be said for Unitarianism will find it, in short compass, in this book. One example of apparently unfair dealing appears in the volume however, viz., the citation of Kuinoel's Commentary as a "standard work in orthodox universities," implying thereby that Kuinoel is an orthodox authority, which Mr. Eliot knows, or should know, is not the fact. It is somewhat amusing to see how promptly Mr. Eliot sets aside the orthodox method of interpretation in applying certain passages of Scripture to Christ's human nature, (p. 50,) while he adopts precisely the same method (p. 64) in order to get rid of those passages in which "similar language is applied to Christ and to God."

We cannot say so much for the execution of another volume bearing the same imprimatur, entitled, "*Regeneration*, by Edmund H. Sears." (12mo., pp. 248.) The style is elaborate and ambitious, only too fine for the purpose, and quite different from the clear, curt, and comprehensive style of Mr. Eliot. But the subject is treated with remarkable ability. The work is divided into three parts, of which the first treats of the "natural man," the second of the "spiritual nature," and the third of the "new man." Discarding the theory

Digitized by Google

of the imputation of Adam's guilt to his posterity, Mr. Sears goes far beyond the usual admissions of Unitarian writers on depravity. He holds that human nature is not merely functionally but organically depraved, and that certain of its internal forces are so corrupt as to require extinction, while at the same time they are transmitted from generation to generation by a universal law of descent, tainting the whole race. Nevertheless, man's spiritual nature still exists, forming an inborn capacity for holiness, and a *receptivity* of divine influences, which are imparted, generally, to all men, and specially to Christians, and which constitute the source of holiness in man. Regeneration, then, includes:—1. The receiving of the Holy Spirit; 2. The inclination, under this spiritual influence, of our natural powers toward God; 3. The expulsion of our corrupt instincts, whether inherited or acquired. Such is the outline. One would think the writer was trying how near he could come to the substance of evangelical theology without adopting its forms. Of course we cannot regard the book as sound, logical, or Scriptural in its theology; but it *tends* in the right direction. We shall rejoice to find such books as these multiplied by the Unitarian Association. Their influence will be shown in the next generation, if not in this, in the return of many not only to the spirit, but to the forms of the old historical theology of the Church, so far as those forms are Scriptural, as they are in the main.

(25.) "*The Poetry of the Vegetable World: a Popular Exposition of the Science of Botany and its Relations to Man*, by M. J. SLEIDEN, M. D., Professor of Botany in the University of Jena." (Cincinnati: Moore & Co.; New-York: Newman; 12mo., pp. 360.) The title of this book affords no clue to its exceedingly rich contents. It not only sets forth the facts and principles of botany perspicuously and comprehensively, but it also treats, in a broad and philosophical way, of the relation of plants to the organism of nature and of the human race. Finding, too, in the vegetable world a hieroglyphic of the Eternal, it unfolds the relations of the world through man to God. There are faults and gaps, but what human work is perfect? The English edition has been carefully edited by Professor Alphonso Wood of Cincinnati.

(26.) THE fourth and concluding volume of "*The History of the Restoration of Monarchy in France*, by ALPHONSE DE LAMARTINE," (New-York: Harper & Brothers; 1853; 12mo., pp. 524,) brings the history down to the expulsion of Charles X. from France. It is, in some respects, the best of the four volumes—impartial in its judgments, so far as Lamartine can be impartial in treating any subject into which he throws his fine sympathies—graphic in its pictures, and, on the whole, trustworthy in its statement of facts. The times of the restored Louis XVIII. and of Charles X. do not abound in stirring adventure, but the intrigues, reactions, and political combinations of the period require nice discrimination for their treatment. Lamartine is more than fair to Charles X. and his ministers. The work, now completed, should be in every well-furnished library.

Digitized by Google

(27.) "*The Annotated Paragraph Bible, with Explanatory Notes, &c.*, vol. 1. Genesis to Solomon's Song." (New-York: C. B. Norton; 1853; 8vo., pp. 720.) The text of this edition is divided, according to the natural pauses, into paragraphs and sections, with appropriate headings to each, the chapters and verses being marked in the margin. Brief notes are subjoined to each page, chiefly illustrating manners, customs, usages, &c.; while comprehensive introductory prefaces are given with each book. The whole work is prepared with great care, and it is illustrated quite largely with maps and drawings. We have seen no edition of the Bible so well suited for private and family reading.

(28.) Of "*Home-Life in Germany*, by Charles L. Brace," (New-York: C. Scribner; 12mo., pp. 444,) we should be glad to say a great deal and to give copious extracts, but the book has reached our table at so late a period that we can only announce it, merely adding that we can bear personal testimony to the fidelity of its pictures of German life, and that no book of travel in Germany for many years has rivalled this in point of interest and truthfulness. Our readers who wish to know how the great, and, in many respects, excellent German people live about their own firesides will find a store-house of instruction and entertainment in Mr. Brace's pages.

(29.) The "Complete Historical Series," by S. G. Goodrich, (Peter Parley,) has been several years before the public and has met with great success. New and revised editions have just been issued by E. H. Butler & Co., Pha., in very neat form. The series consists of a "*Pictorial History of the United States*," (12mo., pp. 360;) "*Pictorial History of England*," brought down to the time of Queen Victoria (12mo., pp. 444;) "*Pictorial History of France*," down to 1848, (pp. 347;) "*Pictorial History of Greece*," ancient and modern, (pp. 371;) "*Pictorial History of Rome*," with a sketch of the history of modern Italy, (pp. 333;) and "*Peter Parley's Common School History*," intended to furnish a clear outline of universal history down to 1849. The paragraphs in each history are numbered, and questions are subjoined upon each for the purpose of class-training. We know no better books of the kind than this series.

(30.) "*Life of Thomas Chalmers, D. D.*, edited by Rev. James C. Moffatt, M. A., Professor of Latin, &c., at Princeton." (Cincinnati: Moore & Co.; 12mo., pp. 435.) This volume professes to be little more than an abridgment of Dr. Hanna's Memoir of Chalmers, which has been republished in this country by Messrs. Harper & Brothers. As such it may be useful to many who cannot purchase the larger work. How far, under the present lawless condition of international copyright, abridgments of works already before the public should be undertaken, except by the publishers who may have taken the risk of the greater enterprise, is a question on both sides of which something might be said. We are inclined to think, however, that so long as all

Digitized by Google

American publishers alike have unlimited right to print English books without compensation to the authors, they should respect the *quasi* rights gained by priority of republication.

(31.) "*Leila; or the Island*, by ANN FRASER TYTLER," (New-York: C. S. Francis & Co.; 1853; 18mo., pp. 232,) is a very pretty Crusoe-like story of a gentleman and his daughter who were wrecked on an uninhabited island, and made their abode there for some years. It abounds in excellent moral and religious lessons. From the same publishers we have received "*Arbell*, by JANE WINNARD HOOPER," which has less of the religious character. Both are very neatly printed and illustrated.

(32.) THE fifth volume of the Marco Paul Series, so attractive to little folks, is "*Marco Paul in Boston*, by JACOB ABBOTT," (18mo., pp. 192,) just published by Messrs. Harper & Brothers. Parents may freely furnish these books to their children.

(33.) "*Lectures on Pastoral Theology:* by the Rev. JAMES S. CANNON, D. D." (New-York: C. Scribner; 8vo., pp. 617.) Dr. Cannon was for many years Professor of Pastoral Theology and Ecclesiastical History in the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Dutch Church, at New-Brunswick, N. J., where he died, full of years and honours, in July, 1852. The volume contains thirty-six lectures, covering the entire range of pastoral theology, and more besides. Part I. treats, in nine lectures, of the "Qualifications of the Pastoral Office," which are stated to be: 1. A divine call; 2. Suitable intellectual endowments; 3. Certain gracious endowments; 4. Aptness to teach, under which head the common topics of homiletics are treated. Part II. treats of "Pastoral Duties," viz., prayer, preaching, the administration of the sacraments, catechization and pastoral visiting, and example. Most of these points are treated in ample detail, and with great good sense. The work is a valuable addition to our scanty stock of books on pastoral theology.

(34.) FEW men have lived and laboured in this world to whom it owes so much, and of whom it knows so little, as the translators of the English Bible. Eminent for learning and piety as these men were in their day, few, except the learned, now know even their names; and, even among the learned, little has been known of their history. No person appears to have thought of collecting the scattered facts of their history, before the author of a work now before us, entitled "*The Translators revived; a Biographical Memoir of the Authors of the English Version of the Bible;* by A. W. M'CLURE." (New-York: C. Scribner, 1853; 12mo., pp. 250.) Mr. M'Clure has gone through a great deal of toil in searching for the information which his welcome book affords. He gives in an introduction a full account of the different English

Digitized by Google

versions before the times of James I., and states at length the occasion of the present translation, and the methods by which it was prepared. Then follow biographical sketches, more or less extended, of all the men employed upon the great work. Mr. M'Clure's pages afford ample proof "of the surpassing qualifications of these venerable translators, taken as a body, for their high and holy work." His book, moreover, is full of interest in itself, and deserves the widest possible circulation.

(35.) "*Epitome of Greek and Roman Mythology; with Explanatory Notes and a Vocabulary:* by JOHN S. HART, LL. D., Principal of the Philadelphia High School," &c. (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Co.; 12mo., pp. 162.) This volume contains an outline of classical mythology, in Latin, long used in elementary instruction in France, under the title of "Epitome de Diis et Heroibus Poeticis," originally prepared by the Jesuit Juvencius. It will serve the double purpose of a text-book for exercise and practice in Latin, and also of a manual of mythology: and is the better for either purpose because it serves both. The student of this little book, while daily hammering out his task as a beginner, will insensibly find the facts of mythology "ground into him." It is remarkable how facts learned in this way stick in the memory: the old schoolmasters had some reason for making the boys learn all grammar-rules in Latin. To facilitate the use of the book, examination-questions are subjoined to each page; and a sufficiently copious body of notes, and a vocabulary at the end of the book, furnish all the apparatus (except the grammar) necessary for its use as a grammatical lesson-book. We recommend the book most earnestly to the notice of classical teachers, believing that a careful examination will lead them to adopt it; and that its use will be of service in making *thorough* scholars.

(36.) "*The Human Body at the Resurrection of the Dead*, by GEORGE HODGSON." (London: J. Mason, 1853; pp. 88.) In this tractate Mr. Hodgson seeks to show that the notion that the body will, at the resurrection, be spiritualized or refined into "a body partly spirit and partly matter" is contrary alike to Scripture and to philosophy. He also impugns the common opinion that "flesh and blood" cannot enter heaven, and rejects the current physiological doctrine of the "waste" and "reparation" of the human body. The way is thus prepared for a rejection of the *germ* theory (so called) of the resurrection, (which Mr. Hodgson holds to be destitute of foundation, either in reason or Scripture,) and for the establishment of his own view, which is that the primitive matter of the body, without loss or modification, will be raised up in fulness of life—*none* of its organs (e. g., those for eating and digestion) being wanting. Mr. Hodgson is not a practised or easy writer, but appears to be firmly convinced of the truth of his conclusions, and maintains his points with a good deal of vigour.

(37.) AMERICAN books of travel, whether of the grave, didactic sort, or of the light and *sketchy*, are the best of any written at the present day. The causes

Digitized by Google

of this superiority are not far to seek—but this is not the place to exhibit them. Among the best of the second class which our literature has produced is "*Yusef: or the Journey of the Frangi*, by J. Ross Browne." (New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1853; 12mo., pp. 421.) Mr. Browne, with true Yankee spirit, set out from Washington with fifteen dollars to make a tour of the East. On the way he took to whaling in the Indian Ocean, and (oddly enough) to four years work at a clerk's desk in Washington, and then to reporting debates in California! After these digressions (the story of which may be found partly in Harper's Magazine) he took the *real* tour of which this book is the record. And a curious record it is—a medley of sense and raillery, of acute observation and pleasant narrative, all impregnated with unfailing good humour, and set off with an occasional extravagance for which full traveller's allowance must be granted. Altogether it is a very spirited and agreeable book.

(38.) "*Three Months under the Snow*," (New-York: Carlton & Phillips, 18mo., pp. 178,) is one of the most affecting and even fascinating narratives we have ever read. It is the story of a little boy, who, with his grandfather, was buried under the snow in a mountain cottage, in Switzerland. Let our readers get it if they wish to be charmed, affected, and edified.

(39.) The fifth volume of "*The Complete Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*," (New-York: Harper & Brothers, 12mo., pp. 628,) contains the third and fourth volumes of his Literary Remains as collected and edited by Henry Nelson Coleridge. A review of the whole work is in preparation, and will appear as soon as possible after the publication of this new and complete edition is finished.

(40.) The latest volume of Bohn's Scientific Library contains a selection from the "*Works of Lord Bacon*," (12mo., pp. 567,) including the second and third parts of the Instauratio Magna, viz.: the De Augmentis and the Novum Organum, which unfold the whole design of his philosophy, and constitute the only portion of his works that is much read. The treatise on the "Advancement of Learning" is reprinted from Shaw's translation with revisions: the "Novum Organum" is given from Wood's revision, the best extant. Supplementary and explanatory notes are given from various authors, so that this edition is the best, by far, for general use, that has yet appeared. All the books published in series by Mr. Bohn are kept on sale by Bangs, Brother, & Co., 13 Park Row, New-York.

(41.) "*The Works of James Arminius, D. D., formerly Professor of Divinity in the University of Leyden, translated from the Latin*, edited by the Rev. W. R. Bagnall, A. M." (Auburn: Derby, Miller & Co., 1853; 3 vols., 8vo.) The first two volumes of this translation are taken from the edition of James Nichols, published in London in 1825 and 1828; but that edition embraced not

Digitized by Google

quite two-thirds of the works of Arminius, and Mr. Bagnall has translated all the remainder. He has also revised Nichols's translation, correcting it when necessary. The present edition, then, contains all the theological writings of Arminius, the publication of which was ever sanctioned by himself or his friends. We cannot express too strongly our sense of the obligation under which the translator and the publishers have laid the theological public. The name of Arminius is oftener mentioned, in terms of praise or of reproach, than that of any other theologian except, perhaps, Calvin; yet his writings have been, for the most part, a sealed book, not merely to the laity, but to the majority of ministers. The original editions of his works are both scarce and dear; while Nichols's version, imperfect as it was, has been long out of the market. There can be no doubt, we think, of the success of this edition, even as a commercial speculation. It is got up in a very commodious form, is handsomely printed, and sold very cheap.

As for the translation, we cannot speak of it decidedly at present, as we have not compared either Mr. Nichols's version or Mr. Bagnall's with the original. It reads well, however, and has that air of likeness which a *good* translation always carries on its face. Mr. Bagnall's style appears to be much more easy than Nichols's. He speaks of his mode of translating and editing the work in his preface as follows:—

"In the part now, for the first time, published in the English language, the object has been to present, with clearness and accuracy, the ideas of Arminius, and the original has been adhered to as closely as possible, a nearly literal translation being often preferred to one adorned with greater elegance of style. In both parts of the work, a word or phrase from the original has been frequently inserted, when it has been found difficult to convey in the English rendering the precise shade of meaning. It has also been thought expedient to insert a few brief notes, some of them preparatory to the different treatises, and others subjoined to the text as references, or needed explanations. More numerous and more extended observations might have been interesting and valuable, but the limits, which it was judged best to prescribe to the work, have prevented their insertion. A short sketch of the life of Arminius, designed only to elucidate some of the principal facts and events of his history, is prefixed to the translation."

We regret to be compelled to add that the book is disfigured to a painful extent by typographical blunders. The editor's distance from the place of publication is assigned as an excuse for this, but it is insufficient. The publishers should have employed some competent person on the spot to secure correctness in the printing of so great a work. The Greek citations throughout the work have neither breathings nor accents. What is most marvellous of all is the fact that there is *no index*—a deficiency entirely inexcusable in a work of this class, designed to be *complete*, and to occupy the place of a standard book in theological libraries.

We speak plainly of these things, as becomes us. It is high time that *great* books were as carefully prepared and printed in America as in Europe. It is due to the purchasers of such books, who intend, in buying them, to use them for study or reference, that all the necessary *apparatus* should be furnished with them. At the same time, we express our thanks both to publisher and editor for this new edition of Arminius, and hope it will be so widely sold that another will be called for in which the defects on which we have animadverted may be remedied.

Digitized by Google

(42.) Mr. Strong's "Harmony and Exposition of the Gospels" has met with great and deserved success. We are now glad to chronicle the appearance of an abridgment of the large work under the title of "*A Manual of the Gospels, for the Use of Sunday Schools, Bible Classes, and Families*, by James Strong, A. M." (New-York: Carlton & Phillips; 1853; 16mo., pp. 470.) It contains the leading text, or Harmony, from the larger work, printed on the left-hand page, with the Exposition, somewhat condensed, on the right.

The *Exposition* is a marked feature of the work, and in some respects its most valuable one. Its purpose is well stated in the Editor's preface as follows:—

"To prevent all misconception of its design, therefore, we wish here to state distinctly, that it is intended merely as a concise COMMENTARY, and in no sense as a rival *translation* for popular or any other use. On this account, different terms and phrases from those employed in the common version have generally been purposely used, for the sake of more accurate explanation or greater vividness by the variety,—just as the definitions in a *dictionary* avoid the use of the word to be defined, and employ others instead, as nearly synonymous as possible. Neither must this be supposed to be a *paraphrase* of the text; on the contrary, it is meant to keep closely to the tenor of the original language, and to copy its very phraseology,—with merely such a latitude in terms as is necessary to convey its meaning to the modern reader. Wherever the explanation requires an expansion or illustration, it is distinguished as such by the use of brackets [ ], both for the sake of brevity and to avoid the inconvenience of notes at the foot of the page.

"Some may think that a popular commentary, in the usual form of annotations, would have been more satisfactory; the task would certainly have been easier in many respects. To have adopted such a form, however, would have been to destroy the two chief features of this work, upon which the usefulness of its plan must mainly depend, namely, its *compact form* and its *continuous arrangement*: regular "notes" would not only have occupied much greater space, and have presented the ideas in a more diluted and far less terse and picturesque manner, but they would also have broken up the train of thought into detached paragraphs of explanation, and compelled the reader to refer continually to the text, in order to keep to the thread of the discourse. A commentary in such a form can never be made an interesting *reading-book*, at least for youth; and even for purposes of consultation, it is apt to enlarge unduly upon one part of the text, and leave other points untouched.

"For these reasons, as the Author in substance states in the Preface to his larger work, he has pursued a different method in this Exposition; and it is for these reasons that we have adopted it for the present purpose. Yet no one who has tried his hand at such an effort will suppose that the labour of elucidating the meaning of the sacred text has thereby been lightened; on the contrary, it has been much increased. On the present plan, how to convey the requisite explanation in the prescribed compass, and yet have the whole read smoothly, must have been continually a matter of the greatest difficulty, and one that required the most careful management. It was impossible to exhibit the process by which conclusions were reached, and yet the results were to be so stated that the reasons should spontaneously occur to the reader. Superadded to this was the necessity of adhering to the turn of thought, and even to the style of language, as found in the original of the text; and at the same time, of so elucidating both these as to show, in one sentence, what the text *says*, and what it *means*, as well as the connexion between the phraseology and the sense. All these steps might easily have been drawn out in notes, while they were present to the mind; but on the contrary, a single expression only could be given, to embody and vindicate the results of tedious study and consideration. And even this expression had to be so worded as to distinguish, on its very face, the explanatory from the original matter. Nor was any allusion to the Greek words of the text admissible, in order to develop the meaning silently assigned to them; nor

Digitized by Google

any discussion of conflicting opinions allowable: but one sense could be given, and that must be promptly and unequivocally stated, and then be left to the candour of the reader, to accept or reject as the general bearing of the context might warrant. These were some of the embarrassments of the present undertaking; and they are here only referred to for the purpose of explaining certain peculiarities in its execution, that might not otherwise be understood. The version of the poetical parts of the text was particularly beset with difficulties, not so much arising from the restraints imposed by the laws of metre, as from the peculiar manner in which the New Testament writers quote passages from the Old Testament—these being also generally passages of great scope of meaning and highly rhetorical structure."

The Notes and Dissertations are omitted as unnecessary for the purposes of this abridgment. In its present form, taken in connexion with the author's "Question Book," the work is admirably adapted to use in schools and Bible classes, as well as for family instruction. Like all the recent issues from the Methodist Book Concern, it is beautifully printed and bound.

(43.) "*Lives of the Brothers Humboldt, Alexander and William.*" (New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1853; 12mo., pp. 398.) The memoir of Alexander von Humboldt, given in this volume, is from the German of Klencke; that of William is by Schlesier; and both are translated by Juliette Bauer. How faithful the version is we cannot say, as we have not seen the originals; but it lacks ease and naturalness. The substance of the volume will be found to possess the deepest interest. Alexander von Humboldt, still living—and in his eighty-fifth year still working unweariedly from day to day—has reached the highest summit of scientific fame gained by any man of his generation. Uniting the attainments of a whole academy in himself, he adds to his vast intellectual wealth the highest capacity of using it, with the happy usury of learning, at once to enlarge his own stores and to shower them upon his fellow-men. The quick enthusiasm of his genius has inspired almost every branch of natural science into new activity, and fertilized many a barren tract into a fruit-bearing soil. His brother William possessed, perhaps, equally great original powers: it is only because his line of study and research has been more remote from the ordinary walks and needs of men that his fame has not rivalled his brother's. Their example, as given in this book, cannot fail to stimulate the energies of every student who shall read it.

(44.) "*A Treatise on Biblical Criticism, exhibiting a Systematic View of that Science*, by SAMUEL DAVIDSON, D. D." (2 vols., 8vo.; Edinburgh: A. & C. Black, 1852.) A work on this topic—or rather series of topics—was issued by the same author in 1830. On attempting its revision he found that not merely a new edition, but a new book, was needed. The science had advanced rapidly in thirteen years, and the author's knowledge of it had grown still more rapidly; so that when he came to retouch his pages, "everything had to be rewritten and put into a new shape." And, he tells us, "it will not surprise any, except the very ignorant, to be told that various opinions formerly held by the author have been abandoned." The first volume gives the literary history of the Old Testament: the second that of the New. Dr. Davidson has, in this work,

Digitized by Google

as in his "Introduction to the New Testament," shown the most unwearied diligence in collecting and arranging materials, and in bringing down his statements to the latest scientific knowledge; but he fails in both works to condense his matter well and to select his points aptly. Of all these things we shall speak more at length in an article now in preparation for our next number.

(45.) We noticed some time since the new "*Catechism of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, No. 1," (New-York: Carlton & Phillips,) and urged upon our readers, both clerical and lay, the vast importance of the work, and the duty of the Church with regard to its introduction and use. We have now before us the second and third numbers of the Catechism, completing the series. The great peculiarity and excellence of this series lie in the fact that it does not consist of three separate catechisms, but of *one*, in three stages of development, the language of the basis being unchanged in the different numbers of the series. No. 1 is the Catechism; No. 2 is the same, with the addition of numerous Scripture proofs and illustrations printed side by side with the several questions and answers. After the scholar has learned by heart the answers to the questions in No. 1, so as to repeat them *verbatim*, he should proceed to commit to memory, just as carefully, the Scripture proofs of the several answers as furnished in No. 2. No time or trouble should be spared in thoroughly securing this most important object of catechetical instruction. The boy or girl who has the answers and their *proofs* fixed firmly in his or her memory will not be apt, in after life, to be "blown about by every wind of doctrine." The aim of Catechism No. 3 is to expand the answers of No. 1 and the proofs of No. 2 into something like a system of Christian doctrine in a condensed form. The Catechism proper is taken up section by section, and a *summary* is given, in comprehensive language, of the subject-matter of each section. Then follow an analysis of the section, a number of explanatory and practical questions, and a set of definitions:—

"Some of the questions relate to the theory, and some to the practice, of religion; some of them are found in other Catechisms, and some are new. None have been inserted for the sake of extending the work, and none that have been deemed essential to the practical objects of a Catechism have been omitted. It is hoped that they will all be systematically and thoroughly learned in their proper order. Many of them will doubtless be suggestive of other questions, which an intelligent and judicious teacher can verbally supply.

"The study of this Catechism will not be completed until the learner shall have prepared himself to give concise and pertinent definitions to all the important terms used.

"Definitions of the more prominent and difficult terms have been appended to the several sections. It should be observed that these definitions are not intended to supply the place of a dictionary, but simply to give a concise and clear explanation of the words as used in the positions to which reference is made. Hence there has been no attempt to reduce words to their original form; on the other hand, words of every form, whether noun, verb, participle, adjective, or adverb, are defined as they occur.

"It is very important for Biblical students and teachers to accustom themselves to define words clearly and properly. Continued practice will cause the habit to become pleasant as well as useful.

"The design of this Catechism throughout, is not only to exercise the memory, but to discipline the mind, to enlighten the understanding, and to improve the

Digitized by Google

heart. In its preparation, constant reference has been made to the elaborate catechetical works of former times, with the intention of copying their excellences and improving upon their construction and phraseology."—Pp. 4, 5.

We concur most cordially in the wish expressed by the editor, that "the study of this manual of Christian truth may become universal in our Sunday schools and in our families, and that the day will soon come when no person among us of sufficient age will be found ignorant of its contents, or unable to give a reason of the hope that is in him."

(46.) Of the following pamphlets, &c., we can give nothing but the titles:—

Twelfth Annual Catalogue of the Providence Conference Seminary, East Greenwich, R. I.

Annual Report of the Trustees and Superintendent of the Pennsylvania State Lunatic Hospital, at Harrisburgh, for the year 1852.

Tenth Annual Report of the Managers of the State Lunatic Asylum of New-York.

American Psychological Journal, vol. i, conducted by Edward Mead, M. D.

Report of the Majority of the Commissioners appointed to examine the affairs of Union College. Transmitted to the Legislature March 4, 1853.

The American and Foreign Christian Union, 1853.

Minutes of the Seventeenth Session of the New-Jersey Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, held at Bridgeton, April 13–20, 1853.

Common Schools Unsectarian. A Discourse delivered in the Methodist Episcopal Church at Ann Arbor, Michigan, March 6, 1853, by E. O. Haven.

Art. XI—RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Theological and Religious.

EUROPEAN.

"*Die Christliche Kirche der drei ersten Jahrhunderte: Vorlesungen von* Dr. K. R. Hagenbach, Prof. der Theologie in Basil." (Leipsig: 1853; 8vo., pp. 349.) The first three of these lectures treat of the state of the heathen and Jewish world immediately before and at the time of Christ's advent; the fourth lecture exhibits the *unevangelical* narrative of Christ's birth and life; the three following treat of the foundation of the Church and of its history in the apostolic times; and the remainder of the work brings down the record to the end of the third century. It is well worthy the attention of theological students.

We have received Part I. of "*Clavis Librorum Veteris Testamenti Apocryphorum Philologica, auctore* Christ. Abr. Wahl, Phil. et Theol. Doctore." (Leipsig: 1853; royal 8vo.) This part contains 320 pages, and carries the Lexicon down to the word *ματαιόφρων*.

"*Guielmi Gesenii Thesaurus Philologicus Criticus Linguæ Hebrææ et Chaldææ Vet. Testamenti.*" We have received the last fasciculus of the third volume of this great work—the *editio altera secundum radices digesta, priore Germanica longe auctior et emendatior*—edited by Roediger. (Lips.: 1853; 8 Vogel, 4to.) The work is completed in 1522 quarto pages.

"*Pro Confessionis Religione adversus Confessionum Theologiam, scripsit C. G. G. Theile,* Theol. in Univ. Lips. Prof. (Lipsiæ: 1852; 8vo., pp. 146.) The object of this tractate is to show that *religion* and *theology* are

Digitized by Google

entirely distinct, and, if possible, to adjust rightly the limits of each.

The Church of England is constantly affording illustrations of the inevitable tendency of national Church establishments to corruption and peculation. By the 6th and 7th William IV., chapter 77, (1836,) certain amounts of income were assigned to the different sees of England and Wales—viz., £15,000 to Canterbury, £10,000 to York and London, £8,000 to Durham, £5,500 to Ely, £5,000 to Salisbury, Worcester, and others, and £4,200 to St. Asaph. Accordingly, returns of their revenues were called for from the then incumbents of the different sees, and calculations made thereupon to determine the yearly sums payable to the commission by the archbishops and bishops consecrated or translated since January 1, 1836, so as to leave them respectively the income contemplated by the legislature. For example, the annual charge thus fixed upon for the Bishop of Durham was £11,200, the commissioners having been led by his lordship's representations to believe that the average annual income of the see would be £19,200. In fact, the estimated future net income of Durham was, in 1835, calculated at £17,890 only. Well, the bishop has so managed the estates that, from 1837 to 1850, his net annual income has varied from £16,330 0*s.* 11*d.* to £34,767 12*s.* 10*d.*, and made a total of more than £342,000, instead of £268,000; so that this self-denying prelate of the north has had £74,000 more than what the legislature intended!

The first two volumes of Smith's "*Sacred Annals*," (published under the titles of the "Patriarchal Age" and the "Hebrew People," by Messrs. Carlton & Phillips, 200 Mulberry-st., New-York,) have met with a very favourable reception in this country. The third volume is announced in London as in preparation, under the title of "*The History and Religion of the Gentile Nations that were placed in Proximity to the Jewish People:* containing a Succinct Account of the Egyptians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Medes, Persians, Greeks, and Romans; carefully collected from Ancient Authors and Holy Scripture, with the best aid afforded by Recent Discoveries in Egyptian and Assyrian Inscriptions. Being the Third *and concluding* Series of *Sacred Annals;* with Indexes and Tables adapted to the whole work: and forming a complete connexion of the Sacred and Profane History, also a full Elucidation of the Fulfilment of Sacred Prophecy. By George Smith, F. A. S."

Mr. Blackader (13 Paternoster Row, London) is publishing in monthly parts a new edition of the "*Authorised Version of the Bible.*" This edition is framed on the model of the Chronological New Testament, favourably noticed in this journal last year, under the conviction "that something could be done to make our invaluable English Version more intelligible to devout students of the Word of God, by some little helps in arrangement and printing." These helps were as follows:—I. The Text was newly divided into Paragraphs and Sections; II. Dates and Places of transactions were marked; III. The Translators' Marginal Renderings were given; IV. The Parallel Illustrative Passages were quoted at length; V. Quotations from the Old Testament were printed in capitals. In the present edition these improvements have been more completely carried out. And, in addition, the following have been attempted to be given:—I. *The most Important Variations of the Versions*, viz.: the Chaldee Paraphrases, Samaritan, Septuagint, Syriac, Vulgate, Arabic, Persic, and Ethiopic. II. *Critical Notes from the best sources, Continental and British.* The object has been to explain as clearly and thoroughly as possible all difficult passages, and thus to put the English reader in possession of those helps which modern research and scholarship have produced. III. *Elucidations from Modern Discoveries and Travels.* Great attention has been paid to the Geography and History of the Bible; and the best and most recent sources of information have been consulted—all which sources are carefully given.

Proposals have been issued (by Jackson and Walford, 18 St. Paul's Church-yard, London) for the publication, by subscription, of "*First Lines of Christian Theology*, in the form of a Syllabus, prepared for the use of the Students in the Academy at Homerton; with large additions and elucidations by the author, the late John Pye Smith, D. D., LL. D., F. R. S., Fifty Years Tutor of Homerton College; edited from the original manuscripts, with some additional notes and references, and copious indexes, by William Farrer, LL. B., Secretary and Librarian of New College, London." The work will appear in one large volume, 8vo., price twelve shillings (sterling). For more than thirty years before his death, Dr. Smith adopted the method of oral lecturing upon the Syllabus, which he was thus led to enrich with a body of the most valuable additions, expansions, and annotations. A considerable portion of the work was completely

Digitized by Google

re-written. The volume, therefore, contains ample, though condensed, discussions of the topics which might be expected to occur in such a work.

The Catholic controversy waxes hotter in England. New books, pamphlets, and journals are daily phenomena. One of the most successful of the latter is "*The Bulwark, or Reformation Journal*," edited by Rev. Dr. Cunningham, Principal of the New College, Edinburgh, which has entered upon its second year with a subscription list of thirty thousand.

The first two volumes of Clark's "*Theological Library*" for 1853, were announced for publication in May, namely, Müller on the Christian Doctrine of Sin, Vol. II, and Gieseler's Ecclesiastical History, Vol. III. Thirty volumes of the series have now been issued; forming a most valuable collection of theological and Biblical literature.

The third and concluding part of that most timely and valuable little book, "*The Restoration of Belief*," is just announced in London. It treats of the Miracles of the Gospels considered in their relation to the principal features of the Christian Scheme.

The *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* for April, 1853, contains the following articles:—1. On the position of the apocryphal books of the Old Testament in the Christian canon, by Dr. Bleek; 2. On the temptation of Christ, by F. W. Laufs; 3. An apology for Heathenism and attack on Christianity, (a curious article, written by the Brahmin Mora Bhatta Dandekara, and translated into English by Wilson, in Bombay, 1832;) 3. Systematic and Practical Theology, by Dr. Kienlen, (a brief paper fixing the logical position of apologetics and polemics in the circle of theological science;) 4. A Review of the second part of Hasse's Anselm of Canterbury, by Kling; 5. A Review of Dittmar's "Geschichte der Welt vor und nach Christus," by Kayser; 6. On the effect of the plans of Church-order by Bugenhagen, in the development of the German Church and culture, by C. F. Jäger, of Tübingen; 7. Programme of the Hague Society for the defence of the Christian religion, for 1852.

In 1843 Professor Hasse, of Bonn, published the first volume of his "*Anselm von Canterbury*," containing the life of Anselm. Following literally the Horatian rule *nonum prematur in annum*, he has just issued the second volume, containing *Die Lehre Anselm's*, (Leipzig, 1852, pp. 663,) which is characterized by Dr. Kling, in the Studien und Kritiken, as a *μνῆμα ἐς ἀεί*; combining a most thorough search into the sources, with a clear and sound historical knowledge and judgment, and a just and adequate appreciation of Anselm's theology. It is an indispensable book to all engaged in such studies.

We have received (but have not had time to examine thoroughly) "*Das Hohelied Salomonis ausgelegt von E. W. Hengstenberg*," (The Song of Solomon, interpreted by Professor Hengstenberg, Berlin, 1853, 8vo.; pp. 264,) which, besides the exposition, contains four supplementary dissertations:—1. On the unity of the Song; 2. On its author; 3. On its historical starting-point; and 4. On the two methods of interpreting it—the literal and the spiritual. We have also received the first part of the second and enlarged edition of "*Die Geschichte der Heiligen Schriften Neuen Testaments*, von Edward Reuss." (Braunschweig: 1853; 8vo., pp. 265.)

The "*Thirteenth Annual Report of the Wesleyan Committee of Education*," (London: 1853; 8vo., pp. 191,) is a formidable document, indicative of the weight of its contents. It furnishes abundant proof of the vitality of Wesleyan Methodism, that it can carry on so vast a system of public instruction as that detailed in this report, during the very heat and pressure of the disturbances which have of late years agitated the connexion. Still more significant is a recent movement for the establishment of a "*Connexional Relief and Extension Fund*," on that grand scale of operation which Methodism seems to delight in, both in England and America. At a meeting of Wesleyan ministers and gentlemen from various parts of the kingdom, assembled at the Centenary Hall, Bishopsgate-street, London, April 22d and 23d, the Rev. John Scott, President of the Conference, in the chair, it was unanimously agreed that measures should forthwith be taken to raise by subscription a Connexional Relief and Extension Fund, to be devoted, under the direction of a special committee, to the following objects:—The payment of the debts at present existing on the various connexional funds, with a provision for facilitating the operation of the plans adopted at the meeting to prevent the recurrence of similar debts in future; and the reduction, according to plans to be hereafter determined by the committee above-mentioned, of debts upon the chapels of the

Digitized by Google

Connexion, with a provision for facilitating the erection of new chapels in important and destitute places. For these important objects it was proposed that the sum of one hundred thousand pounds at least should be raised, over ten thousand pounds of which were subscribed in two days! Two years are allowed for the completion of the undertaking.

LETTER FROM PROFESSOR JACOBI.

Königsberg, March, 1853.

THE controversy concerning the continuation or dissolution of the union in the Established Church of Prussia has extended still further during the last three months. A great many clergymen, even of the province of Pommerania, the principal seat of exact Lutheranism, have, in petitions sent to the Church-government, declared themselves in favour of upholding the Union between Lutherans and Reformed. The "Oberkirchenrath" (Supreme Ecclesiastical Court) is of opinion, that the Union should be represented at least in the supreme court of the Church, so as not to allow any one to enter it without admitting the provision that it shall contain both Lutheran and Reformed members, and agreeing to the common administration by the *Plenum* of the Oberkirchenrath. So it has also willingly admitted as a member, Dr. Nitzsch, who, like most of the friends of the Union, considers the agreement of the Lutheran and Reformed confessions as the symbolic basis of the Church. The united congregations of the Rhine province have been reassured concerning the right of their united existence. And this was a very wise and very necessary decision; for these congregations arose amidst a predominantly Catholic population, by the uniting of Lutherans and Reformed into one congregation. A dissolution of the Union would threaten also these congregations with dissolution. Meanwhile the opponents of the Union have not been inactive. They met in some provincial and one general assembly at Wittenberg, (Sept. 28–30, 1852,) where a great zeal was manifested, exhibiting more of Lutheranism than of Christianity. To the theological faculties—men who have deserved of the Church more than any of the assistants at that assembly—they have answered with strong invectives and weak reasonings; some have seen in the declarations in favour of the Union open apostasy from the Church, as they likewise formerly contended that the Union was revolution, and that love for the Church and the native country was only found with the most rigid Lutherans or Reformed. They demand from the Oberkirchenrath, above all other things, the establishment of a Lutheran senate in that court, and the abolition of the ecclesiastical constitution, issued for the evangelical congregations, as containing too many democratic enactments, whilst they overrate the ministry in a way rather Catholic than Protestant. The Oberkirchenrath resists the former demand; but as to the execution of the ecclesiastical constitution, it has long ago made it dependent on the free will of the pastors, patrons, and congregations. The constitution has been introduced in the most suspected part of the monarchy—in two hundred and fifty congregations—and the result has been favourable beyond all expectation. The newly-elected elders have felt the obligation resting upon them to take the lead by a Christian life and frequent attendance at church. They have introduced a stricter discipline, and a more attentive ministering to the wants of the poor, and in this and other respects obstacles have been overcome in a short time, against which the pastors had long struggled in vain. A new interest in the gospel begins to awaken. Some of the congregations in the farthest north-east have been very much injured by Rationalism, for the University of Königsberg, where Kant had his seat, fostered Rationalistic views in clergymen and teachers. But other congregations have preserved Christianity in traditional, and, more or less, living forms. To those who uphold a high degree of Christian piety, belong the Lithuanian people, of which a considerable remnant here still exists. Separated from the modern unchristian influences by distance, language, and little cultivation, it has retained all its patriarchal piety. The state government and the University of Königsberg take care of the education of preachers who are able to preach to them in the Lithuanian language, which is still at least the language of the Church. In these Prussian countries, near the boundaries of Russia, the Baptists are very active in spreading their sect. Here is the home of many Mennonites, a sect kindred to them and dwelling especially in the fruitful low countries on the Vistula. These begin now to emigrate often to Russia, where great privileges are granted to these peaceable, industrious, and wealthy settlers.

The Irvingites, who have already descended from the climax of favour they found at Berlin, are now endeavouring to

Digitized by Google

make proselytes in these distant tracts. Two of their evangelists visited Königsberg, (1852,) but were forced by the police to quit the town. Of late, the police, seeing that the reasons for banishing them out of town were not valid, has not opposed any obstacle to their return. So one evangelist of the sect has again made his appearance at Königsberg; and since in all large towns, idle reformers, vain and confused pious people are found, there is no doubt that they will find some adherents here also.

Spicilegium Solesmense, complectens sanctorum Patrum scriptorumque ecclesiasticorum anecdota hactenus opera, cur. Dom. T. B. Pitra, ord. S. Bened., Monacho e congregatione Gallica. Tom. primus, (auctores sæculo V. antiquiores.) Paris: 1852.

I wish to direct your attention to a work which I cannot myself as yet fully characterize to you, but which, by all that I know of it, manifests already its great importance. The learned French Benedictine, M. Pitra, has, with that assiduity which always distinguished his order, compiled a large work, which is a worthy continuation of the great collections of Mabillon and Montfaucon, and which, in recent times, has been surpassed only by the treasures brought forth from the Vatican library by Angelo Mai. The libraries of Great Britain, France, and Belgium, have been searched by him with great care; manuscripts, already often examined, have been again reviewed, and a rich gleaning made of ecclesiastical writers, from the first centuries to the twelfth. At present I will mention a few of the contents, reserving other portions for a future article.

The few words which are produced from a Latin translation of the letter of Clemens Romanus to the Corinthians, have little value, as also the translator cannot be ascertained; it is of interest only that he seems to translate the ambiguous expression ἐπινομή by *forma*. Also, two short pieces, produced by Victor of Capua, (about 550 p. Chr.,) in a Latin translation of a Greek work, (liber responsionum,) would not be much missed, the authorship of Polycarp, to whom he attributes them, being very uncertain. Of no greater importance is a millennial story of Papias, extracted from an Armenian Codex of a Convent of the Mechitarish at Venice, and narrated already by Irenæus with by far too much importance. But it would be a very interesting circumstance, if a literal interpretation of this very story of Papias, contained in the Prolegomena of the Spicilegium, should be a fragment of the Clavis of Helito of Sardis (170 p. Chr.) as the editor asserts, who promises to publish afterwards the whole book. Then we should know the contents of this book, mentioned by Eusebius, and understand its name: it would be, as far as we know, the first Biblical lexicographic essay in the Church; a noteworthy testimonial of the scientific tendencies of the Church of Asia Minor in the second century. The expressions of Papias are understood figuratively, the vineyard as the Church, &c. To Irenæus M. Pitra, according to the manuscript, attributes a Syrian fragment, which, together with the other Syrian codices, has been brought recently to the British Museum from the Egyptian convents. It contains a description of the person and of the work of Christ, and there is nothing in it that could not have been said by Irenæus. His authorship is somewhat confirmed by the reappearing of the same fragment in an Armenian manuscript at Venice, which also attributes it to Irenæus: but the text has been made more uncertain by it; for the Armenian has amplified the same subject. This very matter is treated of in another Syrian piece attributed to him, which is as it were an enlargement of the second article of the Apostles' Creed; it is distinguished from the other, especially by the antitheses, in which the predicates of Christ are enumerated. It is noteworthy that the author states, explicitly in both pieces, that he gives only what is taught by Holy Writ. There is in it no appeal at all to ecclesiastical tradition, which the Roman Church likes so much to support by the authority of Irenæus.

The editor joins to this a prologue to the five books of Irenæus *Advers. Haeres.*, which he attributes, by a not unhappy accommodation, to the deacon *Florus*, of Lyon, in the ninth century; evidence concerning it cannot be obtained, and the piece does not deserve much inquiry in this regard. In the appendix M. Pitra adds a fragment of a practical explanation of Matthew xx, 21, evidently a part of a larger practical exegetical work; the Armenian manuscript calls Irenæus the author, but which he thinks rightly is very doubtful. With still more certainty the fragments of Justinus Martyr, which are contained in the Antirrheticos of Nicephorus, may be considered as spurious. Some pieces will also remain uncertain, attributed to Hip-

Digitized by Google

polytus, which are quoted here and in the appendix, (p. 551;) the latter has more the appearance of genuineness than the former; both of them are of small extent. Among the fragments from the book of Victor of Capua which are ascribed to Origen, is one from a work hitherto, as it seems, overlooked, on the Passover. He says in it, that the fire of purification, which shall occur at the end of the world, will consume also all darkness of the divine things, since then, like angels, we shall have God, the source of all good, present. Another is taken from a letter to Firmilianus, of Cæsarea, in Cappadocia, and explains, in a striking manner, the difference between Christians destitute of science and those learned; the former, resting firmly on their simple faith, overcome by their silence the adversaries of sound doctrine. These two fragments are characterized by the style of Origen, and are genuine without doubt; as to the others, it is much more uncertain. A fragment of a letter of Dionysius of Alexandria to a certain Conon, treating of ecclesiastical discipline, is warranted by the testimonial of Eusebius, and shows in its language, and the mild and friendly sentiments throughout, the expression of this bishop, so pious and full of love. Of greater extent than all the rest is a newly-discovered Latin poem, of about one thousand verses, which, by the editor, is ascribed with much reason to Commodianus. The crude verses, similar to hexameters, but neglecting arbitrarily the quantity, the rude mode of expression, many strange words, at last the characteristic of the poet's person, all this quite confirms this view of the authorship. The contents of this newly-found poem are apologetical against Heathens and Jews; but it seems to have originated in a more quiet time of the Church, and was probably composed between the Valerian and Diocletian persecutions. The most noteworthy feature of it is, that the author agrees to the principles of the Patripassiani; for he contends, like them, that God the Father himself has appeared in Christ as the Son. Only he is somewhat opposed to the suffering of the Father, saying, that God was unwilling that it should be said of the Father, that he had suffered; in order to disappoint the devil, he had preferred to bring it about that the suffering was perceived in the Son. Commodian writes with an ingenuousness which points necessarily to a wide-spread agreement with him in the Church of Northern Africa. Now we know moreover from the recently-found Philosophumena, reviewed already in this periodical, and ascribed with almost general unanimity to Hippolytus, that also in Rome the doctrine of Patripassianism found a great many adherents; that Zephyrinus, Callistus, and a great part of the congregation, agreed to its essential points; that heralds of this doctrine, as Cleomenes and Praxeas, known from Tertullian, were received here very favourably. So it becomes probable that the popular opinion of the Occident considered generally from the beginning the Father as the divine in Christ, whilst in the Orient the more theoretical cultivation favoured the doctrine of subordination. Therefore the doctrine of Homoousion was earlier and more universally developed in the Occident. To the second century M. Pitra refers also two small tracts, regarding celebration of feasts and of Passover; he assigns as the author of the latter a Bishop Murinus, of Alexandria, and an anonymous writer as that of the former. However interesting it could be for the controversy about the Passover to receive new communications concerning it from so early an epoch, yet these have, without doubt, a later origin. For in the first tract the sporting about the seven degrees, that is, offices in the Church, and in the second the assertion, that the whole Church, following the *sedes apostolica*, had rejected a certain custom of the celebration, suits only to a much later time.

To the fourth century some Coptic fragments of Acts of the Council of Nice seem to belong. Probably they originated before the Council of Constantinople, (381,) and after the beginning of the controversy with Photius, about 350. The Acts contain the Council's Confession of Faith, six canons, among which the important one concerning the rank of the bishops of Alexandria, Antiochia, and Rome, in the shorter authentic form; a rather silly legend respecting the three hundred and eighteen members, among whom the Holy Spirit is said to have been visible as the three hundred and nineteenth; a register of African and Asiatic bishops, who were present, is annexed, by which the two registers known to us are supplied. To the fourth century belong also Scholia to Exodus by Diodorus of Tarsus, the famous founder of Antiochian theology and teacher of Chrysostom. They are given by Victor of Capua, and judging by contents as well as form, their genuineness seems to undergo no doubt. Diodorus develops in it, among

Digitized by Google

other things, his opinion of free will, and avoids embracing unlimited predestination. The words: "I shall harden the heart of Pharaoh," are thus interpreted by him: God had indulgence and forbearance with him, in order to grant to the Egyptian, shaken by the miracles, time for repentance and conversion. But this patience was at once the occasion of Pharaoh's abusing it and becoming obdurate. Inasmuch as God caused it, it could be said that he had done it—a not impossible explanation, because it represents God not merely as passive and admitting. In the interpretation of Exodus xvi, 4: "God will rain bread from heaven," he combats naturalistic adversaries, who will not see in it anything wonderful, the manna being found still now in certain places. Then he gives a hint of his opinion respecting the Lord's Supper, which shows that he regarded bread and wine as symbols of the body and blood of Christ. For he says, the manna is a type of the bread of heaven, of the bread of angels, but the food of angels is Christ, the Word of God. But also we, as it were the true Israelites of the Desert, receive the body of Christ and have a symbol of it in the manna: wherefore it is said in the 77th Psalm, (Ps. lxxviii, 25,) "Man did eat angels' food." I leave off here reviewing the Spicilegium, and hope to return hereafter to the other contents, in some regard most important.

Protestantische Monatsblätter für innere Zeitgeschichte, &c. Gotha. Justus Perthes. (Protestant Monthly Review for the inner history of the age.)

I avail myself of this occasion to recommend to you and your countrymen this excellent periodical. Some of our best theologians and laymen took part in establishing it; and the editor himself is a scholar, highly esteemed on account of his excellent works on political, ecclesiastical, and literary history, as well as on account of his sentiments. It is intended to counteract both the Roman political agitation and infidelity. The number for January, 1853, contains pieces of much worth. It is opened by a short and beautiful discourse, pointing the learned to Christ, the true King and only help in our need. Then a treatise: "Religion, philosophy, and politics in the next time to come," interesting especially for the serious appreciation of the past of philosophy and its influence, and for free-minded Christian sense. Then follows a treatise on the martyrdom of the three bishops, Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, under Maria Stuart, most interesting from the subject itself, and exhibiting as much knowledge as caution. Then Beza's call upon Henry IV. to retain him from seceding to Catholicism, imbued with prophetical strength; a document recently found by Professor Bonnet in the library of Geneva, which shows how little the king's abnegations were approved by Beza, although it has been believed till now. We could support our recommendations by other remarks, but think these sufficient. J. L. J.

Among the new works in theology and kindred subjects announced in Great Britain are the following:—Scenes in other Lands: with their Associations, Historical and Religious. By John Stoughton, author of "Spiritual Heroes;" in foolscap 8vo.:—The Life of the Rev. J. Pye Smith, D. D., F. R. S., etc.; compiled from papers in possession of the family. By the Rev. John Medway. 8vo.:—First Lines of Christian Theology; in the form of a Syllabus, prepared for the use of the Students in Homerton College. By the late Rev. John Pye Smith, D. D., LL. D., F. R. S., F. G. S. Edited by the Rev. W. Farrer, LL. B. Large 8vo.:—The Holy Bible. First Division: the Pentateuch; or, Five Books of Moses, according to the Authorized Version: with Notes, Critical, Practical, and Devotional. Edited by the Rev. Thomas Wilson, M. A., author of "Spiritual Catholicity." Part I.:—Bases of Belief: an Examination of Christianity as a Divine Revelation by the Light of Recognised Facts and Principles. In Four Parts. By Edward Miall, M. P.:—The Apocalypse its own Interpreter, by the Application of a Sound and Ancient Rule for the Interpreting of Holy Scripture; to which is added a Short Series of Dissertations on Symbolical Prophecy, its Nature and Design. By the Ven. James W. Forster, LL. D., Archdeacon of Aghadoe, and Vicar-General of Limerick. 8vo.:—Narrative of a Journey round the Dead Sea and in the Bible Lands, from December, 1850, to April, 1851. By F. De Saulcy, Member of the French Institute. Translated by the Count De Warren. 2 vols., 8vo.:—St. Hippolytus and the Church of Rome in the Earlier Part of the Third Century; from the newly-discovered "Philosophumena," or the Greek Text of those Portions which relate to that Subject; with an English Version and Notes; and an Introductory Inquiry into the Authorship of the Treatise, and on the Life and Works of the Writer.

Digitized by Google

By Christopher Wordsworth, D. D., Canon of Westminster. 8vo.:—Memorials of Early Christianity; presenting, in a Graphic, Compact, and Popular Form, some of the Memorable Events of Early Ecclesiastical History. By Rev. J. G. Miall, author of "Footsteps of our Forefathers." Post 8vo., with illustrations:—The Philosophy of Atheism examined and compared with Christianity: a Course of Popular Lectures delivered at the Mechanics' Institute, Bradford, on Sunday Afternoons in the Winter of 1852–3. By Rev. B. Godwin, D. D.:—Modern Romanism: a View of the Proceedings, &c., of the Council of Trent. By B. B. Woodward, Esq., B. A.—Religion and Business; or, Spiritual Life in one of its Secular Departments. By A. J. Morris. Fcp. 8vo.:—The Logic of Atheism. By Samuel M'All, Minister of Castle-gate Meeting, Nottingham. 12mo.:—The Lamp and the Lantern; or, Light for the Tent and the Traveller. By James Hamilton, D. D., F. L. S. Fcp. 8vo.:—Abbeokuta; or, Sunrise within the Tropics. By Miss Tucker, author of "The Rainbow in the North." Fcp. 8vo.:—Christ our Life; in its Origin, Law, and End. An Essay on the Life of Christ, adapted to Missionary Purposes. By the Rev. Joseph Angus, D. D. Crown 8vo.:—A Series of Lectures on Scripture Characters, by the late Duncan Mearns, D. D., Professor of Divinity in the University and King's College, Aberdeen, and one of Her Majesty's Chaplains for Scotland, delivered at the Murtle Lecture:—Israel in Egypt: being Illustrations of the Books of Genesis and Exodus, from Existing Monuments; one vol., crown 8vo.:—The Jesuits: An Historical Sketch. By the Rev. E. W. Grinfield, M. A. Fcp. 8vo.

We give the contents of the chief European Journals:—

Kitto's Journal of Sacred Literature, for April:—I. The Scythian Dominion in Asia. II. Modern Study of Prophecy. III. Heaven, Hell, Hades. IV. Sin and its Developments. V. Life and Epistles of St. Paul. VI. Slavery and the Old Testament. VII. Biblical Criticism. VIII. The Memphitic New Testament.

North British Review, for May:—I. Macgillivray's British Birds. II. International Relations, and the Principles of our Foreign Policy. III. Bunsen's Hippolytus; its Method and Results. IV. English Hexameters. V. Ruth; The Reign of Female Novelists. VI. Memoirs of French Protestantism. VII. Life under an Italian Despotism. VIII. Glimpses of Poetry. IX. The Higher Instructions and its Representatives in Scotland. X. Wellington in the Peninsula. XI. Layard's Assyrian Discoveries.

The Edinburgh Review, for April:—I. Alison's History of Europe since 1815. II. Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister. III. The Church of England in the Mountains. IV. Recent Novels—"Agatha's Husband." V. The National Gallery. VI. Mr. D'Israeli: His Character and Career. VII. Public Education. VIII. Marcellus—Memoirs of the Restoration. IX. The Income Tax.

The Quarterly Review, for April:—I. Apsley House. II. Scrope's History of Castle Combe. III. Human Hair. IV. The Old Countess of Desmond. V. Hungarian Campaigns—Kossuth and Görgey. VI. Buckingham Papers. VII. Search for Franklin. VIII. The Two Systems at Pentonville. IX. Maurel on the Duke of Wellington.

The Eclectic Review, for April:—I. Chevalier Bunsen's Hippolytus and his Age. II. Life of Kirby the Entomologist. III. St. John's Egyptian Pilgrimage. IV. Miall's Bases of Belief. V. Heywood's University Reform. VI. The Dissenters' Chapel Registration Bill. VII. The Christian Doctrine of Sin. VIII. The Milan Insurrection.

British and Foreign Evangelical Review, for March:—I. John Albert Bengel—The Lutheran Church as he found it—His Life and Labours. II. Modern Jewish History. III. Remarks on the Authenticity of the Pentateuch. IV. Recent Speculations on the Trinity—Bushnell's Discourses. V. Kurtz on the Old Covenant. VI. German Hymnology. VII. The Reformed Faith in Italy. VIII. Epistle to Diognetus. IX. Critical Notices. X. German Religious Periodicals. XI. Miscellanies.

The Prospective Review, for May:—I. Society in Danger from Children. II. Bases of Belief. III. Frà Dolcino and his Times. IV. Recent Works of Fiction. V. Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin. VI. The Odes of Horace.

Among the new works announced on the Continent are the following:—

Die Christologie Luthers und die christologische Aufgabe der evangelischen Theologie. Zur dogmatischen Begründung der evangelischen Union. Von *Chr. H. Weisse*, Prof. d. Philos. an der Univ. zu Leipzig. Leipzig: 1852; 253 pp. 8vo.

Codex Claromontanus sive Epistolae Pauli omnes graece et latine. Ex codice Parisiensi celeberrimo nomine Claromontani plerumque dicto, sexti ut videtur post

Digitized by Google

Christum saeculi, nunc primum edidit *Constantinus Tischendorf.* Lipsiae: 1852; pp. 600, lex. 4, nebst. 2 Bl. Facsimile. (Subscr.-Pr. n. 24 Thlr.)

Der Geist der lutherischen Theologen Wittenbergs im Verlaufe des 17 Jahrhunderts, theilweise nach handschriftlichen Quellen, von *Dr. A. Tholuck.* Hamburg und Gotha: 1852; 434 pp. 8vo.

De origine epistolarum ad Ephesios et Colossenses, a criticis Tubingensibus e gnosi Valentiniana deducta. Scr. *Alb. Klöpper*, th. Lic. Gryphiae: 1853; 55 pp. 8vo.

Die katholischen Briefeder heil. Apostel Jacobus, Petrus, Johannes u. Judas erläutert u. harmonisch geordnet unter die Grundlehren des Christenthums. Von *Dr. M. A. Nickel*, Domcapit. Mainz; 1852: 296 pp., 8vo.

Die neutestamentlichen Lehrbegriffe od. Untersuchungen üb. das Zeitalter der Religionswende, die Vorstufen der Christenthums u. die erste Gestalstung desselben. Ein Handbuch f. älteste Dogmengeschichte u. systematische Exegese des neuen Testamentes. Von *Dr. J. Ant. Bh. Lutterbeck*, Professor. 1. Bd.: Die vorchristl. Entwickelung. Mainz: 1852; 446 pp., 8vo. 2. Bd.: Die nachchristl. Entwickelung. 1852; 314 pp., 8vo.

AMERICAN.

The "Tract Society of the M. E. Church" has sprung at once into the proportions of a vigorous life. The Corresponding Secretary, Rev. Abel Stevens, has visited most of the Conferences for the present year, and in each of them societies auxiliary to the Tract Society have been formed, and measures taken to push the circulation of our books and tracts thoroughly. The history of the enterprise and its plans of procedure are given in a pamphlet entitled "*Documents of the Tract Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church,*" which contains:—I. The Memorial to the General Conference of 1852, by Dr. Kidder. II. The Action of the General Conference—Constitution—Resolutions—By-laws. III. An Account of the Organization at New-York, with a List of the Officers of the Society. IV. Address of the Society to the Church. V. Forms for Constitutions of Conference and Church Auxiliaries—Form of Bequest. VI. Scheme of the Society; the Parent Society; Conference Auxiliaries; Conference Agents; District Agents or Colporteurs; Church Auxiliaries; Tract Stewards. VII. Tabular Forms for District Agents or Colporteurs. VIII. List of Recent Tracts. IX. List of Cheap Tract Volumes. We hope this pamphlet will be widely circulated, and that its careful and accurate *plans* of operation will be universally adopted. A new and vastly-extended field of usefulness will be opened thereby to our Book Concern, and to all the good men and women of the Church who can write or circulate books and tracts.

We give the contents of the chief American Theological Journals:—

Brownson's Quarterly, for April:—I. The Spiritual not the Temporal: II. Life of Mrs. Eliza A. Seton: III. A Consistent Protestant: IV. The Love of Mary: V. Dangers which Threaten Catholics: VI. Ethics of Controversy.

Bibliotheca Sacra, for April:—I. Autobiography of Dr. Karl Gottlieb Bretschneider: II. Interpretation of the Twenty-eighth Chapter of Job: III. Lucian and Christianity: IV. Review of Riley's Translation of the Comedies of Plautus: V. Humane Features of the Hebrew Law: VI. Dr. Alexander's Moral Science.

Evangelical Review, for April:—I. Collegiate Education: II. Grounds of Difficulty—Success in the Study of Theology: III. Lectures on the Principal Doctrines and Practices of the Catholic Church: IV. Contributions to the Christology of the Church: V. The Lutheran Cultus: VI. The Delegation of the Missouri Synod in Germany: VII. Notes on Prophecy.

Universalist Quarterly, for April:—I. Memoir of Chalmers: II. Difficulties of Understanding the Holy Scriptures: III. Christ the Instrument of Redemption: IV. Hazael: V. Remarks on Romans vi, 7: VI. The Resurrection as a Figure: VII. The Divine Character our Moral Standard.

Church Review, for April:—I. Religion for the Republic: II. Bishop Philander Chase: III. Daniel Webster: IV. The Rt. Rev. Levi Silliman Ives, D. D., LL. D., Bishop of North Carolina: V. New-England Theology: VI. The Eclipse of Faith: VII. Colonial Churches in Virginia.

Theological and Literary Journal, for April:—I. Henry's Life and Times of Calvin: II. Dr. J. P. Smith on the Geological Theory: III. The English Universities: IV. The Doctrines of Dr. Nevin and his Party: V. Critics and Correspondents.

Digitized by Google

Free-Will Baptist Quarterly, for April:—I. Prospect of the World's Conversion in the Light of the Last Half Century: II. Mission of the Free-Will Baptist Denomination: III. Moral Bearings of Phrenology: IV. Human Reason and the Religion of Christ: V. Missions: VI. Preaching: VII. Sacred Music: VIII. Alexander's Moral Science.

Southern Methodist Quarterly, for April:—I. Isaac Taylor on Wesley and Methodism: II. Ezekiel and the Book of his Prophecy: III. A Cursory View of the Evil Tendencies of Fashionable Amusements: IV. Zechariah: V. Fundamental Element of Church Government: VI. Theory of Female Education: VII. Obsolete Disciplinary Laws: VIII. Hebrew Literature.

Mercersburgh Quarterly Review, for April: I. Dr. Nevin and his Antagonists: II. The Character of the German Reformed Church and its Relations to Lutheranism and Calvinism: III. Francis Jeffrey: IV. The Nature of Christianity: V. Christian Baptism and the Baptistic Question.

Southern Presbyterian Review, for April:—I. Spiritual Beneficence: II. Unconditional Decrees: III. The Ceaseless Activity of Matter: IV. Are the Wicked Immortal? V. An Address delivered before the Society of Missionary Inquiry, Theological Seminary, Columbia, S. C.: VI. Necrology: VII. Reason and Future Punishment.

Biblical Repertory, for April:—I. Character and Writings of Fenelon: II. The Religious Significance of Numbers: III. Mercantile Morals, and the Successful Merchant: IV. The Life and Studies of C. G. Zumpt: V. Idea of the Church: VI. On the Correspondence between Prophecy and History.

New-Englander, for May:—I. Doctrine of the Higher Law: II. Fashion in Religion: III. The Separatists of Eastern Connecticut: IV. The Editorial Profession: V. John Adams's Diary and Autobiography: VI. The Influence of Great Men: VII. Church Review Theology: VIII. The New Infidelity: IX. The Complete Academical Education of Females: X. Scientific Miscellany: XI. Professor Stanley.

Classical and Miscellaneous.

We have received the third and enlarged edition of Engelmann's "*Bibliotheca Philologica*," (Leipzig, 1853, 8vo. pp. 236.) It contains a list of all the Grammars, Dictionaries, Chrestomathies, &c., pertaining to the study of the Greek and Latin languages, which have appeared in Germany between 1750 and 1852.

The first volume of the eighth edition of the "*Encyclopædia Britannica*" has just appeared. It contains a new Dissertation on the Rise, Progress, and Corruptions of Christianity, by Richard Whately, D. D., Archbishop of Dublin. Also, Dissertations first and second, on the Progress of Metaphysical and Ethical Philosophy, by Dugald Stewart and the Right Hon. Sir James Mackintosh, LL. D., &c. With an Introduction by William Whewell, D. D., Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Cambridge. Dissertations fourth and fifth, on the Progress of Mathematical and Physical Sciences, by Professors Playfair and Sir John Leslie. The second volume will contain (besides numerous other articles) the following:—Agriculture, the Practical Part, with all the Latest Improvements, by John Wilson, Esq.; Agricultural Chemistry, by Thomas Anderson, M. D.; Afghanistan, and several other Articles on India, by Edward Thornton, Esq.; Æschylus, by John Stuart Blackie, Esq., Professor of Greek in the University of Edinburgh; Addison, by William Spalding, Esq., Professor of Rhetoric in the University of St. Andrews; Africa, by Augustus Petermann, Esq. Other new articles for future volumes are now in progress. Among these may be mentioned:—Atterbury, by the Right Hon. Thomas Babington Macaulay, M. P.; Botany, by John Hutton Balfour, M. D., F.R.S.E., Professor of Botany in the University of Edinburgh; Arnold, by Rev. William Lindsay Alexander, D. D., &c.; and on the Progress of Mathematical and Physical Science during the Nineteenth Century, by James D. Forbes, Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh. All the articles will be brought up to the present advanced state of knowledge. The work will be completed in twenty-one volumes.

The "*Cyclopædia Bibliographica*" (London, James Darling) has reached its eighth number, (to the letter G.) We are the more confirmed by each successive number of this work in our judgment before expressed, that its title is far too ambitious for its matter, and that in attempting too much it really succeeds in

Digitized by Google

no single feature of a good Bibliographical Dictionary. It is nothing more than a catalogue of a tolerably large theological library, with a few names of writers in general literature. Its only real value beyond other extant manuals, consists in the fact that it gives *tables of contents* to each writer, where it is practicable.

The second volume of Bunsen's "*Egypt's Place in Universal History*," containing the second and third volumes of the original German edition, is just announced by Longmans, London. The third and concluding volume is also preparing for publication.

Messrs. B. Westermann & Co., New-York, have commenced the publication of a very convenient *Literary Bulletin*, which they furnish gratis, by mail, to all who desire it. It contains a list of the latest German books in every department of literature, as received by each steamer, and kept on hand by the Messrs. Westermann.

The volumes of Bohn's Libraries for May are the following:—The Illustrated Library: Norway and its Scenery; comprising the Journal of Edward Price, and a Road Book for Tourists, edited and Compiled by Forester, 12mo.—Humphrey W. Noel's Coin Collector's Manual; 2 vols., 12mo.—The Standard Library: Delolme on the Constitution, edited by Macgregor; 12mo.—The Classical Library: Diogenes Laertius, by Yonge; 12mo.—The Antiquarian Library: King Alfred, and his Position in English History, by Dr. R. Pauli; 12mo.

Among the new works announced in Great Britain are the following:—Hypatia; or, New Foes with an Old Face. By C. Kingsley, Rector of Eversley. 2 vols., post 8vo.:—Critical Biographies of Public Men. By George Henry Francis. Sir Robert Peel, Bart., The Right Hon. B. D'Israeli, Henry Lord Brougham. Small Octavo:—Memoir, Physical, Historical, and Nautical, on the Mediterranean Sea. By W. H. Smyth, R. N., D. C. L., Foreign Secretary of the Royal Society. 8vo.:—Goethe's Opinions on the World, Mankind, Literature, Science, and Art, extracted from his Communications and Correspondence:—The Poems of Goethe, translated in the Original Metres, preceded by a Sketch of Goethe's Life. By Edgar Alfred Bowring:—The Poems of Schiller, in English Verse. By Edgar A. Bowring:—Propertius, with English Notes. By F. A. Paley, Editor of "Æschylus." 8vo.:—The Educational Institutions of the United States: their Character and Organization. Translated from the Swedish of Dr. P. A. Siljeström, by Frederica Rowan. Post 8vo.:—The Rise and Progress of National Education in England: its Obstacles, Wants, and Prospects; a Letter to Richard Cobden, Esq., M. P., By Richard Church. 8vo., paper:—Historical Outlines of Political Catholicism; its Papacy, Prelacy, Priesthood, People. Demy 8vo.:—Chamois Hunting in the Mountains of Bavaria. By Charles Boner. With Illustrations. Demy 8vo.:—Montenegro, and the Slavonians of Turkey. By Count Valerian Krasinski, Author of the "Religious History of the Slavonic Nations," &c. Fcap.:—The Diary of Martha Bethune Baliol from 1753 to 1754. Post 8vo.:—Language as a Means of Mental Culture and International Communication; or, A Manual of the Teacher and Learner of Languages. By C. Marcel. 2 vols. crown 8vo., cloth:—The Stones of Venice. By John Ruskin. Vol. 2, Imperial 8vo., with numerous Illustrations:—Memorandums made in Ireland, in the Autumn of 1852. By John Forbes, M. D., Author of the "Physician's Holiday," 2 vols. post 8vo.:—The Bhilsa Topes; or, Buddhist Monuments of Central India. By Major A. Cunningham. 1 vol. 8vo.:—The Theory and Practice of Caste. By B. A. Irving, Esq. 1 vol. post 8vo.:—The Recommendations of the Oxford University Commissioners; with Selections from their Report, and a History of the University Subscription Tests: including Notices of the University and Collegiate Visitations. By James Heywood, M. P., F. R. S., of Trinity College, Cambridge. 8vo.:—The History of Scotland, from the Revolution to the Extinction of the last Jacobite Insurrection (1689–1748). By John Hill Burton, Author of "The Life of David Hume," &c, 2 vols. 8vo.:—The Fall of the Roman Republic: a Short History of the Last Century of the Commonwealth. By the Rev. Charles Merivale, B. D., late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, Author of "History of the Romans under the Empire." 12mo.:—The Autobiography of B. R. Haydon, Historical Painter. Edited, and continued to the Time of his Death from his own Journals, by Tom Taylor, M. A., of the Inner Temple, Esq.; late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and late Professor of the English Language and Literature in University College, London. 3 vols. post 8vo.:—Hebrew Politics in the Times of Sargon and Sennacherib: an Inquiry into the Historical Meaning and Purpose of the Prophecies of Isaiah, with some Notice of their Bearings on the Social and Political Life of

Digitized by Google

England. By E. Strachey, Esq. 8vo.:—Mount Lebanon: A Ten Years' Residence, from 1842 to 1852; with Descriptive Sketches of its Scenery, Productions, &c.; the Manners and Customs of its Inhabitants, particularly of the Druses and Maronites, and a Full and Correct Account of the Druse Religion, Historical Records of the Mountain Tribes, from Personal Intercourse with their Chiefs, and other Authentic Sources. By Colonel Churchill, Staff Officer on the British Expedition to Syria. 3 vols., 8vo.:—A Visit to Mexico, with Sketches of the West India Islands, Yucatan, and United States. By William Parish Robertson, author of "Letters on Paraguay." 2 vols.:—Lord Bacon and Sir Walter Raleigh; Critical and Biographical Essays. By Macvey Napier, Esq., late Editor of the Edinburgh Review. Post 8vo.:—Æschyli Eumenides. The Greek text, with English notes: with an Introduction, containing the substance of Müller's Dissertations and the Discussions of his Critics; and an English Metrical Translation. By B. Drake, M. A., Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, Editor of "Demosthenes de Corona." 8vo., cloth:—The Frontier Lands of the Christian and the Turk; comprising Travels in the Regions of the Lower Danube, in 1850 and 1851. By a British Resident of twenty years in the East. 2 vols., 8vo.:—A History of the Papacy to the Period of the Reformation. Founded upon the German of Planck's "Geschichte Des Papsthums." By Rev. J. E. Riddle, author of the "Bampton Lectures," and "The Latin Dictionary." 2 vols., 8vo.

Among the new works in miscellaneous literature recently announced on the continent of Europe are the following:—

Histoire de la Monarchie in Europe, depuis son origine jusqu'a nos jours; par *M. Francis Lacombe*. Tome 1er. Formation des royautés européennes. 8vo.

Histoire des classes laborieuses, précédée d'un essai sur l'économie industrielle et sociale; par *A. Jaume*, instituteur primaire supérieur à Toulon. 8vo.

Secret Politique de Napoléon; par *Hoëné Wronski*. Comme introduction a sa récente Philosophie de l'histoire. Nouvelle édition. 8vo.

Complément du Grand dictionnaire des dictionnaires francais de Napoléon Landais, renfermant, etc. Ouvrage qui met le Grand dictionnaire au niveau des dictionnaires spéciaux, etc. Par une société de savants, de grammariens et d'écrivains, sous la direction de MM. D. Chésurolles et L. Barré. 4to.

Cours complet de langue universelle, offrant en même temps un méthode facile et sûre pour apprendre les langues, et pour comparer, en quelques mois, toutes les litteratures mortes et vivantes; par *C. L. A. Letellier*. 1re partie. Grammaire. 8vo.

Culte (le) des morts chez les principaux peuples anciens et modernes, avec la description des divers monuments funèbres; par *l'abbé Simon*. 12mo.

Odisch-magnetische Briefe von *Karl* Frhrn. *v. Reichenbach*, Ph. Dr. Stuttgart: 1852; 199 pp., 8vo.

Hellas. Vorträge über Heimath, Geschichte, Literatur und Kunst der Hellenen von *Friedr. Jacobs*. Aus dem handschriftlichen Nachlass des Verfassers herausgeg. von *E. F. Wüstemann*. Berlin: 1852; 438 pp., 8vo.

Commentationis criticae de Anthologia Graeca pars prior. Scripsit *Alph. Hecker*, litt. hum. Dr. phil. th. Mag. Lugd. Bat., MDCCCLII. VIII, u. 357 pp., 8vo.

Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der neueren Philosophie. Von *Dr. K. Fischer*. 1. Bd.: Die Philosophie von Cartesius bis Spinoza. 1. Abth.: Einleitung in das Studium der Philosophie. Cartesius, Geulincx, Malebranche. Stuttgart: 1853; 231 pp., 8vo.

Examen de la philosophie de Bacon, ou l'on traite différentes questions de philosophie rationnelle. Ouvrage posthume du comte *Jos. de Maistre*. 2 vols. Lyon: 1852; pp. 354, 8vo.

Digitized by Google

THE

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1853.

ART. I.—THE BACON OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

[SECOND PAPER.]

THE task of presenting a satisfactory alleviation for the difficulties of the sixteenth century was reserved for Francis Bacon—the father of an Instauration greater than any which preceded it, because it was the last. We should not be justified in regarding Bacon as the equal of Aristotle, if we compare the two together. Neither in versatility nor in comprehensiveness can he be legitimately esteemed as on a par with his predecessor; while the circumstances of his life, perhaps even more than the temper of his mind, denied him that habit of thorough, minute, and sustained observation, that patient sobriety of judgment, that graceful and felicitous negligence of all ostentation, which are so miraculously blended with the massive speculation of the earlier philosopher. The single epithet of *Intellect*, by which Plato happily characterized Aristotle, is preëminently appropriate to him, and to him alone. He was the intellect in its purest and simplest form, with a full mastery of all its various powers; free from weakness and without alloy. Unseduced by the imagination, though no stranger to its inspiration; untainted by passion, though susceptible of all healthy and legitimate emotion; without enthusiasm, though guided by a steady philosophic ardour; he was the perfect embodiment of the calm, self-sustaining, sober, discriminating, and all embracing mind. To this elevation Bacon never attained: but though inferior in the highest qualities of thought and feeling to his unrivalled predecessor, he had the advantage of living in a later and a more favourable age—an age of vigorous intellectual development. He had thus the vantage ground of past centuries to stand upon, and the expanding thought of the coming generation to hail and extend his dominion. The effect which he produced was thus more sensible, and his influence wider, more immediate, and more operative, than even in the case of Abelard. He became

Digitized by Google

at once, and still remains, the undoubted parent of modern science, and of all the great discoveries to which the modern intellect lays claim, and of which it might be so justly proud, if it did not suffer itself to be dazzled by the brilliancy and extent of its empire. It is only at this late day that a competitor has arisen to dispute the continued reign of Bacon; but M. Comte recognises him as the legislator of his philosophy, and the claim has been alleged by the eager followers of the great Positivist, not by himself—and still remains to be substantiated. To aid in the settlement of this claim is our object; and to inform the judgment of our readers, we proceed to examine the characteristics of the Baconian reform with the same sobriety and impartiality which we have endeavoured to exercise in the analysis of the careers of Aristotle and Abelard.

The universality contemplated by the Baconian Instauration is the first of its features to be noticed. It designed a chart of the intellectual globe, and criticised all learning and all knowledge. It scrutinized the practical as well as the theoretical, and proposed the improvement, the extension, and the expansion of both. There was no exclusive partiality for any one form of human development,—no unjust derogation from the dignity, validity, and importance of any other: but the harmonious reconstruction of all speculation was desired as a preparation for a more enlightened, efficient, and successful practical procedure. If the scholastic misapplication of logic was severely censured, its due claims were confidently asserted; and, though the necessities of the times, no less than existing abuses, directed the attention and the labours of Bacon principally to natural science, the superior dignity of moral and religious truth, and the higher authority of the Aristotelian logic are uniformly and steadily maintained by him. His philosophy, when received in a large and congenial spirit, will be found to be equally removed from the one-sided exclusiveness of transcendental rationalism, and from the narrow insufficiency of mere empiricism. It embraces in harmonious union the sober truth of either extreme, and duly subordinates all human thought to the over-ruling supremacy of a revealed religion. Taking the familiar division of knowledge into ethical and physical science, it is true that Bacon concerned himself principally with the latter, and most assiduously attempted its development. He did so, however, without forgetting, denying, or neglecting the former; and employed his talents in this direction because physical science was at that time the most diseased, and the most inefficient, in consequence of the misapplication of syllogistic logic to its investigation. But physical science was never pursued by Bacon for its own sake, nor ever regarded by him as of itself the legitimate end of

Digitized by Google

knowledge. We are aware that this judgment of the Baconian philosophy is not exactly consonant with the superficial fallacies current upon the subject; but it has been the fashion for men, like Macaulay, to declaim magisterially respecting productions of which they had read only scattered fragments, and to be listened to with a stupid credulity. The great merit of Bacon's intellectual renovation is, that it rejects no part of human knowledge, conceived or conceivable; that it proposes to render the barren places of speculation productive by a better culture, and to retain with a firm hand and under better management all old acquisitions, while extending, by the aid of a more efficacious procedure, the frontiers of science, and bringing under its jurisdiction territories as yet unknown and undiscovered.

We next notice the manner in which the proposed reform was undertaken. The errors to be corrected, as the false philosophy to be supplanted, had sprung in great measure from misapprehension of the narrowness of the special domain of scholastic logic, and from the misapplication of the syllogistic or deductive method to those physical inquiries to which it was singularly inappropriate, and in regard to which it had been sedulously, though not altogether methodically, renounced by Aristotle and the more profound sages of antiquity. In instituting a new method, or rather in giving novel prominence and a more decided type to an old one, a more correct logical procedure was required for the prosecution of scientific studies. The deductive method was to be chiefly and primarily confined to moral or ethical speculations, and nature was to be investigated, and the general laws of her action discovered, not by the new, but by the newly revived and more clearly apprehended instrumentality of induction. Induction itself, as a formal mode of reasoning, was neither invented, discovered, nor first expounded by Bacon. Aristotle gives Socrates the credit of its first scientific recognition. It was largely employed by Aristotle in his Zoological works and in his Political inquiries: its conditions were examined by the Scholiasts,* and in the eleventh century by Joannes Italus;†

° David. Prolegg. Porph. Int. Schol. Aristot., p. 18, a. 36, Alex. Aphrod. Schol., p. 585, b. 40; p. 586, a. 20.

† ἐστι δὲ τῶν διαλεκτικῶν ἀποδείξεων εἶδη δύο, τὸ μὲν ἐπαγωγὴ, τὸ δὲ συλλογισμός, κ. τ. λ., cit. Waitz. Ed. Organon, vol. i, p. 19. It has been maintained by Macaulay, and his position is in some degree justified by Bacon's own expressions, that the induction of the ancients was different from that of Bacon, and merely a simple comparison of instances; but this is disproved by Aristotle, Metaph. xii, iv, p. 1078, and by the above passage of Joannes Italus, which continues to criticise the inductive process in the manner and with the acuteness of Sir Wm. Hamilton, (Discussions, &c., p. 164,) anticipating his distinctions.

Digitized by Google

it was distinctly enunciated, and the merits of experimentation in particular were profoundly appreciated by Roger Bacon; but to the sage of Verulam unquestionably belongs the great merit of methodizing and developing its powers, and exhibiting their peculiar and exclusive aptitude for investigating the mysteries of nature, and establishing the general facts of observation and experience. It was neither accident, nor a loose affectation which dictated the title of the *Novum Organon*. It was a new Organon; not a substitute for the old, but supplementary to it; an extension of logic, under a slight, but important modification, into a realm of new conquests. The *New Organon* bore the same relation to the seventeenth century, that the first Organon did to the age of Aristotle. In both instances, the general reorganization of the intellectual world was consciously attempted by the instrumentality* of a distinctly apprehended logical reform, which introduced a more methodic, a better regulated, and a more comprehensive scheme of logic than had prevailed before. Of both it may be said, that they did not merely purify and extend the domain of speculation, but that they added

Nova nomina rebus.†

The designation of Bacon's great work was thus selected by an unerring instinct; and as this constitutes the great axis upon which his whole philosophy revolves, so the peculiar significance and the remarkable efficiency of the Great Instauration resides principally in the logical reform which he inaugurated. Subsequent generations, misled by the splendid results of the application of induction to physical research, and by a misapprehension of the general scope of Bacon's writings, have regarded the Organon of Aristotle as supplanted by the New Instrument, and have thus fallen into an error, the opposite of that of the schoolmen, from which the world had been rescued by the great philosopher. They have rejected the syllogism with derision, and have slighted the branches of knowledge with which it is more especially conversant, pursuing steadily a fragmentary development, until they are again entangled in the labyrinths of their own wilful aberrations. In our own opinion, we think that the nineteenth century might almost dispense with a new Bacon and a new Instauration, if it would adhere to the old, and

* The Organon of Aristotle received its designation from the function which logic subserves as the instrument of the mind in reasoning, David. Int. x, Cat. Schol. Aristot., p. 25, a. 1; p. 26, a. 12, and Philoponus, ibid., p. 37, b. 46; also Waitz. Org., vol. ii, Comm., p. 293–4. Aristotle uses the same illustration of the hand which is employed in the opening Aphorisms of the Novum Organon.

† Claudian., De Raptu Proserpinæ, lib. ii, v. 371.

Digitized by Google

fairly comprehend them in their integrity and totality. And yet, this would be nearly equivalent to another Instauration, for it would transfer to the nineteenth century the realization and completion of that undertaken in the seventeenth. Indeed, it is difficult to conceive any philosophical scheme to which the present age is adequate, or which is required by its actual wants, which would not be embraced in a complete revision, purification, and extension of the method of Bacon, and its cordial union with that of Aristotle, of which Bacon sometimes spoke slightingly, though he never presumed to discard it. And the instinctive perception of this truth seems to have dictated that urgent prescription of the combination of the synthetic and analytic method, the inductive and the deductive, which, though not original with him,* and only partial, from its exclusion of all formal logic, so strikingly characterizes M. Comte's *Système de Politique Positive.*

In speaking of the reform of Lord Bacon, we have not mentioned the name of Descartes, which is generally held in even higher estimation by the French and Continental philosophers. We have intentionally disregarded him; because, however eminent his merit in applying the principles of the Baconian reform to metaphysical subjects, and however great his special services to science, he afforded merely a partial type of that reform, was largely infected with the erroneous procedure of the schoolmen, and was indebted to Bacon for the fundamental ideas, which he borrowed without acknowledgment.† Moreover, we do not hesitate to say that the physical hypotheses of Descartes impeded his science more than his mathematical discoveries advanced it; and that his arbitrary metaphysical assumptions extended the most pernicious influences of the schoolmen to our own times, and furnished the germ for the deceptive rationalism of the German transcendentalists, which has thrown such an impenetrable haze over all real knowledge. We do not desire to detract from the eminent merits of Descartes, but his only claim to the possession of a place by the side of Bacon is his possession of somewhat similar qualities in an inferior degree; and the only mode of accounting for the preëminence which has been assigned to him is by attributing it to national vanity in the first instance, and to ignorance of Bacon's writings in the second.

* "A combination of analysis and synthesis is the condition of a perfect knowledge." Sir Wm. Hamilton, Discussions, &c., p. 685. This principle may be traced in Kant, Crit. de la Raison Prat., p. 11; in Bacon, and even in Aristotle and his Commentators.

† V. Edinb. Rev., Jan., 1852. For other plagiarisms of Descartes, see same article, and Leibnitz, Op. tom. v, pp. 393–5.

Digitized by Google

It is significant of the efficiency of Bacon's labours, which were suggestive, not systematic, that they almost immediately manifested their general and beneficial influences in satisfying the principal necessities of the times. Physical science received a potent impulse, which has prolonged its effects till in our day they have become dangerous: commerce, industry, and the mechanic arts were developed with unexampled success: political, religious, and moral speculations manifested a new energy, if not a similar advancement.* The age of Bacon was one of remarkable excitation in all departments of human theory and practice. All convictions were unsettled, as may be evinced by the essays of Montaigne, to look no deeper. The civil and religious wars of France and the German empire, as soon afterward the Great Rebellion in England, together with the remarkable literature of the close of the sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth centuries, indicate a moral, a religious, a political, and an intellectual disturbance, which constitute a partial parallel to the disorganization by which we are now surrounded. Religious confusion had sprung from intellectual error, and each had aggravated the other; while from both united had proceeded the habitual disregard of morals, and the political disorder which afflicted those generations. The Baconian philosophy distinctly contemplated moral, political, and social amelioration as the consequence of an improved logical method: and it were well, in the present fever of rabid innovation, to recur to the sober and profound suggestions of Bacon on the subject of healthy reform.

But the most important of all the characteristics of Lord Bacon's writings is the eminently religious and Christian spirit with which they are so deeply imbued. If he projected a new scheme of scientific procedure to probe the mysteries of nature and multiply the miracles of art, it was with the confident hope that the increase of knowledge and the extension of art might illustrate the perfections, and tend to the greater glory of God. The same predominance of a religious aim is manifested constantly by him, which presided over the wonderful elaboration of Aristotle, and the brilliant but erratic career of Abelard. In none of these great men is there any trace of that supercilious impatience of the supreme authority of religion, or any indication of that desire to elevate human reason into the sole, self-sufficient legislator of the universe, which so fatally corrodes all our modern systems of intellectual reform.

When we consider retrospectively the Baconian philosophy, its

* To give one example for all, it may suffice to mention that the great treatise of Grotius, De Jure Belli et Pacis, was confessedly instigated by Lord Bacon's writings.

Digitized by Google

principles, its influence, and its fortunes, we may readily detect its imperfections, and the sources of its injurious effects, as of late displayed. But if we place ourselves in the age of Bacon, and appreciate the condition, the appetencies, the errors, and the wants of that period, we may safely say, that no plan was ever devised by human wisdom more admirably calculated to alleviate existing evils, or to generate a long heritage of positive good.

We had nearly forgotten to mention among the prominent characteristics of the procedure of Aristotle, Abelard, and Bacon, the intimate dependence of each new instauration upon the previous forms of philosophy. There is no forced originality, no violent revolt from the associations of the past, no affectation of entire novelty, no rupture of the continuity of human development. We have already exhibited the regular gradations by which the crude theories of early Greece ascended to the lofty amplitude of the Aristotelian doctrine; we have seen, too, how Abelard clung to the instructions of Aristotle, and a close study of his life and philosophy reveals how eagerly he clutched at the floating fragments of Platonism and New Platonism, which, in the general wreck of learning, were floated within his reach by the capricious eddies of mediæval times. When we come to Bacon, this union with the past is not so perceptible, in consequence of his apparent profession of originality, of the sedulous care with which he obliterated the signs of his indebtedness, and the almost unbroken ignorance which has long prevailed relative to the middle ages and to the immediate precursors of Bacon. Yet his actual relation to the schoolmen and to his less remote predecessors, is even more close and more remarkable than in the case of either Abelard or Aristotle. We leave the proof of this statement for a more suitable occasion; but the evidence is so abundant, so minute, so various, and so conclusive, that, if exhibited *in extenso*, a loose thinker might find it difficult to recognise the real originality of Lord Bacon, which consists not so much in any special suggestion of his philosophy as in the accuracy, the sobriety, the profundity, with which all that is useless or pernicious is rejected, and the amazing delicacy and comprehensive vigour with which all that is valuable is elucidated, methodized, and enforced. We have no hesitation in assigning to Roger Bacon the entire honours of the conception of the experimental philosophy; and in declaring that Francis of Verulam owed the magnitude of his fame mainly to his historical position. But still, both the fame and the position were won in consequence of his just appreciation and cordial adoption of all that was best in the past; and it was the due reward of a constant intellectual elaboration, in obedience to such inspiration, that he merited

Digitized by Google

the high, but not very poetical, tribute of Dryden, which has been continually repeated in the more critical language of prose:—

> "The world to Bacon does not only owe
> Its present knowledge, but its future too."

This brief and imperfect survey of past intellectual progress, and of the great crisis of mental development, may enable us to determine the essential conditions which must be satisfied by any philosopher who may claim the fourth throne by the side of the illustrious three—Aristotle, Abelard, and Bacon. The fulfilment of these conditions will be the *sine qua non* which must precede any legitimate pretension to the succession. Much more, indeed, will be required; but the other characteristics we will not presume to anticipate, as they can be only known after the event: and, moreover, we are endeavouring merely to establish a test by which false prophets may be detected, not to furnish in advance the portraiture of the true. We wish to supply the means for discovering and confounding the four hundred priests of Baal. We will not dare to conjecture the powers, the properties, or the credentials of him on whom the mantle of Elijah may be destined to descend. We only propose to point out the negative conditions which may authenticate the mission of the true prophet; the positive characteristics we leave to the future to disclose.

The conditions, then, are first: That the new reform shall be dictated by the contemporary disorganization of society, and contemplate its redress or alleviation as a proximate aim; then, it must appear at the close of a period in which former intellectual systems have manifested their impotency and decline, not only by their defective operation, but by their positively pernicious action; next, it must propose the revivification of moral sentiments and moral responsibilities, and must seek the agency of the meditated reform in the revision, purification, and extension of metaphysical theories and logical procedure, by starting from a more correct and enlarged determination of the principles and laws of all valid reasoning; and, finally, it must be governed by an earnest spirit of religious belief, and minister to the restoration of religious convictions. It must also, as we have already said, be in harmony with the past, but it must not be the summation of prevalent habits, or the mere systemization of vague, popular practice; or, in other words, it must not form the climax of anterior usages, but be obviously the introduction of a new *régime*. It is scarcely necessary to add that these aims must not be simply professed as vague appetencies, but that the new philosophy must manifest an undoubted aptitude for effec-

Digitized by Google

tually accomplishing the ends proposed. We may add, too, that the less pretension to system which it may possess, the greater will be the probability of its success, and the more reasonable the presumption that its mission is true. Where was the system of Socrates, of Aristotle, of Abelard, or even of Bacon himself? Their followers, indeed, produced systems in all variety and abundance, but where were their own?

The characteristics which we have indicated may appear in unequal degrees and under diverse modifications, according to the complexion of the times and the individual idiosyncrasies of the philosophers themselves; but they must all coëxist in perfect concord. We may easily recognise the realization of these conditions, in whole or in part, by Aristotle, Abelard, and Bacon; though by each with dissimilar completeness. We may, without difficulty, discover the violation of one or more of them by all of those distinguished men who failed in the reforms which they severally attempted. But all of these criteria may be imperfectly represented by one: the reformation designed must commence in the revision of logical principles, or the formal conditions of human thought and speculation. Thus, if it were not for the apparent irreverence, we might say here, that, strangely enough, after the contumely of three centuries, the indispensable aid of logic is conspicuously recognised, and "the stone which the builders (of our modern temple of science) rejected, has become the head-stone of the corner."

When we test, by the criteria proposed, M. Comte's claims to be regarded as the Bacon of the nineteenth century, and attempt to determine the probable efficacy of his writings and philosophy for the purposes proposed, it will be obvious to any one acquainted with his brilliant and elaborate works that we have an exceedingly delicate task to perform. In many respects he approximates so closely to most of the requisitions specified, that either a hasty consideration of his writings, or an appetency for their peculiar heresies, may readily inspire the conviction that they are fully satisfied by him. Even in this event, we should have no sufficient assurance of his being truly entitled to the mission claimed for him; but should be compelled to renounce our negative test, and proceed to examine his doctrines in detail. A close and discriminating comparison, however, of M. Comte's treatises with the canon which we have established, will exhibit such discrepancies, we think, as will justify the conclusion that M. Comte does not in any sufficient sense satisfy the fundamental conditions which we have pointed out. It will, indeed, appear singular that he should have so nearly approached the prescribed standard, and yet failed to attain it; and yet the causes of this very

Digitized by Google

failure will furnish us with the explanation of that equally singular phenomenon, that, after his just criticism of the errors of modern intellect, and his acute suggestions for the partial renovation of modern science, his philosophy should have eventuated in a system at once arbitrary and fantastic, and calculated rather to perpetuate existing evils than to introduce any radical reform of the intellect.

Still, though such may be the result to which we are finally brought by any diligent examination of M. Comte's philosophy, the first glance furnishes a sufficiently strong presumption of the justice of the claim alleged in his behalf, to prevent any surprise at the earnestness with which it has been asserted by his followers, and the tenacity with which it is believed. It is obvious, on the slightest inspection, that the whole theory of Positivism has been dictated by the desire to minister effectually toward the alleviation and removal of existing social distress, and the prevailing intellectual anarchy; and this purpose is constantly and expressly avowed. The new scheme is offered at a time when from all quarters we are assured that our old habits of thought and action have run into dangerous excesses, and are exhibiting pernicious tendencies which they are unable of themselves to explain or arrest. These consequences of popular error are sedulously exposed in the Positive philosophy. It contemplates as its immediate fruit, the revival of moral obligations and the acknowledgment of the predominance of duty over right, as the means necessary for the reëstablishment of healthy social and political action. It seeks the accomplishment of these aims by the negation of those erroneous theories of metaphysics, and of that habitual sophistry which are supposed to have generated the present anarchy of the intellect. It professes to be actuated by a deep religious sentiment, and has actually attempted the construction of a new, scientific, and demonstrable religion. It certainly harmonizes, in many respects, most intimately with the past, and yet assumes to be the commencement of a radical regeneration. It is instinct throughout with the most absolute confidence in its own truth and adequacy; it is full of the conviction that it, and nothing else, can effectually eradicate the existing ailments of civilization; and it proclaims its own definite establishment with the most unwavering dogmatism. It is eminently systematic, it is true; but the unchanging system lies rather in the method than in the details, which are in many instances acknowledged to be only provisional, and subject to correction with the further advancement of experience and science. Such is the evidence which sustains the presumption that M. Comte is entitled to the honour of being hailed as the Bacon of the Nineteenth Century.

Digitized by Google

Let us examine these points more closely. We admit, without question, that the Positive philosophy appears at a time of lamentable intellectual anarchy, is dictated by the social wants and distresses of the time, and contemplates their redress and removal. But the same admission, in their respective periods, might be made with regard to Protagoras, Plato, Epicurus, Zeno, Arnold of Brescia, Berengarius, Giordano Bruno, Campanella, Sir Thomas More, Harrington, St. Simon, Fourier, Owen, Leroux, and hundreds of others. These characteristics appertain equally to the speculative reformers who have failed in their mission, and to those who have achieved the requisite regeneration.

The Positive system does indeed appear at a time when intellectual error is so deep-seated and so wide-spread, so operative, and yet so latent, that it has introduced almost hopeless confusion into all departments of thought and action. Previous systems are obviously effete, and the world is beginning to evince its consciousness of the necessity of new or more correct principles for an assured continuance of the race of civilization. But, though the Positive philosophy is thus unquestionably propounded at the close of an intellectual period, we think that it as unquestionably belongs to the period which it proposes to supersede, and is rather a purification, systemization, and summation of the principles of the past, than an announcement of any new or more correct method. The absence of all authority other than the individual will, the want of any extrinsic evidence of truth and right, and their entire dependence upon the human and the individual reason, resulting in the consequential anarchy of the intellect, were recognised by us in our previous article as the fatal and characteristic symptoms of present disorganization. How does the Positive philosophy propose to redress this great grievance? By arbitrarily discarding, at the dictation of the individual caprice of the author, all branches of knowledge and science which do not lend themselves to his predetermined system; by denying theology, metaphysics, logic, geology, natural history, &c.; and by assuming the mutilated body of remaining science—itself the mere creature of human reason, acting in obedience to those principles which have produced the anarchy complained of by M. Comte—by assuming this, as pruned, distorted, and perverted in accordance with his own individual interpretation, as the sole canon of truth and falsehood, of right and of wrong. Such a procedure bears upon itself the marks of all the diseases which are traced to the operation of those habits which it is designed to correct. It takes, it is true, the right of authoritative judgment from all others; but it concentrates this right and this authority in

Digitized by Google

the individual will and the individual reason of M. Comte himself, and those whom he may designate as the anointed preachers of his own individual doctrine. Nor is it possible to evade this resemblance to present popular practices by alleging that this doctrine is the result of all former research, and is the voice, the reason, the science, the sum-total of the convictions of humanity itself. Even if so, it would only be the voice of humanity in so far as the successive generations of men had disowned all authority but that of the merely human and scientific reason. It would thus resolve itself into the recognition of the justice of that authority of the individual will, or of the aggregate wills of the individuals composing humanity, which has eventuated in the modern anarchy which is to be redressed. In the former case it is the canonisation of all existing evils of speculation under the form of an intellectual despotism; in the latter it is the systematic recognition of the intellectual anarchy itself, as the sole means of its abatement. On one horn or the other of this dilemma the Positive philosophy must hang; but, in either case, it proves to be equally part and parcel of the old and effete dispensation, not the inauguration of a new intellectual government. We must however say that it is a most unlicensed pretension on the part of the Positive philosophy, to claim to be the mouth-piece of humanity—for mankind in all its stages has received much of what M. Comte has rejected with a firmer, more general, and more assured belief, than anything which he has accepted: and has recognised those branches of strict science which he has cashiered in its highest civilization, while it refuses to believe in that fantastic theory of phrenology to which he assigns such prominence in his works.

Here, then, is one point, and it is a most important one, in which the claim of M. Comte most signally fails. His philosophy belongs to that one-sided interpretation of the Baconian reform, which has resulted in present anarchy. But, though his glance is toward the past in the general elaboration of his philosophy, he reveals a true prophetic instinct in declaring the necessity of a moral reform—of a revival of the controlling sense of duty—as the indispensable preliminary to either social or political reorganization. We cannot accord equal commendation to the mode in which this resuscitation of moral vitality is proposed to be effected, nor can we concede it to be efficacious, or even practicable. What is the standard of positive morality? The revealed law of God? By no means. M. Comte regards all divinity as a fiction; he is like Tasso's magician—

"D'ogni Dio sprezzator."

Digitized by Google

Is it the law of God written in our hearts—the human conscience? Not so: he does indeed recognise, in a vague manner, the logical validity of the instinctive sentiments of man, but he never elevates the conscience of the individual into the arbiter of our actions. His morality is nothing more than implicit obedience to the interests and necessities of humanity, as demonstrated by the scientific study of the universe, and by the examination of the requirements of human society. We may admit that this is a more elevated view of duty than that taught by Bentham, but, after all, it is only a sublimated form of utilitarianism, and limits the range of morals to the narrow circle of temporal prudence. It is certainly a vain hope to expect to revive the fading sense of immutable obligations, which has been sapped by the uncontrolled ascendency of the intellect and by the impetuous pursuit of individual interests, by recognising as a canon the mere scientific creation of human reason, and appealing to the general interests of the mass. To insure obedience to the moral law, we must be taught to listen with childish simplicity to the voice of the monitor within; and must regard its prescriptions, not as the deductions or the inductions of the reason, but as the witness of God in our hearts. The motive of our actions must be extrinsic to all temporal considerations; not the suggestion of a pliable fancy or a casuistical science, but an implicit obedience to divine command, and an humble reliance upon the justice and truth of divine authority. No other law—no fantastic scheme of our creation—can be received as a substitute for the eternal law: it could only have a transitory and partial influence over our conduct, and would yield instantly to the caprices of passion, to the temptations of interest, and to the chimeras of human reason. Although the aim of M. Comte be, then, indubitably both right and noble, the means proposed by him for its realization would prove ineffectual, and would only tend to perpetuate, under a disguised form, the present lamentable subjection of the moral sentiments to considerations of worldly prudence and to intellectual domination.

But, as if sensible of this defect, as if himself recognising the imperative necessity of some guide for human action beyond the range of human speculation, M. Comte has in his later productions proposed, with apparent inconsistency, a religious scheme as the basis for all his meditated reforms. On the construction of this Positive religion he now seems to plume himself the most, and his greatest discovery appears to be, in his opinion, the determination of the divinity of humanity:—

> An gloria magna,
> Insidias homini composuisse deum?

Digitized by Google

If this new religion possessed the elements or the characteristics of a valid religion, the objections which we have made to the proposed moral renovation of M. Comte would be in a great measure removed. If, however, it is the mere spectral illusion of a diseased imagination, it proves the justice of those objections, and their recognition by M. Comte himself. There is, however, another reason for devoting some attention to this new creed at present. We have seen that the great reformers of former times were governed by an ardent religious sentiment. If they deviated in some respects from the popular interpretation of religious doctrines, they received with unhesitating faith the great principles of religion, and endeavoured to explain and confirm their truth, and extend their efficacy. None of them pretended to deny supernatural religion, or dreamed for one moment of inventing a new one. This religious temperament we have recognised as one of the most significant characteristics of the true reformer. If M. Comte possesses it in any just sense, it may add another testimony in favour of his pretensions to the throne of Bacon. If he only clothes himself with the semblance of religion, imagines a mere *simulacrum* instead of a reality, and sets up in his heart, as the divine object of his adoration, a mere idol of his own fantastic invention, it is one evidence the more that his pretensions are wholly unfounded.

We ask pardon of our readers while we proceed gravely to examine this point. Ridicule seems the only appropriate weapon, and contempt the only fitting judgment. But these are not legitimate practices in philosophical investigation, and we must estimate the Positive religion with a sobriety and impartiality which it scarcely merits, though such courtesy may be due to the great name of M. Comte.

In the *Système de Politique Positive*,* the necessity is distinctly recognised of an extrinsic or extra-human authority as the guide and legislator of man; thus indicating one of those fundamental proofs of the necessity of religion which are furnished by the very constitution of human nature. But M. Comte does not perceive that a supra-human authority is in all respects superior to a coördinate, though extrinsic one. Nor does he discover that the one may be efficacious and sufficient, while the latter might be entirely inoperative. He vaguely detects the principle of the necessity, and yet vitiates its application, by his choice of lower and inadequate means. In order to render his extrinsic legislation of the scientific laws of

* "Pour nous régler ou nous valuer, la religion doit donc, avant tout nous subordonner à 'une puissance extérieure, dont l'irrésistible suprématie ne nous laisse aucune incertitude.' "—Syst. de Pol. Pos., vol. ii, p. 12.

Digitized by Google

nature valid, one of two things would be requisite: we must conceive either that we have a full and complete knowledge of all the laws of nature,—which is to assert the future stagnation of science,—or we must suppose that the laws which we now receive as such will not be materially changed or modified by future discoveries. The former is utterly at variance with the indispensable humility of true knowledge; the latter is equally opposed to the past history of science, and to its future advancement. The former, if true, might inform the reason, but it would be impotent to regenerate or to regulate the heart; the latter, besides this inefficiency, would be obnoxious to the accusation of terminating a philosophy professedly founded upon history by the negation of its lessons. In looking to God and to revelation for the requisite ultra-human authority, we recognise a fixed scheme, unchangeable by mere human action, and immutable absolutely, except by a further revelation, which we have no reason to expect, and which, even if vouchsafed, would assuredly fulfil, not destroy, the former law. We have, therefore, neither right nor need to anticipate any ulterior developments in religion, except such as may result from the more harmonious agreement between human reason and revealed prescription, or from the fuller comprehension which increased intelligence may bestow. Thus, M. Comte, in this, as in so many other instances, apprehends in his analysis the truth which he either totally vitiates or entirely abandons in his synthesis; detecting in his criticism the important principle which does not regulate his construction, because he is hopelessly led to the adoption of too low a procedure by the fatal tendency of his original prejudices.

When we consider the details of his creed, we find something superlatively ridiculous and visionary in the idea of his Humanity as an object of adoration. How is it depicted by himself?* It is a supreme being, incorporeal, yet formed of infinite bodies; immaterial, yet made from matter; eternal, yet born in time and constantly dying in its members; invisible, yet whose parts are always visible before absorbed into its substance; omnipotent, yet restricted by laws which it does not make, but discover; omniscient, yet ever increasing in knowledge; ubiquitous, but never occupying any place in its aggregate capacity, and pervading only detached portions of terrestrial space by the accidental and shifting distribution of its atoms. It is a supreme being that grows by the decay of its elements, like Saturn, feeding on his own children; that increases in strength, magnitude, power, and intelligence, in proportion as the apparent need diminishes; that is non-existent at the commence-

* Syst. de Politique Positive, vol. ii, p. 82.

Digitized by Google

ment of its creation, expands with its expansion, and would attain the amplest proportions on the verge of extinction or decay. It is a deity that furnishes the initiatory instruction to the successive races of his servants, and receives from them a wider instruction and more comprehensive intelligence; being always superior to them in the quantum of past accretions, and always inferior in the quality of present knowledge and morality. It is the very inversion, not merely of the relations of Creator and creature, of God and man, of supreme legislator and subject, but even of the ordinary relations of parent and child. It is not the pantheism of German transcendentalists, but its converse, the panhumanism of an equally capricious and extravagant empiricism. It is not religion, however the abuse of the term may be sanctioned by etymological *tours-de-force*, but it is hollow self-worship, with only the coarseness of self-idolatry mitigated by the substitution of the shadowy image of a chimerical humanity for the familiar *genius* of each individual. Such a portentous shape bears the impress of all the worst passions and most delusive dreams of past years, and can sustain no morality which is essentially different from the prudential or impulsive morality which is at present compatible with the domination of the intellect.

It were easy to continue our criticism of M. Comte's Religion of Humanity, which, he repeatedly informs us, is definitely established,*—(Heaven save the mark!)—but this is not the place for this discussion, which must still bide its time: but we cannot abandon the subject without noticing that M. Comte's new-fangled religion of Humanity, of which he has proclaimed himself high-priest, prophet, and pope, is merely an ingenious but revolting travesty of the Christian faith. There is much acuteness and fanciful analogy in the minute parallelism preserved in this transmutation; but the process itself, and especially its detailed and sedulous elaboration, furnish instructive testimony—most cogent because unconscious—to the substantial reality, the absolute necessity of that religious scheme which it is thus proposed to supplant by another with a different external complexion and a very dissimilar internal spirit, though following the same train and arriving at the same ends. The Christian religion, in this contrast with the religion of humanity, may be illustrated by Dryden's lines:—

> "She raised a mortal to the skies;
> He drew an angel down."

The Salian priests, in order to preserve the sacred palladium—the Ancile which had been lowered from heaven—constructed twelve

* Syst. de Pol. Pos., vol. i, pp. 445, 448.

Digitized by Google

shields in all respects similar to the divine gift. M. Comte imitates this course in order to effect the overthrow of Christianity; but, by so doing, must be held a reluctant witness to the efficacy of that very religion which he attacks and denies, and which he parodies while proposing a substitute for it.

Can we regard the imagination of such a scheme as evidence of that religious spirit which presided over the labours of the immortal three who preceded M. Comte? Is this sort of plastic imitation—this negation of all recognised religion—this fiction of a God and this figment of a creed, any evidence of a religious spirit at all? Assuredly not; or we might estimate Moseilama or Mokanna above Mohammed, the devil-worshippers above Abelard, and even Joanna Southcote above—M. Comte.

On the score of religion, then, the Positive philosophy lamentably fails to accord with the requisitions of any new instauration. It recognises the necessity of religion as the basis of any effectual moral reform, and it proposes to us, as a religion, a wild reverie which has nothing of religion but the unwarrantable assumption of its name, and is obviously incapable of producing any persistent convictions, of any sort whatever.

But the Positive philosophy is deficient both in breadth and universality. The former defect we illustrated while exposing the illogical fallacy of confining all knowledge to the demonstrable or scientific; the latter is sufficiently proved by repeating that M. Comte excludes from the domain of his philosophy, as of knowledge, all branches of human study which directly or indirectly militate with his own mutilated and preconceived theory. He has extended the empire of science in the direction of sociology; but this conquest will not compensate for his rejection of the preliminary sciences of logic and metaphysics. He abnegates zoology and geology,* also; nominally on account of their concrete character. But they are rather descriptive than concrete sciences. The real secret of their repudiation might be suspected to be the employment which has been frequently made of them to furnish evidences of creative design, and thus to confirm the truth of revealed religion.

But the exclusion of logic and metaphysics from the sphere of his speculations is, of itself alone, amply sufficient to overthrow any pretensions of M. Comte to be welcomed as the Bacon of the nineteenth century. In a former article we declared that we had no very favourable estimation of metaphysical pursuits in general, and recognised the pernicious tendencies to which they ordinarily gave

* Syst. de Politique Positive, vol. i, p. 432. Cf. Catechisme Positiviste, pp. 53, 63.

Digitized by Google

rise; but we also acknowledged on that occasion, and now repeat, that there are periods in the progress of intellectual development when they become indispensable: and we have recently seen that it was in this particular field that the instaurations of Aristotle, Abelard, and Bacon were commenced, and their main battle won. M. Comte's contemptuous scorn and renunciation of these fundamental departments of human speculation compel us to assign him a place, as a reformer of the intellectual world, even below Abelard. We are not speaking of the comparative genius of the two authors, nor of their respective ranges of investigation, but solely of the efficacy of their schemes to inaugurate a new intellectual era. M. Comte has not attempted to reëxamine the conditions and first principles of human thought; he has avoided this essential inquiry by cutting off and ignoring the whole domain which required the earliest and most arduous culture. His criticism does not extend to the valid exercise of the functions of reason: it assumes a lower station for its departure, and commences below the point from which the whole current of present disorder flows; and thus it can at best produce only a deceptive impression of renovated health, for it does not rise to the full recognition of the disease. It is wholly incognizant of the first therapeutics required, and it mistakes the parts to which the curative remedies must be applied. M. Comte, it is true, even while denying the validity of logic as a legitimate branch of knowledge, has ministered most efficiently to the extension and correction of the logic of strict science. All credit is due to him for insisting so strenuously upon the necessity of combining analysis with synthesis in all speculation, and employing induction for discovery, deduction for systemization. The merit is not in the novelty of the doctrine, for it is not new, but in the prominence given to it, and its skilful elucidation. But, though we concede these services, and though they may ultimately prove to be extremely beneficial, they only withdraw our attention from the primitive seat of error, and aid a continued advance in the wrong direction, until the pure logic of human thought, the conditions and validity of all reasoning, have been reëxamined and reconstituted. This subject could never be directly contemplated by M. Comte, being excluded by his own arbitrary procedure at the outset. Indeed, the "Critique of the Pure Reason" gives to Kant a much stronger presumptive claim to be recognised as a true reformer than is possessed by the French philosopher. Had M. Comte suffered himself to be guided in his general purposes by Kant, with the same docility with which he has pursued his footsteps in more trivial matters; had he commenced his criticism of human knowledge where Kant began, and

Digitized by Google

applied to the investigation his wonderful sagacity, his singular lucidity of thought and expression, his persevering industry, and his large scientific attainments, he might have attained the object of his ambition, and proved the great restorer of modern intellect—provided he had not by an arbitrary pre-judgment rejected revelation. As it is, the original error of his preliminary rejections recurs at the close of his long and brilliant elaboration, and denies him the fruition of his hopes. The hand of Tantalus is stretched toward the tempting fruit, his mouth approaches the long-desired waters; the former are nearly within his grasp, the latter have almost touched his parched lips; but both vanish irrecoverably at the very moment when the confidence of their enjoyment had almost become certainty. In the history of the papacy there is a most painful and instructive story told of a certain cardinal. San Severina, burning with the most intense but concealed ambition, had once declined the tiara from affected humility. Years rolled on, and he was at last elected by the conclave. He remained in his cell, endeavouring to subdue his eager gratification into the semblance of modest resignation. He listened for the feet of the deputation at his doors, coming to announce his elevation to the pontifical throne. Instead of the expected honour, he learned that all his hope was forever blasted by the absolute and canonical veto of the German emperor. His doom was heard in silence, and, with an heroic effort, he concealed his anguish and despair. But the prize to which his whole life had been devoted, for which he had toiled, for which, through a long existence, he had clothed himself with hypocrisy and unnatural humility, was gone from his reach forever. And that night he lay senseless in the silence of his chamber, while the blood gushed in torrents from his ears, his nostrils, and his mouth.* In refusing to M. Comte the honour claimed for him by his too eager admirers, we have the same feeling of agony that we cannot resist in contemplating the life and fate of Cardinal San Severina. Instead of succeeding to the throne of Bacon, M. Comte has hopelessly failed; his hand had almost touched the sceptre, but it is not destined for him. He must take his place by the side of Protagoras, and Roscellinus, and Giordano Bruno, and the other eminent philosophers who prematurely attempted an intellectual instauration, and missed their mark, in consequence of misapprehending the true conditions of the required reform. It is somewhat remarkable that the criticism of Brucker on Giordano Bruno is almost exactly applicable to M. Comte.

* This sad history of mingled deception and heroism is admirably given in "Ranke's History of the Popes," where it is illustrated by the graphic testimony of contemporary documents.

Digitized by Google

The philosopher of Nola failed from excess of fancy, (which is abundantly evinced in the *Système de Philosophie Positive,*) and from the absence of a true religious spirit.*

We have now briefly examined M. Comte's claims to be accepted as the Bacon of the nineteenth century, and in a manner which scarcely does justice to his singular acumen in the detection of special errors, or to the sagacity with which he exposes prevalent sophistry. The investigation has not been as thorough and minute as we should have wished it to be for our own satisfaction; but our space denied us the privilege of descending to details, and showing how impracticable and inefficient the provisions of Positivism are for the adequate redress of the grievances recognised. The result of our inquiry might perhaps tempt others to underrate the splendid abilities and extensive science of the founder of the Positive philosophy; but we have spared the ridicule which his later productions invite, and we acknowledge that his critical or negative labours have facilitated the advent of an effectual instauration, and that most of his scientific conclusions will be incorporated with slight modifications in any future scheme of adequate renovation. The broad standard, too, by which we have tested his true historical position, though throwing a transient shadow over his brilliant capacities, allows us to entertain no apprehension of having done injustice to him in denying him to be the prophet which he is asserted to be, or of having been influenced in our judgment by prejudices or partialities. M. Comte is not he who should come, but we must look for another. If the philosophy of Sir William Hamilton were only rigidly settled and sufficiently developed, we should give it precedence over the Positive philosophy, because it commences at the right point, and looks in the right direction, although the scope of the author be, as yet, too limited for a complete renovation.

The Baconian philosophy has been the peculiar boast of the late centuries, but it has been accepted and construed in a much narrower spirit than that which animated its great founder, and has been dwarfed into a mean and beggarly limitation to things sensible and material, to the exclusion of its aptitudes for higher thoughts, feel-

* "Prima, autem, quæ in eo vigebat, imaginationis vis fuit, adeo effusa et extra orbitam rapta, ut nisi nos omnia fallant, vix simile vagantis per innumeras easque mire inter se connexas complicatasque imagines ingenii exemplum invenire liceat."—Brucker's Hist. Crit. Phil., tom. v, p. 29. And again: "Quanquam enim animo regebatur magno, excelso, errorum contemtore, et imperterrito in subjugandis præjudiciis, nec ab eruditione erat imparatus, judicii tamen acumine (*sobriety*) destitutus ° ° ° ° totumque imaginationis deliriis se permittens, veram viam invenire non potuit."—Id., p. 36.

Digitized by Google

ings, and objects. Man, matter, and money—an ominous alliteration—have been venerated as the triune divinity of the nineteenth century, and conceived to be the legitimate idol set up by Lord Bacon. The experimental philosophy has been the only part of his labours that has been cordially accepted; and the Baconian instauration, thus shrunk and withered, has been made at once the tool and the divinity of the age. This spirit of the times has met its fullest expression and most consistent development in the immense systems of M. Comte, which have accepted all the logical consequences of exclusively experimental knowledge, but, with that instinctive resilience from what is base and unworthy which characterizes the highest order of genius, have rejected the beggarly sentiments, the selfish policy, the self-idolatrous vanity, which in meaner natures have been the fruits of a defective system. Still, the Positive philosophy is merely the systemization of the mutilated fraction of the Baconian philosophy, which has been hitherto illogically received by self-seeking generations: and the pernicious results which it eliminates in theory would be sure to return in practice. Between the rigid, materialistic, humanized philosophy of M. Comte, and the vague but glorious visions of something higher than humanity and human science which irradiate the works of Lord Bacon, the distance is vast indeed; but something more definite and distinct than the undeveloped inspirations of the sage of Verulam, and something less purely human than anything which M. Comte has conceived, is requisite to counteract the tendencies of the times, to correct its evils, heal the wounds of intellect, and breathe again the breath of life into an unbelieving and degraded society.

The philosophy of Aristotle embraced both the great branches of human knowledge—the ethical and physical—the speculative and scientific: not both with equal intensity, or with equal completeness; for the necessities of the times demanded the aid of the former, and the condition of science denied the extensive prosecution of the latter. The logical reform was thus the most prominent and significant part of Aristotle's labours; this was cultivated by his followers, while, after Theophrastus and Dioscorides, his researches in natural science were almost abandoned, and were neglected by the Romans. Abelard applied his genius merely to the promulgation of the ethical division of Aristotelism, and thus logic, in process of time, was extended to subjects which it was never designed to usurp, and science was corrupted and retarded by vain syllogistic discussions. Bacon relieved it from this incubus, and placed it under the jurisdiction of observation, experiment, and induction; but without disowning the validity of logic in its proper domain, or disclaiming the

Digitized by Google

superior authority and importance of ethical pursuits. His disciples overlooked this universality, and prosecuted a fragmentary elaboration of knowledge; slighting and denouncing the logic of deduction, and confining themselves to purely scientific construction. M. Comte has pushed still further forward in the same march. He has exposed many of the inconsistencies and sophisms of the received empiricism, but he has for the first time given a formal denial to that knowledge, lying beyond the sphere of science, which was so highly prized by Bacon. He is thus the standard-bearer only of the popular and received fragment of the Baconian philosophy, not the successor to its whole dominion. But the evils of the time result from this exclusive pursuit of the materialistic side of Baconism, and their redress requires a recurrence to the ethical branches of knowledge. M. Comte is thus on the same side with the existing evil, not on that of the necessary reform. He stands toward Bacon in a relation somewhat analogous to that occupied by Abelard to Aristotle; not in the relation of Bacon to Aristotle, or of either of those great men to the intellectual progress of humanity. Ethical and physical science never both flourish with equal vigour at the same periods, but the progress of intellect proceeds by an oscillation from one to the other. At the inception of Greek philosophy, the latter was in the ascendant; the former from the days of Socrates till the time of Bacon. The continuance of the exclusive domination of speculative inquiry then eventuated in evil; and Bacon, without denying its validity within its legitimate range, reformed natural science, and thus gave to it greater prominence. Physical pursuits have now been sedulously and almost exclusively pursued for two centuries and a half, and have brought the present harvest of woes. The remedy is a return toward Aristotle, by the rectification of logic and of ethical knowledge; not by the absolutely exclusive prosecution of that one-sided Baconism, which is the source of modern anarchy. It is thus in the hemisphere of ethical science that we must expect the dawn of the new instauration, and must look for that future philosophy which may be hailed as the *Instauratio Maxima.*

That intellectual regeneration, which the civilized world now languishes for and desires, must, indeed, partake of the universal character which we have recognised in the intellectual creations of Aristotle and Bacon, and must fulfil all the requisites which we have pointed out. It must and will introduce order and tranquillity into the political life of states, by establishing a healthier social harmony in the bosom of our modern communities. A larger development of human action, a more expansive play of human sentiment, a more liberal

Digitized by Google

exercise of scientific and speculative talent will result from a less selfish and greedy constitution of society. But this great change must be effectuated by a livelier sense of the stringency of moral obligations—by a substitution of the idea of duty for the degrading though arrogant notion of right; (a position emphatically asserted by M. Comte, but not announced by him alone, nor, we think, first;) by a revivification of human charities and susceptibilities; by the appreciation of worth above intellect, and genuine goodness above all other qualities. So far we run parallel with the aims of M. Comte, and cordially agree with them; but our agreement is subject to the same limitations as the concurrence of Leibnitz with the physical speculations of Descartes.* Such a vital reformation of society, as is thus proposed, can be achieved only through the instrumentality of a renewed faith in things divine; by rekindling a spirit of submissive obedience to the prescriptions of God and the teaching of revelation; by the restoration of Christian doctrine to its true position as the authoritative rule of human conduct, instead of regarding it, as is now too often the case, as the mere holiday profession of a pharisaical hypocrisy or sanctimonious self-delusion. It is this war between profession and practice, between our pretended creeds and our pursuits, between the spirit of Christianity and the temptations of mammon, between faith and reason, between the heart and the intellect, between the fear of the devil and the love of gold, which has offered so many practicable breaches to all the assailants of Christianity, and has strewed the world with the seeds which have sprung up into an abundant harvest of the most poisonous weeds. Before, however, this renovation of the true spirit of religion can be effected, or, at any rate, coincident with its germination, a negative reform at least of our habits of reasoning is required. We must reëxamine the conditions of human thought, discover the characteristics of cognizable truth, determine the limitations beyond which human reasoning and speculation cannot hope to be valid, renounce the arrogance of our intellectual self-confidence, and the sophistical presumption of the aspiring intellect; we must reconstitute our logic, find the ground of harmony between our reason and the faith required for the reception of divine ordinances, and once more, like little children, recommence our education in things human and divine. This preliminary task is absolutely essential. Before we can pretend to any satisfactory and settled belief in a Christian doctrine, which may regulate our lives, we must discover and reject

* "Methodi ejus tantum *propositum* amo; nam quum *in rem præsentem* ventum est, ab illa severitate prorsus remisit, et *ad hypotheses quasdam miras ex abrupto delapsus est.*"

Digitized by Google

those latent fallacies in our habitual maxims and recognised principles of thought and action, which militate against Christianity, and introduce into our minds an apparently fatal and irremediable discord between the conclusions of science and the doctrines of revelation. We may hail a philosophy, which may be competent to do all this, as something even greater than the *Novum Organon*, or the whole scheme of that *Instauratio Magna*, which Bacon sketched in outline, but never completed. From it we may hope for an alleviation of present political disorder, and the removal of the present intense social distress. We may expect it to strengthen the empire of religion while extending the bounds of knowledge; and to elevate and ennoble human science, while ministering to the more efficient satisfaction of the real wants, not of the caprices or passions of men. From it, too, we may anticipate the restoration of the true dignity of man, which will be no longer left to be the accidents of wealth, of popular clamour, or of seductive talents. It will consecrate the heart to the service of God, to the full discharge of every duty, to the sympathizing benefaction of humanity. It will subject the intellect, however brilliant, to the prescriptions of a genial morality, and employ it as the minister, but no longer as the tyrant, of right affections and lofty sentiments. It will discrown that intellectual despotism which has paralyzed the more generous springs of human action, has withered the green verdure of simplicity and innocence, and has dried up the refreshing fountains at which the weary traveller through the arid wilderness of worldly life was of old wont to quench his thirst. Such is the philosophy for which we yearn, and in which alone we will consent to repose our hopes. Such a philosophy, we believe, will, before many more long years, be vouchsafed to us. We wait patiently for its advent: and recognising with grateful admiration what is true and valuable in Positivism, we shall not suffer ourselves to be seduced by it, or any other scheme narrower than the one which we have indicated. We want something more than Positivism, something more accordant with the more mysterious and lofty aspirations of our half-angelic, half-human nature. That purely humanitarian philosophy, starting from the mere material frame-work of creation, sees nothing beyond it but the operation of phenomenal laws, without ascending to the Lawgiver, and limits the highest range of its flight to the deification of humanity, without attaining to the acknowledgment of the Creator of the universe, on whom man, as all things else, are dependent. This anthropological fetichism—for it is a recurrence to the lowest and earliest form of heathen superstition—is the culminating point of the despotism of the intellect. As we wander

Digitized by Google

through the long, systematic, and elaborately constructed system of M. Comte, we cannot but recall in fancy that dazzling but terrific palace of art, in which the poet's song clothes the prophet's wisdom, and remember how the intellect, the mistress of that vast pile, found the domain, which acknowledged no jurisdiction but her own, barren, lifeless, and productive only of despair and dismay:—

> "Back on herself her serpent pride had curl'd—
> 'No voice,' she shriek'd, 'in that lone hall,
> No voice breaks through the stillness of this world;
> One deep—deep silence all!'
>
> "She, mouldering with the dull earth's mouldering sod,
> Inwrapt ten-fold in slothful shame,
> Lay there, exiled from the eternal God,
> Lost to her place and name."

Such is the autocracy of the intellect; such nearly all the philosophy of the nineteenth century; such preëminently the system of M. Comte, and, as such, it is weighed in the balance and found wanting; and we look forward with hope to a better time and better things to come.

Art. II.—THE GROUND OF MORAL OBLIGATION.

By *ground* of moral obligation, is meant the *reason* or *cause* of it; and by reason or cause, not the *efficient* cause, or that *by* which it is produced, but the *final* reason or cause; that is, the ultimate end *for* which it is produced.

This explication of the principal term in the proposition is the more important, here in the outset, as a little attention to the subject is to satisfy us that the ground of moral obligation and the reason of it, and, consequently, the ultimate ground and the ultimate reason of it, are identical.

Still further to narrow the proposed inquiry we remark, that by *obligation* is intended the consideration which obliges or binds the subject, not to suffer the penalty of the law—if obligation in this sense could be supposed to hold with relation to it—but to comply with its precept; and, finally, that by *moral* obligation is mainly meant the obligation which man is under to obey God.

These preliminaries settled, we address ourselves to the inquiry, What is the ground of moral obligation? The most obvious answer is, The law of God. But what is the basis of the law of God? Answer, Relation; which is the basis of all law. And what

Digitized by Google

relation? The absolute propriety which the Author of the law has in the subject of it. What endues him with that propriety? Communication of being, involving, with its other properties, capability for the required obedience. But there must have been a cause, ground, or reason for that communication; what was it? Proximately—though this is to speak, not of a moral, but the efficient cause—it was volition or choice. And there was a ground on which that choice was exercised; what was that ground? Goodness. Under what specific form? Benevolence, or the willing of good to its object. Thus, combining the latter processes, while Infinite Goodness willed man's existence, he also willed his happiness, and the former out of regard to the latter.

But though we now seem to have reached the primitive base on which the other and upper strata are superposed, yet neither this nor they exhibit the natural adaptation which we have a right to look for in the object of our inquiry. If law rests on relation, and relation on ownership, and ownership on creation, and creation on volition,—that is, goodness willing happiness to its object,—the question then arises, as to how this good-willing can constitute the final ground or reason of obligation. That final reason, whatever it is, must be identical with the final end, out of regard to which the Deity imposes obligation. To suppose benevolence in him to be the final reason of obligation, is the same as to suppose it the final end of it; which is a palpable confounding of the end with the means to which it is related. For benevolence in him is necessarily objective; and the object of it is but another name for the end to which it is related; and it is only as a means that it can be related to it. Therefore, as the object and end of divine benevolence are necessarily extraneous to it, and identical with each other, at the same time, so they must be mutually identical with that only object and end to which benevolence can have any intelligible relation—the happiness of being.

And this final end, out of regard to which the divine Agent must have imposed obligation, must also be the final end out of regard to which the subject ought, that is, is bound, to submit to it. For that which is a reason to him for doing so, must, as the very term implies, affect, operate on, impress him, as such; as otherwise it would be a contradiction to suppose it a reason to him for the action in question, or for anything else. But benevolence, (as discriminate from beneficence,) that is, mere good will—as it does not affect nor even reach its object, and cannot therefore impress him—has in it nothing of the nature of a reason, either for the claim of service on the one hand, or for its rendition on the other.

Digitized by Google

We say *mere* benevolence. No being is qualified to impose moral obligation who is devoid of it; but, by itself, it cannot justify its imposal. Satan is devoid of it; and, for that reason, whatever other qualifications we might suppose him to possess—as omniscience and omnipotence—he could bind no being to his service. And he could not, for the simple reason that, being essentially void of goodness, he is under the moral disability of willing good, from which results the corresponding disability of doing it, and from all of which would ultimately result, that the only consideration which impresses moral obligation would, in his case, be a moral impossibility. Omniscience and omnipotence, then, cannot impose obligation on other ground than that of good, or well-being, produced in the subject of it. The anchoret, on the other hand, whatever amount of benevolence we suppose him to possess, cannot, merely on that ground, bind the object to his service; because, as that mental action is, from the obvious nature of it, limited to his own bosom, and so does neither reach nor affect its object, to suppose it to bind him, at the same time, is to suppose a contradiction.

Neither sheer goodness, nor that intransitive action of it which only wills the bestowment of good on its object, can create obligation. To do this it must not only act within itself, but it must go out of itself. It must reach its object, and it must act upon it. It must not only will to do it good, but it must do it the good which it wills. The former act is benevolence, the latter is beneficence,—that wills good, this does it.

As a precedent and concurrent condition, benevolence, as has been already explained, is indispensable to obligation. As an intermediate cause, it is also indispensable; and it is so in both these characters for the reason that, as obligation depends on good *done* to the subject, so the act which affects that good, does as naturally depend on the benevolence or good-will of the agent, as his good-will depends on his goodness.

But it is the good done which finally causes obligation, and not the mere willing of good,—any more than it is mere goodness, or creation, or propriety, or relation, or law. Benevolence wills you an estate, subject to a proviso that you shall make it pay him certain annual returns; but the rendition of the returns cannot be felt as matter of actual obligation for any other final reason than that of actual investment. Here is law; here is relation; here is propriety; here is volition; here is goodness. Here also is goodness willing; and here, finally, is goodness acting—acting directly on the subject of the obligation, and in such a way as to create the obligation by the identical act which imposes it.

Digitized by Google

Benefit, then—good done to the subject, to which beneficence in the agent corresponds, as a cause to its effect—is the ultimate and proper ground of what we call moral obligation. In all its innumerable modifications, as recognised among men—whether legal, social, or political—it stands upon this ground: nor is it so much as possible to suppose its absence, without putting out of our minds every intelligible conception of moral obligation.

That it is obviously present in a great majority of those modifications, will not be disputed, on the one hand; that it is obscurely present in some, is admitted on the other. But still, it *is* present: for instance, in the obligation which relates to helpless children and the poor. In these and similar cases we feel the obligation, with no very vivid consciousness of the constituent benefit. But, apart from the development and indulgence of refined and ennobling sympathies, which are real benefits, we draw upon the consideration, that the interests of society are mutually inseparable, and that our present and future well-being is conditioned on our discharge of these, with our other obligations.

That moral obligation is ultimately based on benefit or well-being in the subject, as the final end to which the obligation itself is related, is shown by the insufficiency of all other assignable grounds of it, as well as by the manifest absurdity of founding that obligation on any or all such grounds; and, finally, by the terms in which it is stated and referred to in the divine rescript itself.

I. Our first proof that God can impress obligation on the subject of his government on no other ground than that of communicated benefit, is derived from *the insufficiency of any or all the other reasons which can be assigned for it.*

1. Benevolence in God—to resume a preliminary topic, not to repeat, but to add a single thought—benevolence in him is not a sufficient ground of our obligation to obey him. If it were so, then would not only beneficence be a superfluity in the matter of such cause for obligation, but benevolence itself, which consists in willing good to prospective or actual being, would accomplish the whole of its ultimate purpose, as far as moral government is concerned, without ever effecting that very good which it has willed;—a supposition which is attended by the further absurdity, that benevolence—which can only exercise itself with relation to prospective or actual being—is satisfied by doing so with relation to being which it only wills to exist; or that—supposing the being to have become actual—it can satisfy itself by giving it a constitution involving no benefit to the subject, which is an equal absurdity. But if benevolence,

Digitized by Google

which can have no outgoing in the direction of its object but through the medium of beneficence, can only be satisfied by reaching and affecting its object through that medium—and it were a contradiction to suppose otherwise—then it follows, that, while beneficence is not necessary to obligation, benevolence does, necessarily, enlist its agency in the premises, notwithstanding: and how that differs from another contradiction, let the reader judge.

2. If willing goodness, producing no actual good to the object, is not a sufficient ground of obligation, abstract goodness—goodness in a state of inaction—would be no more, nor even as much so, for the same and other reasons equally obvious.

3. Nor would the communication of existence, with its known endowments, present a sufficient reason, considered, as we are now considering it, apart from the bestowment of benefit: for, in that case, as existence, with its endowments, would contain no consideration of any value to the subject, it could, by no possibility, impress him with any other than a fallacious sense of such obligation as is admitted to be incumbent. The obligation of love is admitted to be incumbent—love to the uncreated; and we are soon to see that it is so to the exclusion of everything not identical with its own essence. But the obligation of love can only be impressed by the consideration upon which love itself is impressible; and love itself can only be impressed by that object which excites desire; and nothing can excite desire which is totally devoid of value to the subject.

Therefore, as love itself, so also the obligation of it, cannot be impressed by a worthless consideration. But the communication of existence, with its known endowments, abstracted from all actual benefit to the subject, as we are now supposing it, would have no value; and, by consequence, could impress him with no other than a fallacious sense of his admitted obligation. This will be seen in a still clearer light, if we admit, with some of the great masters of analytics, that, while love fulfils the bond of obedience, gratitude is the satisfaction of the bond of love,—as being the highest exercise of that affection of which the finite mind is capable. At all events —and it is sufficient for the present purpose of the argument—it is admitted that gratitude, as a large component of love, even if not wholly inclusive of it, is matter of actually incumbent obligation; but how can he be obliged to gratitude who has received no favour? or on what ground can he be obliged to gratitude but that of his actual receipt of favour?

4. If the bestowment of being, with only such appurtenances as leave it void of good to the subject, and, consequently, void of

Digitized by Google

any matter, motive, or reason for gratitude, would be no sufficient basis of obligation, so neither could the relation of the parties, in that case, constitute it. For, as the relation, in that case, depends on the communication of being, with its endowments, the former could not possibly furnish what we have seen is not found in the latter; for the same reason that an effect cannot rise above, or contain more than its cause.

5. Leaving behind us, as we have done, the idea of good done to the subject, as the only true ground of moral obligation, we have now, with one exception, examined all the assignable substitutes for it, with no other result than that of their utter insufficiency.* The exception referred to is the law itself.

* Other substitutes, not formally included in the above enumeration, are:—"*The Fitness of Things*;" "*The Greatest Good*;" "*The Glory of God*, or, *The Manifestation of Divine All-Sufficiency*." Drs. Cudworth and Harris represent the first and the third, while Professor Finney, of our own country, is the vigorous asserter of the second.

As the first substantially identifies itself with the supposition that relation supplies the last reason for the obligation of moral agents, and as that supposition has been dealt with in the body of this article, any further notice of it may be dispensed with in this place.

The second, which bases duty on the greatest good, makes this to include, not merely the greatest good of creatures, but "the greatest good of God." This is admirably *explicit*. It is to suppose the greatest good or happiness of God, instead of being eternal and dependant on nothing out of himself, depends, partly at least, on the result of a proceeding had in time, and which result, for that very reason, is, necessarily, not infinite, but finite. This is admirably *absurd*. This absurdity is supposed to have been rendered sufficiently evident in the text; but there is one aspect of the professor's theory which claims a more marked attention. It is this: That while the greatest good underlies obligation, as being the final reason for its enactment, and consequently the object to be accomplished by it, that object is to be sought by the individual, acting under his obligation, not on his *own* account, more or less—that were selfishness, and the sin of sins—but simply on account of its value to the great commonwealth of being, including the unoriginated. A must not affect it for A, nor B for B; but B must do it for A, and A for B; while both must do it for all the rest, and be very careful that that concern be innocent of any glances at their own interest in the object. If, in the great issue, either is to find his own interest secure, well; but woe to him if his action in the premises chance to have been overtaken by the sin of caring anything about it for his *own* sake. And should it finally appear that his personal interest in the object had dropped *out* of the divine account, or that it was never *in*, he will be as much bound as ever to go on, seeking the "greatest good" of other intelligences—mundane, supra and inframundane, solar and stellar, cherubic, seraphic, angelic, arch-angelic, and divine—just as if nothing had happened.

To the mere mortal, not endued with the exalted *mentality* which achieves these transcendental reaches of abnormal thought, it would seem quite as probable that, since an interest in the greatest good is not wholly appropriated by the Deity,

Digitized by Google

"Law is a rule of action,—a precept or command coming from a superior authority,—which an inferior is bound to obey." Starting with this definition, which is not more applicable to law, generally,

but rendered common, among other orders of intelligences, to those of human kind, and since every particular individual is bound, as such, to seek the general interest, that he should be so bound by motives derived, not from the general to the exclusion of his particular interest, but from those which include the particular with the general,—and all for the palpable reason that the particular interest is included in the general, and that that particular interest is as much his interest, as the general is the general interest.

Or, if the general is not supposed to contain his particular interest, nor, consequently, to warrant his derival from it of any motive of particular interest, then equity would demand, he being shut out from all personal and particular interest and motive in the premises, that his obligation to seek the object in question should be equally characterized by the absence of the personal and particular; so that, when the rewards and penalties of the obligation are administered, his participation in the one shall not exceed the measure of his original interest in the other.

That no divine constitution enforces such a benevolence as is irrespective of personal interest, is evident from the following hints of proof:—

1. Analogy. It is a settled principle, and the practice under it is uniform, that, in all the departments of social life, where there is an object of general interest, it is right for the individual to promote it under the influence of motives taken from his individual interest in it.

> 2. "Whate'er the Almighty's subsequent command,
> His first command is this,—Man, love thyself:"—

a law as all-controlling as the God-implanted instinct which coerces the hatred of misery and the love of happiness.

3. This oldest constitution, whose import is as unmistakable as universal consciousness, and which can only be controlled by the shock that annihilates the nature to which it is essential, is but repeated in that benign edict: "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." That self-love is right, is as certain as that God has made it the legal standard of social love, and that he would not legalize a false one.

Thus it is certain that no law is extant which obliges to the exercise of such a regard for the interests of others as necessitates indifference to our own: to infinite goodness, wisdom, and power, it would be alike impossible. Wisdom and goodness could neither originate nor approve it: omnipotence could not enforce it.

The third of these alleged causes of moral requirement is, the glory of God; or, as the author's phrase is, "*The Manifestation of Divine All-Sufficiency;*" which he explains as meaning, generally, the exhibition to created intelligences of his own infinite excellencies.

That any manifestation to creatures of the perfections of the Deity is a desideratum to him, for reasons ultimately relating to his own well-being, is an absurdity, the reader will probably think is made sufficiently apparent in the text. If, then, such manifestation cannot be an object of desire to him for any reason finally relating to himself, it results, that, to him, as its final end, such manifestation is not a good—has no value. And it further results either, 1. That

Digitized by Google

than to that of the Deity in particular we remark, that the consideration which gives to law its binding force does not reside in the law itself. The proof of this is found in the very terms of the definition: for, according to those terms, law must issue, not only from a "superior" being, but from such a being "having authority" to impose it. Waiving the term as applied to derived authority, we can only understand it, in its relation to the Divine Being, as expressing the idea of his original right to the government of his creatures. We say original; not as actually antedating the bestowment of good, but potentially,—both as regards the good itself and the bestowment of it. Obviously, then, as the authority of law, which simply means the right of imposing it, is not contained in the law itself, the final cause of imposing it, which necessarily lies behind the imposing act, must also be sought for, not in the law, but out of it. To this must be added the absurdity common to all the other substitutions, that, while the law is supposed to be, not only the prescript but the final cause of obligation, it is all this—and here is the common absurdity—without any, the least, benefit to the subject.

The path by which we are to prosecute our search for the final cause of moral obligation, therefore, does not terminate in, but is distinctly traceable through, law, relation, ownership, creation, goodness, benevolence, and beneficence,* to this tangential point—the benefit or well-being of the subject—as the immediate and true ground, the ultimate reason upon which its awful form reposes.

As the other points at which we have searched for our object do not severally disclose it, it were scarcely worthy of our time to test their joint ability to do so; for having no individual competency, their totality can possess none.

Though some of these supposed causes—as goodness and benevolence—are really such, yet, standing as they do, at several removes from the ultimate cause, they are, speaking *grammatice*, penultimate, antepenultimate, or otherwise, according to their degrees of distance from the ultimate cause. In a word, they are intermediate; whereas we are in quest of a cause which is so in the meaning of an end—*the* end, the final end, or purpose—for attaining which

such manifestation is a good in itself, and not relatively, which is absurd; or, 2. That it is neither a good in itself, nor relatively to any being, or in any sense whatever; or, 3. That it is a good to the creatures to whom it is made; and that, as they are the only beings to whom it can be an ultimate good, it is an ultimate good to them, and, consequently, that their well-being is the only ultimate end to which it can be related. For the consideration of those Scriptures which are supposed to conflict with the teleology of this article, the reader is referred to a note in the third general section.

* Beneficence is here to be understood *subjectively*.

Digitized by Google

moral obligation has been instituted, and hence denominated the final cause, inasmuch as it was the desideratum which caused the divine Mind to produce moral obligation, as the best adapted means for the attainment of the desired end.

In the light of these distinctions, now, it is hoped, sufficiently clear to the reader, it will be perceived, that the remaining claimants of the honour in question—creation, ownership, relation, and law—are, from their greater remoteness in nature and position, still more deeply involved in the common inaptitude. They are conditions—precedent and concurrent—without which moral obligation could not have been produced; while, at the same time, as we flatter ourselves, it has been already shown, they can neither be the final reason for such obligation, nor take, in our minds, the place of it. To illustrate this distinction: Obligation cannot exist without subjects; nor they without creation; nor creation without involving certain relations. Creation, therefore, with its subjects and relations, is indispensable to moral obligation. But it can be only as a condition that it is so, and not as the final cause; for the reason that creation being the exhibition of nothing more than the efficient cause of things, is as naturally incapable of being the final cause of obligation, or indeed of anything else, as the production of a thing is incapable of being the reason of that production,—or *vice versa*.

That these, and possibly other ideas, not included in our canvass, are severally entitled, according to their natures and relations, to enter either among the conditions or subordinate causes of the obligation in question, is readily admitted. But so far are they from constituting the ultimate cause of it, that they derive their sole value, as conditions and subordinate causes, from that final cause which underlies them—in as far as they are conditions and subordinate causes—as it underlies the whole structure of divine moral government in all departments of the universe.*

II. That moral obligation is imposed out of regard to the well-being of its subjects, and that regard to that object is the sole and final

* To obviate misapprehension: This final cause is here said to underlie its subordinates—these being taken as including the attribute of divine goodness—in the sense of being the object to which they are related, and on which, as being so, they are dependant. Having instanced goodness, we add that, as a divine attribute, it offers itself to our consideration under two aspects,—the subjective, in which sense it is absolute, that is, unrelated to objects external to the Deity; and objective, a term which marks its relation to such objects: it is in this latter sense that the affirmation is made of it in the text. As objective, it is relative; and, by consequence, derives its existence and sole value, as the subject of that relation, from the object of it.

Digitized by Google

reason of its imposal, is further attested *by the absurdities which follow the opposite proposition.*

If creatures are bound to the service of God on other grounds or for other reasons than such as are ultimately related to their well-being, it follows,

1. That they are bound to the performance of *impossibilities.*

He has bound them to love him, and to nothing else; to nothing else, we mean, which is not naturally resolvable into this. But, as has been already shown, it is impossible to *love* an object for that which is not equally a reason for *desiring* it; and it is impossible we should feel that to be a reason for desiring an object which does not invest it with an adaptation to our happiness. By a plain consequence, therefore, if creatures are bound to the service of God for any other than a cause ultimately related to their happiness, they are bound to the performance of impossibilities.

Further: as the service to which he binds us is resolvable into love, so the love to which he binds us is resolvable into gratitude. Of the correctness of this, as the last analysis of the subject, the reader will find additional evidence in another place. But this modification of love depends, for its first breath, on the consciousness of benefit received from him to whom it is offered. If benefit then be not the ground or reason upon which God claims the obedience of love, and the love of gratitude, it follows that he claims it on no grounds at all; inasmuch as communicated good is the only possible ground on which he can claim it. Obedience to such a claim would be an absolute impossibility, which, if made in one, might be made in any and in all cases. No being in the universe could act with a more palpable disregard of the plainest principles of moral equity.

2. If the happiness of his subjects is not the final cause of his claim to their service, it is impossible to conceive of a final cause for it. If the happiness of any being constitutes that cause, it must be that of his subjects or his own; for the universe is divided between them. Is it his own? Does his claim upon his creatures stand on the ground of his regard to his own ultimate well-being? Call it what you will that he claims from them,—obedience, service, homage, honour, glory,—if demanded out of ultimate regard to himself, it must be for the reason that his own ultimate advantage, interest, happiness, is augmentable by it. Or if his well-being is not augmentable by it, while he still demands it for a reason ultimately relating to himself, that reason, examined in the light of that very relation, resolves itself into no reason at all.

Either way, the assumption that God imposes moral obligation

Digitized by Google

out of final regard to himself is clearly atheistic in some of its nearest and most obvious consequences: for that which is inconsistent with one or more of the absolute perfections of the Deity, is, by a plain consequence, inconsistent with the existence of the Deity itself. But the assumption in question is inconsistent both with the perfection of absolute happiness, and with the perfection of absolute self-sufficiency, on which it naturally depends; and so, by ultimate consequence, undeifies the Deity. For if his well-being can be affected by anything out of himself—as the government, or result of the government of moral intelligences—it follows that neither is his happiness absolute, nor that self-sufficience on which absolute happiness naturally depends. But his happiness being absolute, besides the more obvious impossibility that it should spring from any foreign origin, or admit of increase, it involves a contradiction to suppose it to be an END, and related, as such, to moral obligation, as a MEANS or instrument by which it can either be produced, increased, or affected, in any sense whatever; inasmuch as it is identical with the supposition that it is at once both absolute and relative, which is a plain contradiction. His well-being, therefore, cannot by any possibility be a final reason for the demand in question.

If, then, the happiness of his subjects does not supply the reason upon which their obedience is demanded, it must, of necessity, be demanded on *some* reason, if *any*, which involves no benefit to any being in the universe. How that which contains nothing of good to any being in the wide realm of the Creator, and is therefore good for nothing, can be a reason for the action of a Being infinitely wise and good; and, especially, how it can be the reason upon which he grounds that action which binds all intelligences to his throne, defies all intelligible conception.

3. If God obliges his subjects to a service which, whether found upon due analysis to consist wholly, or, though largely, only in part, of gratitude; if he thus obliges them, for no reason whatever, as follows from our first *reductio ad absurdum;* or if he obliges them for some reason involving nothing of good to any being in the universe, as results from the second; then, with the well-being of his subjects before him, as matter for his reason in placing them under obligation to him—the only objects whose well-being could have supplied the reason for so doing—he must have decided to waive it in favour of no reason at all, or of such a reason as concerns itself with the interest of no being in the universe. Still further to condense this conclusion: in the only transaction of any value or consequence to created intelligences, God has chosen to act without

Digitized by Google

reason, or with only such as is foreign to the interest of any being in existence. Or still more briefly: God binds us to moral goodness, for no good reason whatever. For certainly that can be no good reason which involves no good to being,—i. e., sentient and conscious being; unless, indeed, it could be established that good exists by itself, and not relatively; or, at least, that sentient and conscious beings should be placed under bonds for the benefit of those who are wholly insentient and unconscious.

4. A being who could employ his power and wisdom in the creation and government of moral agents on some other ground than that of their happiness, thus proving himself indifferent to their interests, is clearly devoid of any appreciable philanthropy, and stands before the universe in the character of utter apathism, or of supreme selfishness. In a word—for it comes to this—such a being is not God.

5. Such a being, among men, if clothed with authority—such authority as naked intelligence and power alone can furnish—would be called a tyrant; and if the intelligence and power were unlimited, so also would be the tyrant and the tyranny: for he who does not make the well-being of his subjects the controlling motive of his administration, will unscrupulously disregard or sacrifice that well-being that he may reach his own selfish ends, or whatever else that other object consists of, out of regard to which he may be supposed to have acted in the premises.

6. And, finally, the mandate of such a being, imposed out of ultimate regard to some other end than the public good, and consequently adapted and made efficient for accomplishing that other end, whatever it may be, and not the public good—the only ultimate end of a wise and beneficent government—such mandate, imposed for such reason, and to such an end, could impress the individual or public mind with no sense of just obligation, and it could be thrown off without the taint of crime.

Such are some of the absurdities legitimately issuing from the substitution of any final cause of moral obligation, other than the well-being of its subjects. The government of such a being, absolute in his own blessedness, can, in the nature of things, stand on no other, because it can stand on no higher or more commanding ground. He could have had no higher reason for its institution; he can enforce it by no consideration more imperative. With no interest of his own to be provided for, what could possibly have been a worthier motive in him who governs? what can possibly weigh more with those he governs than their happiness?

As an ultimate end, is there a greater good? Is holiness a

Digitized by Google

greater? Rather, high as holiness is, as an end, is it not, in its relation to happiness, a means for reaching another, a higher, the highest end?—an end which, as we can conceive of nothing more valuable, our mental constitution forces us to regard as that end beyond which there can be no other. If this is not the true relative position of the two ideas, it remains that a change of their relation exhibits them in the true position,—i. e., that, instead of holiness being the means of happiness, happiness is the means of holiness; or, finally, that there is no such relation between them as that of a means and an end; that neither is happiness the means of holiness, nor holiness the means of—the path that leads to—happiness. Again, therefore, is the conclusion forced upon us, that the government of the empire of mind can, by no moral possibility, have been undertaken otherwise than as a system of means for accomplishing the happiness of the subjects of that vast and ever-growing empire; and that, by final consequence, that object was the final cause of its institution.

To the assumption that any other than an infinite end is unworthy the action of an infinite Being; and that, as the happiness of creatures is not infinite, it is unworthy of being the end of his action; we reply, that such an end would be unworthy of such action, were the action itself infinite, as the end is finite. But we are speaking not of action *ad intra*, but *ad extra*. The clear distinction between the two is this: when the Infinite is the object of his own action, he acts infinitely; as when he conceives of or knows himself, he conceives or knows infinitely. But for the same reason that, when he conceives of or knows an object external to himself, which, because it is external, is necessarily finite, he conceives of or knows it not infinitely, but finitely,—he can only act finitely in relation to finite objects. And the reason is plain from hence, that as the true idea of action is the idea of an actual cause, as distinguished from a cause in the potential sense; and as it is as necessary that the actual effect of an actual cause should equal that cause, as that the actual cause should equal the actual effect, to affirm infinite *ad extra* action of the Deity, is to affirm that the *ad extra* effect or object of that action is also infinite: which, besides amounting to a concession of the main point at issue—that a finite cannot be the ultimate end of divine action—implies a contradiction; as the existence of more than one infinite object is a natural impossibility. Therefore, vast as is the effect of divine action,—in the creation, conservation, and government of the universe,—as that effect is strictly finite, so also is the action which produces it.

This easy distinction effected, it were obvious to remark, that

Digitized by Google

instead of supposing a waste of action in reaching the end in question, we only suppose the action which reaches that end to be adapted quantitively, as we have seen it must be qualitatively, to the object itself. On the whole, we are brought to the conclusion—whether just, or, being so, whether it takes the key-stone out of any venerable theory on this subject, let him who *can* and *dares* think otherwise than by prescription, judge—that the ever-increasing happiness of myriads of intelligences, as the ultimate end of the divine action in their creation and government, can never be proved from the nature of that action to be an end unworthy of the expense incurred in producing it. Both are vast beyond conception, but both are limited. Who shall say that they are not worthy of each other?

III. That moral government exists, and asserts its claim out of ultimate regard to the happiness of the subject, and for the subordinate reason of its instrumental adaptation to that end, is shown, thirdly, *by the divine law itself, which distinctly and repeatedly urges its claim on this ground, and which never does it on any other.* For though, as we have seen, the law does not contain the matter of the reason upon which its claim is founded, its habit is that of frequent reference to it. In passing, however, to this section of the argument, our attention is due to that small class of texts supposed to conclude against the teleological scope of this writing. And here our limits constrain us, instead of treating them hermeneutically, and in detail, to collect what is taken to be their common signification, leaving the reader not only to perceive its harmony with our general principles and deductions, but to judge whether any received canon of exegesis can find them fairly seized of any other.

"Of him, and through him, and to him, are all things." "He hath made all things for himself." "For thy pleasure they are and were created." With which collate: "My goodness extendeth not to thee, but to the saints." "God is not worshipped as though he needed anything." Taken together, these passages authorize the following harmony of conclusions:—

1. That God is the origin of the external universe, together with its relations and laws, and whatever duly results from either or all.

2. That this origination of existence, together with the control of it by appropriate laws—physical and moral—is not for any reason ultimately relating to himself particularly.

3. That right moral action, and consequently the obligation of such action, as they are alike limited in kind and consequence,

Digitized by Google

have no natural adaptation or tendency to affect his well-being in any proper sense whatever.

4. That creation, conservation, and the exercise of rectoral authority, are for the ultimate purpose of his benevolence, as conditions and media of the happiness of his creatures:

5. That, under his all-controlling skill and energy, all beings, his dominion over them, together with all that duly results from both or either, are subservient to that ultimate purpose; and, finally,

6. It is in this sense, that "all things are *to* him," "*for* him," and "for his pleasure;" inasmuch as, having originated in him, as conditions and means of happiness to his creatures, they thus return to him, by becoming tributary to that same ultimate purpose.

But we are now to verify the general remark, that while the divine law urges its claim on the ground of the finite interests to be subserved by it; and while its habit is that of frequent reference to that object as the declared reason for its action, it never intimates the existence or operation of any other reason. This frequency of reference to the well-being of the subject, as the only ground on which his obedience is demanded, is common,

1. To the ante-Mosaic law. We have a right to assume, because universally conceded, that the divinely-uttered inhibition to the progenitor of our race, was a perfect epitome of the perfect requirement of the supreme love of the Creator. That the reason of this requirement could have had no connexion with the interests of its Author, personally and ultimately considered, we have already seen; that there were no other interests save those of the subject, to which it could have related, we have also seen. When, therefore, the law enunciates, "Thou shalt not eat of it,"—from whence, or from whose interest, does it fetch the impressive reason upon which it fixes the authority of its action—"for, in the day thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die?"

The command which was to expatriate Abraham, and attach him to the service of his Maker,—on what other ground did it proceed than that God, whose beneficence he had begun to experience, would further add to his happiness by making his name great, and by rendering him at once the medium and recipient of immense and endless blessing? "Walk before me, and be thou perfect;" for, "I am the Almighty God—thy shield, and thy exceeding great reward."

Was Moses under obligation to choose the reproach of Christ instead of the treasures in Egypt? And for what other reason was he obliged to do so, than that the riches of the former were greater,

Digitized by Google

and, by consequence, more valuable than those of the latter,—i. e., the riches of Christ than the treasures in Egypt? The divine record being allowed to determine, he makes the commanded sacrifice of a partial and temporary good, on the one hand, on the ground of—that is, out of regard to—the affluence of eternal advantage on the other: "For he had respect unto the recompense of the reward." Other than this reason, if Moses or his Maker knew of a good one, that record has never been made to speak it.

The citation of the same sole reason for the divine requirement is common,

2. To the institutes of Moses themselves. Among these we have, in one class, the festivals: as of the passover, the pentecost, and the tabernacles. Commemorative of corresponding benefits, and leading, through the medium of present blessing, and, by the most obvious consequences, to future, paramount, and final felicity, it will hardly be questioned that their institution and observance stood alike on the ground of those considerations; especially as that is the declared ground on which they are placed, and as there is not the slightest reference to any other.

Passing for the present the political, judicial, and, more properly, religious obligations of the same code, as growing out of the great principia of the Decalogue, I ask, in relation to the last-mentioned, does it challenge submission *for*, or *without*, reason? If the former, then, as we have already seen, that reason must have been fetched from some valuable consideration; as, otherwise, being worth nothing itself, the reason derived from it would be worth nothing; and, by consequence, the challenged submission would rest on something else, if anything, than a good reason. If, as the fact is, however, the consideration which furnished the reason in question is worth, at least, something; and if that worth is necessarily relative to some being; and if, to that being it must necessarily be a matter of some interest, by which we can only mean that it identifies itself with his well-being or happiness; then, it having thus resulted that the reason for the Ten Commandments must have been taken from the consideration of the happiness of some being, it were scarcely necessary to ask,—Of what being? having been so frequently forced before to the same conclusion, that the subject of the obligation was the only being whose happiness could, by any possibility, have been affected by it.

But does this law of the two tables itself urge its claims on this ground, and on no other? It speaks: "Hear,"—that is, obey this law,—"O Israel!" Do it,

1. On the ground of the good issued and issuing from existing

Digitized by Google

relations: "For I am the Lord thy God, who brought thee out of the house of bondage." Obey it,

2. For the reason that doing so is the natural and fixed condition of thy future well-being,—"That it may be well with thee, and that thou mayest live long on the earth."

Good, then, the good of the subject, it is respectfully submitted, is the ground, and the only ground, on which this oldest of written constitutions, known to human intelligences, imposes its obligation.

This habit of reference to obligation as reposing on benefit, present and prospective, is equally common,

3. To all the prophets and teachers of the Old Testament. To verify this position, we had purposed an induction of at least a few of the more appropriate instances. Happily, however, for the necessity which limits our argument, as well as for a pardonable solicitude for its success, that measure may be safely waived upon a reasonable presumption, that those who are likely to feel an interest in the general question, must have anticipated us in the requisite examination of this particular point. It will be only in passing, then, and more for the purpose of establishing a collateral issue than of directly strengthening the main argument, that we shall ask an audience for so much as one of this great cloud of witnesses. The collateral issue referred to is this: That as love is the declared essence of all obedience, so gratitude is the essence of all the love that God requires, or that the human soul can exercise.

Love regards the Deity, either *absolutely*,—that is, as exercising his perfections in himself, with no relation to the external universe,—or *relatively;* that is, as exercising his wisdom, power, goodness, and other qualities, with relation to his creatures. Now, however it may be a law of dialectics, that before we examine the relations of an object we should ascertain its absolute qualities; and however, in acting on this principle, we suppose the above qualities of wisdom, power, and goodness, to be absolute qualities in the Deity, and that, as such, they may excite certain emotions—as of admiration, approval, and delight; and however these emotions may constitute such a love to God as befits the dream of a poet, yet the theopathy of the Bible, instead of deriving itself from any such distant sight of absolute qualities, kindles into its own living ardour upon the apprehension of God, as related to us; whose fatherly regards are fixed upon us; who is not only Creator, Preserver, Benefactor, Redeemer, Saviour, and Lord, but who is *ours* in all these relations. This is gratitude. If it is urged that the theopathy of the Bible transcends this; that it surveys, adores, and loves its object as possessing "infinite and harmonious perfections in

Digitized by Google

himself," and not as marked by any relation, near or remote, direct or indirect, to creatures or their interests, we reply,

1. The impossibility of loving such an object—utterly unrelated and unadapted to our constitutional wants—has been already proved.

2. Waiving any further question, however, as to the sheer possibility of supreme love to an object devoid of relation or adaptation of any kind to the wants of our nature; and even supposing it to involve no contradiction, either that we should love an object having no adaptation to excite desire, or that we should desire an object having no adaptation to our happiness, or that we should be supremely interested in reference to that object, but that we should be so in some strange sense, consistent with our being perfectly disinterested with regard to the same object, and at the same time,—waiving, we say, all these aspects of the subject, we ask: Where, in his Word, does God command us to love him in this *a priori* way—"out of regard to what he is *absolutely*, as a Being of infinite perfections"—and not for the reason that those perfections are known, from testimony or experience, to adapt him to the necessities of a nature which he has made dependant on himself, and thus attracting us to him by the natural force of a felt interest in him? Where, we ask again, is such love commanded? and by whom was it ever felt? Not—as far as his testimony goes—by the great master of the Hebrew lyre; and we are soon to perceive that he is but the echo of the universal testimony on this subject. But the witness—he will answer two simple questions:—1. Do you love the Lord? Answer. Yea, verily; "I love the Lord." 2. For what cause do you love him? Answer. "I love the Lord because he hath heard my voice and my supplications."

As a sedative to any nervous dread of departure from uninspired authority, we shall subjoin the brief note of a great theologue and very learned commentator: "How vain and foolish is the talk, 'To love God for his benefits to us is mercenary, and cannot be pure love!' Whether pure or impure, there is no other love that can flow from the heart of the creature to its Creator." To which the reader will excuse us for adding the suffrage of one of the highest of ethical authorities: "The love of God is the sublimest gratitude."

IV. That divine requisition is preferred on the ground of benefit received, and to be received, is, fourthly, *the constant declaration of the New Testament.*

1. That all the precepts of the New Testament are poised

Digitized by Google

on the consideration of good done, and to be done, to us, were as easy of proof as the quotation of the precepts themselves. But we must prepare a shorter process; or rather rest this present issue on one prepared for us by the faithful and true Witness himself. First, then, he resolves all human obligation into,—"Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and thy neighbour as thyself." And, secondly, he places that all-embracing bond on the ground of God's unreserved bestowment upon us of the gift of his Son; and through him, on the conditional communication of eternal happiness: "For God so loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on him should not perish, but have everlasting life."

That this two-fold gratuity of his Son, and everlasting happiness through him, to all believers, is the final reason upon which he claims our love to him is obvious, first, because it possesses all the adaptation as such which we can either imagine, or the nature of the case admit; secondly, because no other is ever assigned; or, which is the same thing, no other which is not naturally resolvable into it; and, thirdly, because, in effect, this reason is repeatedly assigned by inspired men; and expressly so by the beloved disciple, on his own, and the behalf of all the other members of the heavenly family: "We love"—are bound to, and therefore do love—"him, because he first loved us,"—so as to bestow the immense benefit of redemption. On this text two commentators of opposing schools—Calvinian and Arminian—respectively remark:—

"His love is the moral cause of ours."

"This is the foundation of our love to God,"—"We love him for the benefits bestowed on us. Love begets love." These various terms give, as their united sense of the place,—that love to God is caused or excited in our minds by the consideration of the benefit which his love has caused to us.

Now, as this moral cause or foundation of our love to God is identical with the moral cause or foundation of our obligation to love him,—that is, the consideration out of regard to which the obligation must have been originated and imposed, so is it the ultimate or final cause; as above or beyond this it is not conceivable, as has been variously demonstrated, that any object should have been present to the Divine Intelligence, out of regard to which he could have originated and imposed it.

2. With regard to the rest of the apostles, and to save time, it must suffice to remark, that as they cannot, so a careful induction will satisfy us that they do not present any other cause of our obligation than that already so clearly stated by the sovereign authority of

Digitized by Google

Him who lay in the bosom of the Father, preaffirmed, as we have seen it, by those who spake as they were moved by his own Spirit; and so appositely and pointedly re-affirmed by that one of his chosen witnesses who had lain in his own bosom: "Other foundation"—of acceptable obedience, or of the obligation which binds us to its exercises—"can no man lay, than that which is laid in Jesus Christ,"—considered as the offspring of that infinite goodness which conferred so inestimable a benefit on our fallen race.

As not only lapsed, but dissevered from any interest in that goodness, utterly and finally,—the obligation originating in and depending on it would expire. Of punitive obligation we speak not, further than that, succeeding the preceptive, as it must from the fact that their joint effect on the same subject is impossible, it constitutes the only sense in which the law, in its application to those who bear its penalty, can be considered eternal.*

* As this point, aside from its intrinsic interest, is too material to the main purpose of this paper to be dismissed without a more extended notice than could consistently be given it in the text, the attention of the reader is solicited to this marginal attempt to set it in its proper light. The point is, whether the preceptive obligation of the divine law rests alike on those whom it abandons and execrates, as on those whom it protects and blesses; or, in other words, whether the penalty and precept of the law are jointly and eternally enforced with regard to the same subject. To this we reply, that the happiness of the subject having been the original and direct aim of the law, and to be accomplished by means of his submission to its preceptive requirement, it were a gross absurdity to suppose him a subject of its punitive, while he is also a subject of its preceptive action. The precept requires him to love God, and looks through that, as a medium, to his happiness as an end. The penalty supposes him to have forfeited the happiness, and with it, of course, the means of happiness, which is neither less nor more than loving God. If we suppose, then, that God requires the subject of punishment to love him, we must further suppose it to be his will that he should love him, or that it is not. If he requires him to love him, while at the same time it is not his will that he should do so, then it follows that his requirement and his will are at mutual odds; in other words, that not loving him is as much in accordance with his will, on the one hand, as it is a violation of his command on the other—which is absurd. But if—to take the other horn of the dilemma—it be supposed that, while God requires the subject to love him, it is equally his will that he should love him—it follows that, as loving is the *means of*, and necessarily *leads to* happiness, it is his will that the subject of obligation to the means should, by virtue of that means, be connected with the happiness to which it stands related, as an *end*; or, which is the same thing, that he requires and wills both his holiness and his happiness—which is also absurd. On the whole, then, we are forced to the conclusion, that since God, in the punishment of the sinner, does not require him to love him, either with or without willing that he should do so, inasmuch as either supposition involves a gross absurdity—he does not require him to love him at all. Indeed, it equally results—unless the punishment were disciplinary and benignant, which it is

Digitized by Google

But to resume the interrupted thought. With our moral constitution utterly and hopelessly wrecked,—with our eternal interests lost sight of by our Maker,—we could, by no possibility, feel obliged to that love of him without which he could acknowledge no obedience. Nor would the love itself be less impossible than the feeling of obligation to exercise it; as there would remain no possibility of adaptation in the object to those constitutional conditions of our nature on which the exercise of love depends,—no principle in the intellectual or moral constitution of the subject upon which the requisite power could rally,—no fulcrum upon which its action could fix.

Happily for us that utter wreck was never permitted; that disregard for our interests was never indulged. To obviate so huge a calamity there did, it is true, arise, under the divine administration, a necessity of the great sacrifice; but, anticipating that necessity, it was provided for in the "Lamb slain from the foundation of the world." Emanating from Infinite Goodness, himself the action of that goodness, sinlessly embodied in the sinning nature, he holds that nature in such vital conjunction with his own, that it is made to partake of his quickening Spirit, and to share his availing and ever-active sympathies. In this way, while lapsed man, as the subject of law, is ever supplied with virtue to fulfil it, he is ever presented with the all-embracing cause, ground, or reason for his obligation to

not—that the delinquent cannot be bound to do anything, but only to suffer,—to suffer that punishment, a part of which, at least, results from the loss, as well of the power and privilege of loving God as of the happiness of which the exercise of that power and privilege is the divinely-constituted means.

To the venerable allegation, "That the loss of power to obey does not impair the divine right to command," we answer,

1. The divine right in question, having for its ultimate aim the well-being of the subject, as has been variously demonstrated, would—that aim surrendered—be surrendered along with it; or, which is an absurdity, it would be maintained with reference to no ultimate aim whatever.

2. The right of commanding supreme love, after his own punitive and positive action had rendered it absolutely impossible—after he had absolutely *willed* its impossibility—is a right, the vindication of which can be prompted by no enlightened regard for the honour of the divine equity.

The unmixed and unmitigable pains of eternal death are not less incompatible with the obligation of loving God, than with the felicity of loving him. When, therefore, he gives up, or ceases to will the happiness of the delinquent, he ceases to will the holiness which would lead him to it; and when he ceases to will his holiness, he ceases to require or command it; and when he ceases to will, require, or command holiness, he ceases to oblige or bind the delinquent to its exercise. The obligation to suffer still remains; and that, as remarked in the text, is the only sense in which the obligation of the law, in the premises, can be considered eternal.

Digitized by Google

do so; a reason which, if we mistake not, has been shown to be rooted in the inherent value of well-being to the subject, considered as a final end,—an end of sufficient moment to justify the institution and maintenance of the existing scheme of moral government, as a means divinely adapted to that end.

With the following condensed view of the argument, we have done:—

1. God wills our happiness; for it is a contradiction to suppose that Infinite Goodness could will otherwise.

2. Holiness, by a divine constitution, is the means of that happiness; for, willing the end, it would contradict God's wisdom and goodness to suppose that he does not equally will the means, or that he wills other means than that of holiness.

3. Holiness being willed as the means of happiness, is willed with reference to that end, and no other; that is, it is willed on the sole ground of its aforesaid relation to happiness; and that is equivalent to our original affirmation, that moral obligation is imposed out of ultimate regard to that consideration. That consideration is sufficient; no other can be. It is, therefore, *the sufficient and only ground of man's obligation to obey his Maker.*

Art. III.—ON THE SECOND EPISTLE OF ST. PAUL TO TIMOTHY.

Some writings derive importance from their date, as well as their intrinsic character; and to understand them accurately, and duly to appreciate their worth, it is necessary to be acquainted with the facts of contemporaneous history. Those facts, especially, which attest the general state of the world, and more particularly those which come into immediate contact with the subject matter of the document under consideration, the character of the principal personages that appeared upon the stage of action, as well as the particular exigencies of the times, must be accurately understood in order to elucidate the peculiar phrases of the writer, and to explain the facts and incidents detailed.

That Timothy lived in a very eventful era of the world is manifest. The Roman empire had, under the reign of Augustus Cæsar, about sixty-five years before the time of writing this epistle, achieved the conquest of the world, and was now under the government of a prince who exceeded all his more immediate predecessors in wickedness,—Tiberius, Caligula, and Claudius, whose licentious-

Digitized by Google

ness and many acts of cruelty had filled Rome with mutilated limbs, and corpses, and all kinds of miseries, in the midst of enervating luxuries and debasing debaucheries;—Rome, we say, at this time, was under the government of a prince who plunged deeper into the muddy pool of depravity than any of his predecessors, however debased they may have been—a prince whose dissolute character has handed his name down to posterity with the blackest infamy. Nero, a name associated with every vice which can degrade human nature, was now at the head of the Roman empire, and he rendered himself notorious by a precocity of profligacy which ripened into maturity at an early period of his inglorious reign.

He who could sport himself with inflicting barbarous tortures upon mankind, not caring to discriminate between the innocent and guilty, merely to gratify a capricious humour—who could indulge in the profane mirth of dancing around the mangled corpse of his own mother, after having had her ripped open that he might feast his voluptuous eyes upon the place of his conception—who could order the city of Rome to be set on fire that he might have a plausible pretext for crushing and punishing the Christians for burning the city—he that could deliberately do such things may well be supposed fully equal to any act of barbarous cruelty, however atrocious and malicious. Yet Nero is said to have done all this, together with a thousand other acts of inhumanity, at the bare recital of which we instinctively recoil with horror. It was under such a monster in human shape that Timothy lived. Is it not a wonder that he lived at all?

In the mean time, during those reigns of blood and carnage, the Christian religion had been silently advancing in the world. For about sixty-five years from the birth of its Founder, and thirty-two from his death and resurrection, it had been steadily making its way amidst opposition of the most formidable character, its disciples inhumanly punished as bleeding victims upon those very altars their own hands had erected for the sacrifice of prayer and thanksgiving, as a penalty for their testimony to its truth. This religion, thus propagated, opposed, and persecuted, had excited great attention, and enlisted the interests, the prejudices, and the passions of mankind, very generally, both for and against it. Among its early converts there were some who had been its most virulent opposers and persecutors, one of whom was the author of the epistle before us. Zealous for all the peculiarities of the Mosaic economy, learned in the laws of human jurisprudence, an active partisan for the Jewish Sanhedrim, a devout Pharisee by birth and education,

Digitized by Google

and a violent persecutor of the followers of Jesus Christ, he was selected by the high-priests of the Jews to execute their malicious decree to extirpate the Christians from the face of the earth. While on his way to Damascus, with his bloody commission in his pocket, and his heart palpitating with hatred to the Christians, determined to bring all that called on the name of the Lord Jesus, whether men, women, or children, bound to Jerusalem, this zealous partisan was suddenly arrested in his mad career by a voice from heaven sounding in his ears, "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?" Ignorant of the person whose voice he heard, and yet surprised by such an unexpected recognition of his name, though prostrate upon the earth from the overpowering brilliancy of that light from heaven which shone around him, he answered from the fulness of his heart, "Who art thou, Lord?" What an unexpected answer was given to this question, "I am Jesus, whom thou persecutest!" "Jesus whom I persecute! I thought thou wast dead and buried. Thou certainly wast crucified at Jerusalem, and thy body committed to the tomb; and I was told that thy disciples came by night and stole thy body, and conveyed it to a secret burying-place. I know, indeed, that thou hast a few straggling followers upon the earth, but I was on my way to destroy even them, in the hope that thou and thy name would soon be forgotten. But dost thou live?" "Yes, I live; I have the keys of death and hell, and I have you as my prisoner. Submit, therefore, to my authority, or suffer the vengeance due to thy sins." "I submit. What wouldst thou have me to do?" "Arise, and go to Damascus, and it shall be told thee." Away he goes, being led by those who accompanied him; for the brightness of the light which shone upon him had blinded his eyes.

Of his subsequent conversion, his call to the ministry of reconciliation, his success and sufferings, we cannot speak particularly. Among others converted to the faith of the gospel, one of the most eminent was Timothy, to whom the epistle before us is directed. It seems necessary, however, to remark that for his fidelity in his calling, his success in winning souls to Christ, the bold manner in which he confronted the Jews and supplanted the Gentile worship, he provoked the ire of the Jews and stirred up the wrath of the Gentiles. For these things he was brought before the civil magistrates, condemned, and cast into prison, and was now, when he wrote the epistle before us, a second time a prisoner in Rome under the blood-thirsty tyrant Nero, the persecutor of the Christians. Having no hope of an exemption from death, he sends to his son Timothy this farewell discourse.

Timothy, as before remarked, had been converted by the

Digitized by Google

ministry of the apostle, had commenced itinerant preaching, and had given ample evidence of his ability to teach, as well as of his fidelity in the cause of Christ. Accordingly, the apostle had chosen him for his companion in his travels, had adopted him as his son in the gospel, and employed him as his assistant in the government of the Church. Timothy was, therefore, properly speaking, an itinerating evangelist, or bishop, sent by the apostle from place to place to superintend the affairs of the Church, to set things in order, and to ordain elders in every city where they were needed—in a word, to do all that which the apostle himself would have done had he been present. These are the persons and these the circumstances which called forth the document under consideration.

Nothing can be more affecting than the circumstances under which the apostle addresses his son Timothy in this epistle. It is Paul, the aged Paul, the spiritual father of Timothy—Paul the prisoner at Rome, already under sentence of death—Paul the apostle of Jesus Christ—that addresses himself to Timothy the evangelist. Standing on the margin of time, with eternity full in his view, the Judge of heaven and earth before his face, he speaks with all the solemnity which these awful circumstances are naturally calculated to inspire, and with all the tender affection which a father feels for his son. Not only the circumstances under which he was placed, but the subject on which he discoursed, was well calculated to awaken the most lively interest and to excite the deepest and most holy sympathies of the soul. He is not discoursing respecting an earthly but a heavenly inheritance—not about the empty pageantry of this world, which passeth away, but of those eternal realities of a future world—not of those ephemeral things which float upon the surface of human life and soon disappear forever, but of those substantial glories which shall be revealed in that august day when Jesus Christ shall descend from heaven with a shout and with the voice of the archangel, to awaken the dead and call all to judgment. Nor is he discoursing about human science, literature, and the arts—all of which have their relative importance—but respecting the science of salvation, the literature of religion, and the art of holy living. These are the solemn, the sublime, the all-important subjects that occupy the heart and inspire the pen of the apostle.

Now take all these things into consideration, and then judge if they are not most worthy the time, the circumstances, the character of the writer, his destiny, and the calling, character, and peculiar work of the person addressed. A man may, while blessed with health, surrounded with friends, and enjoying freedom of thought and action,

Digitized by Google

be cheerful and speak flippantly enough of the necessity of sacrificing the pleasures of the world, and descant in glowing language upon the attractions of religion and of its future rewards, and yet feel but very little of what he says. But let him be placed in a similar situation with the Apostle Paul when he wrote this epistle—let him be able to reflect upon a long life of devotion to the best of all causes, a life of daily sacrifice, of labour, of suffering, and, finally, be sent into prison, where he is doomed to linger out his wearisome days and nights in a gloomy dungeon, whence he looks forward to a speedy and ignominious death, and then let him speak of the substantial realities of that religion which buoys up the soul amid these sufferings, these temptations, and these agonies which arise from the treachery of false friends, while he rises above them all in view of the bright prospect before him, and we shall be compelled to believe in his sincerity, and to pay homage, almost involuntarily, to his virtues. This was the situation and this the discourse of the author of the document we are reviewing. And shall we not listen to him with believing hearts?

But let us notice particularly some of the most important topics upon which the apostle treats. Let it be remembered that this is the *second* epistle to Timothy. He had before, during his first imprisonment, instructed him in many things pertaining to his office as a superintendent of the Church, as an itinerating evangelist, and had delineated the character of those who might be consecrated to the work of elders in the Church of God.* In that epistle he had expressed his anticipation of a speedy deliverance from his captivity, and he lived to realize his expectation. But the malice of his enemies would not allow him long to enjoy his liberty: he was thrust a second time into the prison; and now he abandons all hope of a restoration to the free exercise of his apostolic functions, but says expressly, "I am now ready to be offered up, and the time of my departure is at hand." It would appear, therefore, that the sentence of death had been already passed upon him; and, indeed, it was soon carried into execution.

We have already intimated that Timothy was an assistant of the apostle, and, as such, was commissioned to do what the apostle would have done himself had he been present. And now that his departure was near at hand, he wished to instruct Timothy more perfectly in his duty as an evangelist, and as a ruler in the Church of Jesus Christ, that he might be fully qualified, after the apostle's death, to fill his place as his successor in the apostleship, not only in "preaching the word" with acceptance, but

* 1 Tim. ch. iii.

Digitized by Google

more especially in governing the Church with discretion, and thus be prepared to transmit to others duly qualified the functions of his ministry. Happy would it have been for the Church and the world had this succession of holy, wise, and faithful evangelists been preserved in a regular line of descent, for then would not the Church have been cursed with "unpreaching prelates," nor the earth drenched with the blood of the saints, under the pretence of eradicating heresy from among the faithful. What a disgrace to Christianity has the conduct of that unholy priesthood been! Had, indeed, this command of the apostle been obeyed from generation to generation, that race of monsters in human shape, the apostate popes and cardinals, whose vile characters have been delineated upon the page of history, had never existed. Nor would the doctrine of succession have needed a defence, as there would have been none to call it in question. As facts are, however, which put it beyond all controversy that this holy succession has not been kept up, but has been broken in upon from time to time by the vilest of men, surely a man must be hard pushed for arguments to justify his practice to resort to this debased and rotten succession for the authority of his ministrations.

All that an inspired apostle could do to prevent such a fatal catastrophe from befalling the Church was done in St. Paul's instructions to Timothy respecting the qualifications of his successors in the episcopal office. And as God will not, and indeed cannot, consistently with the government he exercises over free, responsible beings, force men to honour and obey him, so neither can he, without violating the eternal order of things, interpose his sovereignty to prevent a desecration of sacred things. Everything which infinite wisdom, power, and goodness could consistently do, God did to preserve the Church from being devoured by such "wolves in sheep's clothing."

Had the apostle believed that it was a matter of little consequence how the priesthood lived, what its character should be, whether holy or unholy, if only its incumbents were consecrated to their office by prayer and imposition of hands, he never would have taken such pains to impress upon Timothy the indispensable necessity of devoting himself exclusively to God, and of selecting other holy men and committing to them the same office which he himself held. He knew perfectly well that a departing from moral rectitude would vitiate the character of a bishop, and render all his acts null and void; and therefore he urged upon Timothy the necessity of holding fast the "form of sound words," and of transmitting to others of like character the sacred deposit which had been committed to him

Digitized by Google

"by the laying on of the hands of the presbytery." And to stimulate him to diligence in the discharge of his highly important duty, he proposes his own example for his imitation, reminding him in the mean time that he had been an eye-witness of his conduct. In chap. iii, ver. 10, 11, he says: "But thou hast fully known my doctrine, manner of life, purpose, faith, long-suffering, charity, patience, persecutions, afflictions, which came unto me at Antioch, at Iconium, at Lystra; what persecutions I endured: but out of them all the Lord delivered me;" and, in verse 14, he exhorts Timothy to "continue in the things which thou hast learned" from my teaching and example, for thou hast had an opportunity, from an intimate acquaintance with my doctrine and manners of life, of fully understanding both, and "been assured of knowing of whom thou hast learned;" not from a novice in theology or in experience, but from a father in the gospel, whose example has long exemplified the purity and excellence of religion before thine eyes: and for this I am now suffering imprisonment, and shall soon seal my testimony with my blood. In the midst of all these things I have held fast my profession, as thou knowest full well, having never soiled my character by any act of meanness, much less of wickedness; and, therefore, thou hast before thee an embodiment of all that is excellent in the gospel of the Son of God,—of its divine power to save from sin, to buoy up the soul in the midst of human infirmities and afflictions, and to fill it with hope in the prospect of death and the judgment-day.

But to excite in him a still stronger determination to run the race set before him, and not to soil his character by any act unbecoming a ruler in the Church of God, the apostle proceeds in verse 15 to remind him of his early religious training under the tuition of his pious mother: "And from a child thou hast known the Holy Scriptures, which are able to make thee wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus." This interesting fact the apostle had more particularly revived in the recollection of Timothy, in chap. i, 5, where the names of his mother Eunice, and of his grandmother Lois, are mentioned with a view, no doubt, to impress upon him the high obligation derived from the vows of his early childhood, to fulfil the holy trust which had been confided to him at a more mature age of his life. "Wherefore," he says, verse 6, "I put thee in remembrance, that thou stir up the gift of God which is in thee by the putting on of my hands." Hence, he proceeds—(verse 14)—"Keep by the Holy Ghost" "that good thing"—namely, the authority to preach the word and to administer the ordinances, as well as to govern the Church as an itinerating evangelist or presiding bishop—"which was committed to thee by the laying on of the hands

Digitized by Google

of the presbytery," in which I acted as president of the council; keep this sacred deposit inviolably by the power of the Holy Ghost "which dwelleth in us," in me and thee, and all others who have been thus called to the important work of the ministry: "this authority see that thou exercise discreetly, in selecting and ordaining others as thy successors in the work of superintending the Church of God."

In this earnest and solemn manner the apostle pressed upon Timothy the indispensable duty of keeping himself pure—of avoiding everything which would sully the glory of his character as an ambassador of Jesus Christ, that he might maintain the high dignity of his office as a ruler in the Church, and never suffer his hands to be defiled by laying them on heads that could not think, or of consecrating those to the work of the ministry whose lives contradicted their profession.

Now the question arises and presents itself to us with resistless force, Would the apostle have been thus solicitous to preserve the person to whom he was writing in this holy obedience, had he believed that it was a matter of small consequence how he believed and lived, how impure his heart and corrupt his life, if he were only canonically consecrated to his work? It is absolutely certain, therefore, that the modern doctrine of the inviolability of the ministerial or episcopal character, notwithstanding viciousness of life either before or after consecration, finds no support from the apostolic epistles, nor in any other portion of the sacred writings. This monstrous doctrine not only had no place in the mind of the apostle, but is indirectly condemned in express terms in verse 15, where he says: "All they which are in Asia" —that is, those Asiatic Christians which were in Rome at the time of my imprisonment, and who for a season administered to my necessities, seeing me in this disgrace—"be turned away from me, among whom are Phygellus and Hermogenes,"—probably two presbyters well known to Timothy, else the mentioning them thus by name could have been of no manner of use, as he could have derived no specific information from having their names announced; as their names would, under that circumstance, have been unmeaning epithets. These public men, who probably had been once preachers of the gospel, had, by their cowardice in forsaking the apostle in the time of his greatest need, forfeited their right to minister in holy things, and were consequently no longer to be recognised by Timothy as co-labourers in the ministry of reconciliation. Understanding the passage in this light, we may perceive good and substantial reasons why the apostle mentioned their names to Timothy; namely, that he

Digitized by Google

might be on his guard against their impositions, should they chance to intrude themselves into his company, inasmuch as they had forfeited the character of legitimate ministers, presbyters, or bishops, by their want of fidelity to the apostle in the awful crisis in which he was placed; otherwise there can be no justifiable reason why the apostle should thus announce their names and parade their apostasy in this public manner, and thus contradistinguish them from those Asiatic Christians who had also forsaken him in his perilous condition.

Allowing these views to be correct, and they certainly obtain a high degree of probability from the views above expressed, it follows, of necessity, that a title to minister in holy things depends not only upon antecedent qualifications, but also upon a perseverance in the discharge of every known duty. Those who, like Judas—who lost his apostleship by his base treachery—have vitiated their office by unworthy conduct, are no longer to be considered in the line of succession, however canonically they may have been inducted into the order of presbyters or bishops. Hence our apostle warns Timothy against such cowards as Phygellus and Hermogenes had proved themselves to be, and exhorts him not to imitate their fatal example by being "ashamed of the testimony of our Lord, nor of me his prisoner: but be thou a partaker of the afflictions of the gospel, according to the power of God." Chap. i, ver. 8.

And that the apostle designed that Timothy should be careful to select suitable men, who should not be easily turned aside from the path of duty by persecution or any other occurrence, whether significant or trifling, in chap. ii, 2, he says: "And the things that thou hast heard of me among many witnesses, the same commit thou to faithful men,"—not to those who, like Phygellus and Hermogenes, prove themselves weak and unfaithful in the hour of danger, and demonstrate their instability by forsaking their old friend and spiritual father merely because he has fallen into the hands of his enemies, who load him with reproach, imprison and condemn him; but select such as "shall be able," both by precept and example, "to teach others" the way to the kingdom of heaven, though it may lead them through the thorny path of "much tribulation." Why insist on Timothy's selecting FAITHFUL men—a word of ominous import, especially considering the time when it was spoken, comprehending every ministerial virtue—if it were a matter of little moment whether their religious and moral character was good or bad, provided only they were regularly consecrated according to a prescribed ritual to their sacred office? This absurd dogma never entered the heart of the apostle Paul. It is fit only for the brains of a madman. The

Digitized by Google

note of Dr. Adam Clarke on Ezekiel xxv, 23, is worthy of consideration. He says:—

"By the kind providence of God, it appears that he has not permitted any *apostolic succession* to be preserved; lest the members of his Church should seek, in an *uninterrupted succession*, that which must be found in the HEAD *alone*."

And in his note on 2 Tim. ii, 2, he has the following remarks:—

"But where is the *uninterrupted* apostolic *succession*? Who can tell? Probably it does not exist on the face of the world. All the pretensions to it by certain Churches are as stupid as they are idle and futile. He who appeals to this for his authority as a Christian minister, had best sit down till he has made it out; and this will be by the next Greek Thalends."

Again, on Heb. v, 4, his remarks are still more pointed:—

"It is idle to employ time in proving that there is no such thing as an *uninterrupted succession* of this kind. It does not exist; it never did exist. It is a silly fable invented by ecclesiastical tyrants, and supported by clerical coxcombs."

We have dwelt the longer upon this topic because this spurious and obsolete dogma has been revived of late, and asserted with all the confidence of infallible certainty; as much so as if the salvation of the world were suspended upon its truth. Indeed, it has been affirmed, with cool deliberation, that there is no well-authenticated ministry, and, of course, no valid ordinances, except they are derived in a regular line of apostolic succession! To those who are familiar with ecclesiastical history—who have read of the bitter rivalry of popes—the hot disputes of bishops contending for supremacy—who are acquainted with the undeniable fact that two, and at one time three, popes reigned at the same time, each claiming infallibility,—and recollect the wickedness by which the greater proportion of them were distinguished,—their venality, their licentiousness, their meanness, all mixed with imbecile ignorance,—such an assertion will appear not barely ridiculous, but blasphemously absurd. It is tantamount to saying that the Holy God, the immaculate Head of the Church, the Lord Jesus Christ, is dependent upon a rotten priesthood—upon polluted bishops—upon perjured prelates—upon a licentious hierarchy—to hand down his ordinances pure and uncorrupt, uncontaminated by any moral pollution, from one generation to another!* What a monstrous suppo-

* In 1044, two popes, namely, *Sylvester III.* and *Gregory VI.*, after many turbulent disputes and mutual anathemas, reigned at the same time, while a third, *Benedict*, who had been deposed, still claimed the pontifical throne. Finally, Henry III. terminated the discord by declaring all the three unworthy of the

Digitized by Google

sition is this! Were it proved true, the infallible maxim of holy writ would be found a falsehood, namely, that no "fountain can send forth at the same place sweet water and bitter;" and the words of the Master Teacher would be equally void of meaning, "Neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit." For, according to this absurd dogma, the stream of succession has continued to flow on regularly through this muddy channel, and yet never mixing with its filth, but maintaining its pristine purity down to the present time! Such a doctrine is both theologically and philosophically absurd.

If this were the only legitimate ministry the Church possessed, what a world should we have! "Darkness would cover the earth, and gross darkness the minds of the people." Is it any wonder that Wiclif, Huss, Jerome, Luther, Zwingle, and a host of others, lifted up their voices in denunciation of this and other absurdities of the Roman Catholic Church? Little did they think, we apprehend, that any of their successors in the Protestant world would revive the same dogma, and claim to themselves the exclusive right of administering the rites of consecration, of baptism, and the Lord's supper.

Exclusive right! Where did they get it? From Rome. Then, by granting this right to them, Rome deprived herself of it, if it be now theirs exclusively. But, if the Roman Catholic Church imparted this right to them, when she excluded them from her communion, as she did for contumacy, heresy, or some other supposed crime, she unquestionably deprived them of all she had granted; for whoever grants a privilege, on certain conditions, whenever these conditions cease to be complied with, has the undoubted right to withdraw the grant. And this was precisely the predicament of all these Protestant reformers who abjured the jurisdiction of the Roman Catholic Church, protested against the power of the pope, and ceased to exercise the functions of their office as Roman Catholic priests or bishops. Hence they forfeited all the rights they derived from this source, and, therefore, the line of connexion between them is broken, and they are left in the dilemma of orphan children, or driven to the necessity of admitting a legitimacy from a divorced marriage.

What an arrogant assumption is this claim of exclusive right! How unworthy of the truly Christian minister, and how opposite

popedom, and invested *Suidger*, Bishop of Bamberg, as the legitimate pope, who took the name of Clement II.—Mosh., vol. ii, p. 156.

Let those who wish to see the truth of the above remarks confirmed, consult Mosheim for the ninth, tenth, and eleventh century.

Digitized by Google

to the doctrine laid down by the apostle in the epistle before us! He says in chap. ii, ver. 1, "Be strong," not in thy outward profession, not in thy external designation to the work of an evangelist, but "in the grace that is in Christ Jesus the Lord." This sentence unfolds the true source of strength to the minister of the sanctuary: whether he be of an inferior or superior order, his soul must be fed continually with the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, that he may possess the vigour necessary for his important work. In verse 6 he says, "The husbandman that laboureth must first be partaker of the fruits." He must not only cultivate the earth, but, if he would have strength to continue his labour, he must participate in the fruits which the cultivated earth produces. So the minister of the Lord Jesus, if he would have spiritual strength to persevere in his work, must not be content in the mere consecration to his office, but he must partake daily of the "hidden manna" of God's love—he must receive continual supplies of that "grace that is in Christ Jesus,"—that is treasured up in him expressly for the spiritual strength of the believing soul. It is, indeed, by a constant partaking of these heavenly fruits, that the minister of the sanctuary is made competent for his work.

In the subsequent part of this chapter the apostle shows what is necessary for Timothy to do, that he may receive the strength essential to his success as a preacher of the gospel and a ruler in the Church of God. After adverting to his own example in "suffering trouble," having been falsely charged as "an evil-doer," (ver. 9,) though his confinement in prison could not bind the word of God, inasmuch as his soul was yet free to range through the prolific field of theological truth, and his pen ready to write his thoughts for the edification of Timothy, he endured "all things for the elect's sake," (ver. 10,)—after recounting these things as an encouragement to his son Timothy, and charging him not to strive about mere words, which could not profit those to whom he spoke, (ver. 14,) he then issues his command with all the solemnity of a dying man: "Study to show thyself approved unto God, a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth," (ver. 15.) That he might do this effectually, he must "shun profane and vain babblings," a mere repetition of unmeaning words, or an effort to astonish the hearer by flights of human oratory, which may amuse the fancy for the time, but convey no solid instruction to the understanding, much less that divine food to the soul which is essential to its growth and strength. We know that the Grecian and Roman orators were more solicitous to adorn their discourses with the tinsel of human art, with well-constructed sentences, to

Digitized by Google

deliver them with a nice modulation of the voice, with studied gesticulations of the body, than they were to store them with sober truth; and hence they lost the "substance in the shadow." And as to Jewish rabbins, they were much more attentive to the sifting of words, to tracing out the endless genealogies of their ancestors, than they were to the real meaning of their prophetic Scriptures, and to those historical facts by which the proper lineage of the Lord Jesus Christ was demonstrated, and thus proved to be the true Messiah. To this fact the apostle alludes in verse three of chapter two, in which he reminds Timothy that Jesus Christ was of the seed of David, and therefore was regularly descended from the royal line of Judah, according to the solemn declaration of Jehovah, (Gen. xlix, 10,) in which it was announced that "the sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come." And inasmuch as this Shiloh, the Messiah, the anointed of God, had come in the person of Jesus Christ, who was the veritable Son of David according to the flesh, therefore all the pretences of the Jewish doctors respecting a Messiah that was yet to come, and all the deciphering of their genealogical tables to ascertain that he must be different from Jesus of Nazareth, were but "vain babblings," a mere "strife of words" without any substantial import. Moreover, as this same "seed of David," who had been put to death by an unjust sentence, had actually risen from the dead, (ver. 8,) he had thereby given a visible demonstration that he was the Son of God, and was now seated upon the throne of David, where he should reign forever and ever.

By declaring these truths plainly and pointedly, continually appealing to the prophetic Scriptures for their support, Timothy would be able to go straight forward in the track of truth, not turning aside to dispute either with the Grecian philosophers, whose tinsel might dazzle the minds of superficial observers or the Jewish Rabbins, whose "vain babblings" about their uncertain pedigrees might puzzle the understanding of the simple, unlettered Christian with subtleties which he could not unravel; and thus approve himself unto God a workman that need not be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth—dividing it in such a skilful manner as to give to every one, whether Jew or Gentile, his portion of meat in due season.

As the main object of the apostle was to instruct his son Timothy in the knowledge of truth and of the duties of the high station which he was called to fill as a ruler in the Church, he endeavours to impress upon his mind the necessity of *studying* attentively the great doctrines of Christ, that he might have a com-

Digitized by Google

prehensive view of the system of redemption and salvation, and be able adequately to defend it against all assailants, whether of Jewish etymologists, who are more solicitous to search out the meaning of words than they are to identify the person of their promised Messiah with one who has already come, who had "done among them those things which none other man ever did," and thus bearing all the characteristics of Him so often foretold by their own prophets, or of the sophistical orators of the Greeks and Romans, who prided themselves on their philosophical attainments, and counted the "preaching of the cross foolishness." This constant study, and this constant exercise of the intellectual faculties, the apostle deemed essential to the increase of his strength: for however holy he might be, and however much his heart might be fed with the grace of God in Christ Jesus, without this constant application of his mental powers, his understanding would become enfeebled, and he would soon exhibit the imbecility of premature old age.

Two things are essential to a useful and vigorous exercise of the intellectual faculties. The first is a good conscience,—"a conscience void of offence toward God and man." This can be obtained and kept only by an unreserved surrender of the whole man to God, and so living by faith in the Son of God as to derive daily food—spiritual food—to the soul. This is the first, the most important, prerequisite for a minister of the Lord Jesus, as without it the soul will soon languish and die; that is, become spiritually separated from communion with God, and of course can put forth no energetic action in the cause of evangelical truth. The second is a continual application of the mind to some useful subject. We say to some *useful* subject. By this we mean a subject suited to the soul's immortal powers. A man may accustom himself to dwell on trivial subjects, until he loses all relish for weighty and sober truths, and his mind will gradually lose its elasticity, and will refuse, from mere incapacity, to follow any course of consecutive reasoning, until, at last, it dwindles into second childhood. The truth of this remark has been verified by many an eminent name. It is said that after M'Knight had finished his great work on the apostolical epistles, his friends urged him to proceed in a similar way with the Acts of the Apostles. This he declined, and gave up all study; and the consequence was, that he gradually sunk away into childhood, and finally lost his intellectual powers. The mind, like the body, needs constant exercise, in order to preserve its mental vigour. A suitable application of the intellectual faculties must be kept up, even in old age,—and that too upon those subjects which are best adapted to its condition.

Digitized by Google

On the other hand, it is wise to avoid over-taxing the mind. As the body will sink under too much physical labour, so the soul will fail under too much mental exercise, especially if it be long continued. Melancholy instances of this might be mentioned. Among others, in modern times, we may notice Walter Scott and Robert Southey, both of whom no doubt over-taxed themselves on the down-hill side of life. To escape the like disasters we must avoid both of these extremes, namely,—a total cessation of mental labour on the one hand, and an over-exertion on the other.

Every man, and especially every minster of the Lord Jesus Christ, if he will duly economize his time—rightly divide it for bodily exercise and mental application—may discharge all his duties as a preacher and pastor, and yet have time enough to study all he ought, whether it be in reading or writing; but he must not devote any part of his time to idleness, to frivolous conversation, nor to the study of those books which do not minister to the knowledge and love of God. That he may do this and preserve his health, whenever, in either reading or writing, he begins to feel a weariness of spirit or lassitude of mind come over him, let him instantly lay down his book or pen, and commence to walk,—and walk, too, in the open air, whether it be hot or cold,—and walk till he perspires freely, if possible; and in his walks let him call on the members of his flock—especially the sick and poor, and the delinquents in duty—speak a word of comfort, pray with them, and then take his departure; and walk thus from house to house until he begins to feel weary: then he will return to his studies with renewed zest; he will feel all his mental energies quickened into new life.

In this way we may suppose the apostle Paul intended that Timothy should employ his time, when he commanded him to study to show himself approved unto God, a workman that need not be ashamed.

Ashamed! What a shame for a minister of the sanctuary to be ignorant of any prominent fact in history, whether civil or ecclesiastical; of any important personage who has been conspicuous in the world—whether in the civil, military, or religious world; of any point in chronology which marks an important epoch in the world's history; of any truth in theology which may serve to illustrate the facts and doctrines of the Bible; of any eminent writer on theological subjects who has shed light upon divine revelation, and more especially upon those truths which relate to experimental and practical religion! Other branches of knowledge he may pursue, as time and inclination may serve, such as philosophy—natural, moral, and mental; geography—so far at least as to have the outlines of the

Digitized by Google

world's map engraven upon his memory; astronomy, if he have a capacity to understand it; and as much of language, or as many languages, as he can acquire. All these things are comprehended in the works and ways of God; and therefore the more we know of them, the more perfectly shall we be able to illustrate the attributes of the Deity, and to demonstrate his superintending care over the work of his hands.

Near the conclusion of this admirable letter, the author, with great solemnity, adverts to the approach of his expected martyrdom. In chap. iv, 6, he says: "For I am now ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand." It is hardly possible for a person writing under such circumstances—in the near prospect of death, with the cross on which he is to be crucified immediately before his eye, the Judge before whom he is so soon to appear standing, as it were, before him—to be otherwise than serious. These words, therefore, uttered under such circumstances, must have made a solemn and lasting impression upon the mind and heart of Timothy. And lest he should mourn over the remains of his spiritual father after his departure, the apostle reminds him that he had already fought the good fight, that he had finished his course; and so far from looking into the "gaping tomb" with gloomy apprehensions of the future, he comforts himself with the bright prospect of receiving the "crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give him in that day;" and, as if anticipating the unspeakable pleasure of participating with Timothy and all others who loved or shall love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity, he adds, "and not to me only, but to all those who love his appearing."

With these words it seems fitting that we should close our remarks upon this highly interesting epistle.

Art. IV.—DAVIDSON'S BIBLICAL CRITICISM.

A Treatise on Biblical Criticism, exhibiting a Systematic View of that Science. By Samuel Davidson, D. D., of the University of Halle, and LL. D. 2 vols., 8vo. Vol. I, the Old Testament; Vol. II, the New Testament. London: 1853.

The name Biblical Criticism, as usually understood, embraces the investigation and discussion of whatever relates to the *form* in which the sacred records have come down to us—including their language, history, style, authenticity, and purity. In popular phraseology, much that belongs to the *meaning* of the Bible has

Digitized by Google

often been classed under the same name, instead of under that of sacred *Interpretation*. Each of the above subjects, however, properly forms a distinct branch of literature, under the special titles of sacred *Philology, Rhetoric, Hermeneutics*, et cetera, leaving Biblical Criticism proper to occupy itself solely with the state of the *text* of Scripture, or what is frequently termed the "lower criticism," as lying at the foundation of all the other departments. It is with this that the volumes before us have exclusively to do, and to this we shall therefore confine ourselves in the present article. The object of the science is to ascertain, as nearly as possible, what *words* the inspired authors wrote when they penned the original autographs.

If this, the true design of sacred criticism, had always been steadily and sincerely kept in view, both by the friends and foes of revelation, neither party would ever have entertained such absurd prejudices as have often been expressed against the science by both. The honest Christian, at least, could certainly never have objected to the exercise of any amount of learned labour necessary to arrive at the genuine language of the inspired records, had he properly understood the fact that such studies and examinations constitute the very basis on which the whole truth of his religion rests. Let it once be a matter of uncertainty whether the book which goes by the name of the Bible contains the genuine statements of the Jewish seers and Christian apostles, and that moment our faith falls to the ground. It is painful, therefore, to the liberal and candid mind, to revert to the prejudices and opposition which such inquiries have met with in former times, within the bosom of the Church itself; and it is mortifying to catch now and then from modern Christians an echo of the same narrow sentiments. Even ministers, authors, and editors are occasionally found who openly decry or privately discourage such pursuits, from the mistaken notion that they weaken the popular reverence for the Word of God.* Revelation needs no such

* A striking instance of this illiberal spirit, although not in all respects a parallel case, occurred at the publication of the Latin Vulgate, in the fourth century, which we will give in our author's words. Any one who should undertake a similar revision of the Bible in our own day would meet with even fiercer denunciation:—

"Notwithstanding the timid and cautious procedure of Jerome, the work excited the opposition of many. An excessive and superstitious veneration for the Septuagint, and the *vetus* made from it, prevailed at that time, so that any one who departed from them could not hope to escape animadversion. Calumnies were freely uttered against the laborious translator. He was pronounced a heretic. Detraction and opposition befell him. Even Augustine joined partially

Digitized by Google

defenders; it seeks no lurking-place; it fears no investigation. Error alone can suffer by an examination of evidence. It is the height of fanatical folly to cling to any system of belief which we are not willing to submit to the most searching test of facts. If the Bible will not bear the closest scrutiny that a fair criticism can apply, then are we free to confess it unworthy of our confidence. On the contrary, it has always triumphed after such an ordeal; and it is these very labours of Biblical critics that have established the substantial and wonderful accuracy of the text of Scripture on a basis of certainty which the cavils of infidels can never hereafter shake.

The materials for such an investigation, so far as the Old Testament is concerned, the first volume of the work before us sums up in the following terms—having prefaced their discussion by several preliminary chapters, not particularly inappropriate, treating somewhat minutely of the nature of the Hebrew language, its characters and vowels, followed by a valuable and extended account of the *history of the text* from the earliest times down to the present. We have, then, in order, as the means for restoring the text:—I. Ancient Versions—II. Parallels, or repeated passages—III. Quotations—IV. Hebrew MSS.—V. Critical conjecture.

Of all the ancient versions of the Old Testament, the Septuagint, or old Greek, holds by far the most conspicuous place. Indeed, it has often been exalted to an authority equal or even superior to that of the Hebrew itself. Dr. Davidson enters somewhat minutely into the question of its origin, and arrives at the conclusion, drawn from an ingenious, but we think not unwarrantable, comparison of circumstances, that it was made by different persons, at different times; the Pentateuch only having been translated at first for the use of

with his accusers, not daring to go against the stream of popular opinion, though he at first hailed the work with joy. He advised Jerome not to proceed with it, telling him of a late occurrence in Africa as a warning to desist. A bishop there had introduced the new version into his Church; but when the people heard another name given to the gourd of Jonah, they were excited, and refused obedience till the old Bible was restored. The new translation was said to be a falsification of the word of God. Its departures from the current Greek version, and from the old Latin version, taken from the Greek, were seized as proofs of the danger accruing from the new work. Accordingly it was reserved for the more correct judgment of posterity to appreciate the merits of Jerome as a translator. His contemporaries condemned, when they ought to have approved and applauded. The numerous passages in which he alludes to the unjust treatment he met with have been collected by Van Ess, and form a melancholy exhibition of the unreasonable, injurious prejudices to which good men are exposed in an evil world."—Vol. i, p. 267.

Digitized by Google

the Egyptian Jews, probably under the patronage of Ptolemy *Lagi*. The value of its several portions, for critical purposes, is therefore various,—some parts being literally and faithfuly rendered, and others so nearly approaching the character of a *paraphrase*, that they are useless as an index to the reading of the Hebrew, even as it was in their own time. That it was ever used for public service in the synagogues of Palestine, the author properly regards as questionable. As to its singular agreement in the main with the Samaritan Pentateuch, after examining the various theories proposed, the author concludes: "As yet no satisfactory solution of the problem has been offered. Perhaps it is impossible." On the whole, however, he thinks that, "in the present state of the question, nothing better can be proposed than that the countries where the Samaritan Pentateuch originated, and the Jewish MSS., as the basis of the Seventy, had been in circulation, were much less favourable to the preservation of a pure text than Palestine, or rather its metropolis;" and that therefore both these suffered similar alterations from like causes—a conclusion with which we coincide.

Unhappily, for purposes of criticism, the text of the Septuagint itself is in a state of hopeless corruption. The very means anciently used, at various times, to correct it, by recensions, editions, &c., have only increased the difficulty, so that now it is impossible to determine, in cases of variation, which was the original and true reading. The slightest comparison of the various printed texts in use will render this at once apparent. Neither is the translation itself altogether to be depended on: it is not literal; it amplifies obscure or elliptical passages; it resolves tropes and metaphors into literal phrases; it accommodates itself to the religious prejudices and views of the Jews; it often errs in the sense, and sometimes omits or leaves untranslated difficult or rare words: instances of each of these peculiarities are given in the volume before us. These faults apply, indeed, less to the Pentateuch than to the other books; but they are everywhere sufficiently apparent to betray the fact, that none of the translators were entirely competent to their task. The author accordingly sums up the merits and defects of the version in the following candid language:—

"Assistance in criticism has doubtless been derived from it; and more will yet be rendered. We do not think that its internal value is commensurate with the reputation it has had. The extravagant praises pronounced upon it will be lessened by the study of its genius and character. It is very far from being a *good*, much less an *excellent* translation; but the reading of it cannot be dispensed with. Its position in the criticism of the Old Testament is conspicuous. Its text *must* be studied by every one engaged in Biblical researches connected with the integrity of the Hebrew records."—P. 194.

Digitized by Google

There are four other Greek versions extant,—those of Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus, and a MS. version now at Venice. Of these, the version of Aquila is far the best for critical purposes, on account of its literalness; the others being very paraphrastic and rambling, that of Symmachus in particular. The version of Aquila was highly prized by the Jews of the early centuries, and that of Theodotion by Christians, the Book of Daniel being taken from the latter to supply the very faulty version of that part in the Septuagint. All these versions appear to have grown out of the contests between the Jews and Christians, and were probably made in the latter part of the second century.

The *Targums*, or Chaldee versions, furnish additional means for correcting the text. The oldest of these have probably been lost, as some appear to have been written at least as early as the time of Christ. The Targum of Onkelos, the most valuable of those extant, is a close translation of the text of the Pentateuch only, in dure diction. The time and place of writing are uncertain. It would be very valuable for critical purposes, but for the fact that it closely follows the Masoretic text, and therefore affords very few various readings. The date and origin of the Targum of Jonathan, which contains the other books of the Old Testament, exclusive of Job, and David's and Solomon's writings, are equally uncertain. His translation is rather an interpretation, running into diffuse explanations and absurd legends. In many places, however, he translates faithfully into good Chaldee; in these parts, therefore, the work is useful to the critic, as it does not so closely follow the Masoretic text as Onkelos. The other Targums on the Pentateuch—those of Pseudo-Jonathan and the Jerusalem Targum—are too late, and too much filled with traditional dissertations and diffuse speculations, to be of any value. Indeed, a closer inspection leads to the probability that the last two are only different editions of the same work. There are various other Targums on parts or the whole of the remaining books of the Old Testament; but they are all so tainted with the faults of the preceding as to be of little, and in most cases of no use to the critic.

Next to the Septuagint, the most important of the ancient versions is the Samaritan Pentateuch. This is different from the Samaritan *version*, being in fact only a transcription of the Hebrew text in Samaritan letters. As it is not, therefore, strictly a version at all, the author does not treat it under this head, but it will be more convenient for our purpose to consider it here. From the well-known fact that the present Samaritan character is the ancient Hebrew—that now called Hebrew being only the later Chaldee—it

Digitized by Google

has been affirmed by many that the Samaritan Pentateuch is the original, and has always remained in its present form; while it is the present Hebrew that was transcribed in other letters from it. Others maintain that the Samaritan has a much later date, and owes its origin to the feud at the time of the building of the second temple. The work before us enters at considerable length into the discussion of this question, and concludes with a sort of compromise between the above views; that is, (if we have rightly understood its somewhat ambiguous argumentation,) that the Pentateuch had been in existence in the kingdom of Israel before the deportation of the ten tribes, and even survived that period; but shortly after that event, it had so fallen into oblivion, or had perhaps so nearly ceased to be extant there, that it had to be brought afresh from the Jews, in the reign of Josiah, king of Judah. With this view we confess ourselves hardly satisfied. That the ten tribes had the Pentateuch originally, as well as the two other tribes, appears to us to admit scarcely a doubt. Now, although it is not certain that the entire literature of the ten tribes perished with their captivity, yet the immediate and total ignorance of the worship of Jehovah, by those mixed Israelites and heathens who supplied their place, seems to us clearly to imply an absence of the written word in which that worship was prescribed. Certainly nothing could have been more natural than for the priest—who returned from Assyria to teach the people—to carry with him a copy of the law. Yet the copies would not be likely to multiply very rapidly; and it may not have been till the reformation by Josiah that they became at all numerous. The subsequent accession of the regular Jewish high-priest, Manasseh, from Jerusalem to the Samaritans, would greatly increase their multiplication; and in this manner, as we are inclined to think, what is now known as the Samaritan Pentateuch was kept in existence.

The critical value of the Samaritan Pentateuch has been settled by the masterly essay of Gesenius, who has shown that it is of very little value as a means of correcting the Hebrew. This we should naturally expect from the above view of its history. Preserved in a precarious manner, transmitted through a period of great religious ignorance and semi-heathenism, and surrounded by temptations to alteration for sectarian purposes, the event shows that it has suffered greatly, both from accidental and intentional corruptions. Nothing can be more preposterous than the attempt to set it on a level with the Hebrew text for critical uses. This would probably never have been done, but for the desire of corroborating the longer patriarchal chronology of the Septuagint by its means. We have not room to enter upon this question at length; suffice it to say, that those very

Digitized by Google

dates in which these two texts are thought to be more consistent than the Hebrew, are instances which all the canons of just criticism would condemn as palpable evidence of designed alteration.

The *Peshito*, or old Syriac version, comes next in point of importance. This may probably be assigned to the second century. It affords many valuable readings. The Arabic and Persic versions are of less antiquity and value. The proper Samaritan *version* was made from the Samaritan text: it is faithful, but shares the faults of its original. Its date is uncertain.

Before the time of Jerome, various old Latin translations, probably of detached parts of Scripture, had been made, fragments of which, in a collected form, now pass under the general name of the *Itala*, or Italic version. This version had fallen into such a state of corruption, from various causes, that Jerome undertook the task of revising and correcting it. He began with the New Testament. His revised copy of the greater part of the Old Testament was lost, through the carelessness or treachery of a friend to whose care it was intrusted. Undiscouraged by this mishap, he resolutely undertook the task of producing a translation of the Old Testament from the original Hebrew. The result was the Vulgate, which has been adopted as of standard authority by the Romish Church. Jerome, on the whole, was tolerably well qualified for his task; but his almost exclusive use of the Masoretic text, and his continual dependence upon his Jewish teachers, render this part of his version little available for the objects of the critic. His work was also too hastily performed, and with too little regard to the modern purposes and laws of criticism. Unfortunately, a habit soon prevailed of using it in connexion with the older Latin version; and copyists generally intermingled the readings of both in the most promiscuous and capricious manner. The result was, that the Vulgate itself became so universally corrupt, that it was impossible to discover the true text of Jerome. Various popes attempted to restore it, and several editions were published with the pontifical imprimatur; but this only increased the difficulty. The editors and printers made worse mistakes than the copyists; and subsequent popes found it necessary to revise and even suppress editions published by their predecessors, under the most dreadful anathemas against alteration! Finally, Sixtus V., after exhausting his utmost vigour and patience in vainly attempting to reduce it to accuracy, was compelled to forbid all further critical labours upon the text of the Vulgate, lest its authority should be entirely undermined. His successors, however, kept up the farce, and issued other editions with equal pretensions, until at length this *immaculate* text settled into something like a received

Digitized by Google

form, but with most of its blunders stereotyped in it, with the absurd appendix of a *correctorium* of errata! Probably there has never been a greater burlesque upon typographical correctness and ecclesiastical authority than this same vaunted Vulgate. Still it has its value, even for critical purposes; but it is exceedingly necessary to compare various editions in order to ascertain Jerome's own words.

Under the head of *Parallel Passages* the author arranges various repetitions occurring in the Old Testament,—such as genealogical lists, laws, poems, oracles, sentences, propositions, and proverbs occurring twice,—with regard to which he very properly thinks that great caution is requisite not to meddle with what is right, on the mistaken presumption that the passages were originally alike. A similar rule is good with regard to quotations from the Old Testament in the New. These were usually cited from the Septuagint, and often from memory; so that it would be rash to make many changes in view of them. As to quotations found in the Talmud and Rabbinical writings, little use can be made of them: passages are not always quoted directly, but frequently by way of accommodation. Even this is generally done by memory; and all the citations have been carefully conformed to the Masoretic text, either by the authors originally, or by subsequent copyists.

The last positive or objective means for correcting the text, that the author enumerates, is Hebrew *manuscripts*. These would be entitled to the first rank for this purpose but for one fact, which is a very important one. We allude to the labours of the Masorites, which have reduced all extant MSS. of the Hebrew Scriptures to one general type. The Masoretic system derives its name from the Hebrew Massorah, *tradition*,—a term assigned to those critical investigations which had their germ in the Talmud, and which, after its publication, were extensively pursued by the learned Jews of Palestine, especially at Tiberias. These investigations were partly grammatical, partly exegetical, and partly philological. They grew up by degrees from oral communications handed down from the Rabbis of the first centuries of our era, and reduced to writing in separate dissertations about the sixth century, the mass of miscellaneous remarks and corrections upon the text being epitomized, with sundry scattered annotations, about the eleventh century. This compendium, in an abbreviated form, was usually written in the margin of the MSS.; but with so little care and system in the arrangement, that it soon produced inextricable confusion. The text, however, was generally preserved with scrupulous accuracy, free from interpolation from the Massorah: the object of the latter

Digitized by Google

was only to point out to the reader preferable readings. From this account it will appear that the term, *Masoretic recension* of the Hebrew text, is improper: the Masorites did not alter the text; they took it as it was, and only noted corrections and suggestions in the margin. Still, the effect was to render the text uniform; and hence, after their labours we find little or no variety of importance in the Hebrew MSS. The copies from which they collected their corrections have perished; and we are therefore left to judge of the value of the various readings contained in the Massorah solely from the estimate put upon them by these Rabbis. This estimate itself is often inconsistent, sometimes contradictory, always empirical; the result therefore is with us exceedingly loose and unsatisfactory. Still, for our own part, we are disposed to feel very grateful to these Masorites for their studious labours and records. They have stereotyped the text, it is true; but they have by that very means preserved it from arbitrary and accidental changes in later times. We see no reason to doubt the general accuracy of their judgment as to the comparative value of various readings, nor to question their honesty in giving us a fair account of them, as extant in their own day. We regard it as very fortunate, nay, providential, that these men have collected and recorded facts, which would probably otherwise never have reached us, except through the doubtful channel of later MSS. We therefore set a higher value upon these Masoretic notes than the author. As to the hackneyed charge that the Masoretic Jews corrupted the text, we like the author's point-blank denial, (p. 69,) and had we room, we would quote it with emphasis.

Modern Hebrew MSS. are accordingly too late and too much alike to afford very much aid in rectifying old errors. The work before us gives a detailed account of several of the most important of them.

The last remaining source of critical emendation is *conjecture*. This must doubtless be used with extreme caution; but it is unreasonable to shut it out altogether. In vindication of it the author uses the following strong language:—

"What shall be said of names, numbers, genealogies, events, recorded so differently that one or other statement of them must be incorrect? Disguise the fact as men may, the received Masoretic text, which is exhibited for the most part in all known MSS., makes writers assert different and contradictory things of the same person or event. There are not a few such phenomena in the books of the Old Testament, whose existence was ignored as long as it could be, or which were explained into agreement by the most arbitrary modes of exposition. But the light of modern criticism has brought them forth to the full day; and there they stand to the dismay of the feeble pietist, who would fain shut his eyes to their existence, or take to the stale shifts which once sufficed to force them into harmony."—P. 376.

Digitized by Google

Such cases, we believe, are not very numerous, yet we know they exist; and we cannot see how a cautious conjecture can be avoided in their solution. Those who object to this, as an admission of fallibility in the Scriptures, mistake our view, and take themselves an untenable position. We assume that the Scriptures were originally consistent, but that copyists have introduced errors: these we seek to remove by the best means within our power.

From the foregoing statements it will appear, that the materials for Old Testament criticism, on the whole, are meagre and uncertain. This is doubtless the true reason why so few labourers have entered this field, and why there is not now a good critical edition of the Hebrew Scriptures. Among the early fathers, Origen alone seems to have had a correct idea of the task to be performed, and nobly did he address himself to it; but his great critical work has perished, and few of its results survived his own age. From the days of the Masorites—who we think have really done more in this department than all others—various feeble efforts had been made to collect materials for such a work; but it was not till Kennicott and De Rossi published their Hebrew Bibles that anything like a critical apparatus was furnished to the Old Testament. The Bibles of Bomberg and Buxtorff, indeed, were valuable, but these were only digests of past labours; they added no new readings, they brought the results of no fresh collations. Kennicott was the first to do this, and even he had access to comparatively few sources, especially in the way of MSS. Nor did he use thoroughly or judiciously what he had; he collated but partially, and leaned so excessively toward the Alexandrian and Samaritan readings, that his results are of little reliance. His great fault, as Dr. Davidson expresses it, was that "he was not a masterly critic;" he lacked the skill, judgment, and tact, to appreciate and apply properly the resources at his command. The same defects apply in a great degree to De Rossi's work: neither he nor Kennicott accomplished what was needed for the Old Testament. Since their day but little has been done, and Old Testament criticism remains nearly where they left it. We share in the hearty wish of our author, that some one competent, skilled, and of sufficient leisure, would arise to do the work.

The volume before us closes with an application of the above sources of criticism to the emendation of several of the most important passages. This mode of exemplifying their use, the author thinks preferable to laying down *canons* or specific rules for the critic, which in his opinion are useless or hurtful. There is doubtless much truth in his objection to such canons, that each case of criticism differs in so many points from others, as to require the

Digitized by Google

application of a particular judgment respecting it; yet we are inclined to think such rules, after all, may have their value, if correctly drawn up on general principles, and employed in a judicious manner. The same arguments that are used to show the inutility of such laws, in regard to criticism, would prove the uselessness of similar ones in interpretation, or even in rhetoric and æsthetics. Canons on any subject are not so much intended to guide the expert as the novice; they are employed rather in testing than in constructing a system of science. We cannot, therefore, think that they ought to be dispensed with in the treatment of a subject so liable to caprice and error as Biblical criticism. Indeed, the author himself, notwithstanding his disclaimer, has felt constrained to present some "hints and cautions on the subject, as the simplest and most correct that have occurred to him." With the most of these we entirely agree; we only wish that they had been made more copious and systematic. There is one of them, however, usually adopted, we are aware, as a sort of axiom among critics, but to which we cannot altogether subscribe; our author states it as follows: "The more difficult reading is generally preferable to the easier one." That is, we suppose, on the ground that a copyist would be more likely to remove a grammatical or exegetical difficulty by a gloss, than to introduce one. This may be true so far as *intentional* alterations are concerned; but on the other hand, we think the rule does not sufficiently provide for the liability to *accidental* errors of transcription, by which a solecism or inconsistency might very naturally occur. If this rule were to be adopted, even "generally," many palpable mistakes would be incapable of restoration to the author's true words. The rule itself, as a rule, strikes us as too paradoxical and unnatural: in particular cases it may, doubtless, hold good; but we think modern critics not unfrequently have been misled by it into readings that are repugnant to common sense.

In the second volume, the author treats of the sources of New Testament criticism, on the same plan as in the former volume he had treated those relating to the Old. It is prefaced in like manner with a brief view of the peculiarities of the diction, and a copious history of the state of the text. In the last, he shows that corruptions extensively prevailed as early as A. D. 127, when Marcion went to Rome with his edition of the New Testament books; and that various efforts were made by the early fathers, especially by Origen, for their restoration to purity. These efforts, however, not being made in concert, nor on any fixed system, availed but little for the purpose. The ancient versions of the New Testament are: (1.) The Peshito, made be-

Digitized by Google

tween the middle of the second and the middle of the fourth century; it is pure and easy in its language, and of very considerable value to the critic. (2.) The Philoxenian, or later Syriac, made in the year 508, under the direction of Mar Xenayas, Bishop of Mabug, in Syria, apparently for party purposes. It was revised in 616 by Thomas of Harclea, in Palestine. It is more literal than the Peshito, and therefore more useful to the critic, besides containing valuable various readings in the margin. (3.) A Syriac version of some of the Epistles, and the Jerusalem Syriac version of the Gospels; both of later date and less value. (4.) Various Ethiopic and Egyptian versions, of uncertain age and doubtful character. (5.) The Armenian version, made about A. D. 431. This would be of great value, did not, as the author summarily expresses it, "the suspicious circumstances it has passed through, the alterations it has undergone, and the want of ancient MSS. of its text, combine to show that it may be safely dispensed with at the present time." (6.) A Georgian version, supposed to have been made in the sixth century, but corrupt, and abandoned by critics; also two Arabic versions,—one made from the Vulgate, and therefore useless; the other not old or accurate enough to be of any value. (7.) The Gothic version, made by Ulphilas in the fourth century, a famous specimen of which is the *Codex Argenteus*, with letters painted in silver, and gilt initials. It is faithful and skilful, and but little corrupted: it is highly valuable. (8.) The Itala, and Jerome's improvement, called the Vulgate, have been noticed previously; the New Testament of the latter was published A. D. 384; it is best preserved in the Codex Amiatinus. The author thus sums up the uses of versions: "It is high time that the number of versions applied to the textual criticism of the New Testament should be reduced. . . . . There are several which have encumbered, not promoted, the science. . . . Subtracting these, there remain the Syriac, Latin, Egyptian, Ethiopic, and Gothic."

The chief means of emending the text of the New Testament consists of the ancient manuscripts extant in various libraries and private collections, in different countries. They are most conveniently divided into two classes: the *uncial*, thought to be the oldest, written in capitals, and usually designated by letters, A, B, C, &c.; and the *cursive*, in small letters, designated by numerals, 1, 2, 3, &c. The theory of *recensions*, or distinct types of MSS., resulting from systematic editions at different times, as proposed by Semler, and extensively applied by Griesbach, has now been shown to be groundless. Manuscripts do indeed admit of a sort of general classification, according to their more characteristic readings or place

Digitized by Google

of origin; but this appears to have been the result of accident rather than design, and the families run into each other too much to warrant any dependence upon this distinction. The author devotes two chapters to the enumeration and description of the most important MSS. known to exist. Several of the uncial are believed to be as old as the fifth century. The following are a few of them: (A.) Codex Alexandrinus, now in the British Museum, defective in several passages, and rather carelessly written; it probably originated in Egypt about the latter part of the fifth century. (B.) Codex Vaticanus, of which there are two: one numbered 209, now in the Vatican Library, deficient in the latter books of the New Testament, (which a later hand has supplied,) carefully written, probably in Egypt, at least as early as the fifth century; the other, numbered 2,066, also in the Vatican, and apparently belonging to the eighth century. (C.) Codex Ephraemi Rescriptus—so called from having been written over with the works of Ephraem the Syrian, at a later date—now in the Royal Library at Paris; it contains fragments of the New Testament, and was apparently written in Egypt during the fifth century. (D.) Codex Bezæ, at Cambridge, containing the Gospels and Acts, assigned to Egypt and the sixth century. (D, also.) Codex Cearomontanus, at Paris, containing the Pauline Epistles, and probably belonging to Egypt and the sixth century. The other uncial codices are similarly fragmentary, and belong in general to the eighth and ninth centuries,—one or two portions perhaps are as early as the seventh, and a few as late as the eleventh century. The cursive MSS. are quite numerous, but of later date. The various readings that have been collected out of all the MSS. amount to nearly half a million; but in almost all cases they do not perceptibly affect the meaning or construction: in no instance do they combine to add or remove a single fact or doctrine. The great mass of them contain only orthographical or grammatical peculiarities. Still they are sufficient to prove the absence of collusion among the copyists; and they furnish incontrovertible evidence of the integrity of the New Testament records. This is their great value; and to determine this, and at the same time to settle the true text, is an object well worthy the immense research requisite.

Besides MSS., we have a great number of quotations from the New Testament, in the writings of the early Christian fathers, which all go to evince the true reading in their times, and afford assistance in cases of uncertainty. We have also the force of internal evidence, and the opportunity for critical conjecture; both which should be used with extreme caution and a well-informed judgment in emending the text.

Digitized by Google

Before proceeding to discuss the critical editions of the New Testament, a few words are proper as to the history of the present *received text*. The first printed edition of the Greek Testament was that contained in the Complutensian Polyglott, completed at the expense of Cardinal Ximenes, in the year 1514, but not *published* until the Pope's sanction was obtained in 1522. The MSS. employed for this purpose, notwithstanding the boast of the editor, have been shown to be modern, and of little critical value. Meanwhile, before this edition appeared, Erasmus published at Basel, in 1516, his first Greek Testament, with a pompous title; but, as it now appears, with no greater critical basis than the Complutensian. He also published other editions, with various changes, in 1519, 1522, 1527, and 1529; but none from any older MSS. than before. The Complutensian and Erasmean texts were the basis of all subsequent editions. Robert Stevens republished sometimes one, sometimes the other, with very little improvement; other editors and publishers did the same. Between 1565 and 1598, however, Theodore Beza published four editions, based upon Stevens's, but with numerous emendations from the Clermont and Cambridge codices, (B and D,) and corrections furnished by a son of Stevens. The text of Beza is *substantially* that from which the English version was made. The printers Elzevir, of Leyden, published their first edition in 1624, closely following the text of Stevens's third edition. Their second edition, published in 1633, 12mo., is that usually known as the received Greek text. It was a great improvement upon their first, by being to some extent collated with Beza's; it is the best of all the Elzevir editions. Its editor is unknown. "Few modern editions, however," says Tregelles, "that profess to give the *textus receptus*, really follow throughout the Elzevir text; in places in which the latter differs from the Stephanic, they sometimes follow the latter, and sometimes they differ from both." We have ourselves often been annoyed by this inaccuracy, which the scarcity of the genuine edition of 1633 renders the more perplexing to students. The above history of the received text, Griesbach thus sums up in a paragraph, which we translate for the convenience of the reader: "Later editions follow the Elzevir: this was compiled from the editions of Beza and Stevens's third; Beza's was a reprint of the third edition of Stevens, with merely a few capricious changes not based on adequate authority; Stevens's third edition closely follows the fifth of Erasmus, with the exception of a few passages only in the Apocalypse, where it adopts the Complutensian; and Erasmus formed his text—*as best he could*—out of a very few quite late MSS., in the absence of all critical helps, beyond the interpolated Vulgate and a

Digitized by Google

few inaccurately edited works of the fathers." This judgment, which the author quotes with approbation, we think too severe; the history may be as stated, but the colour and inferences throw the received text into too unfavourable a light. It cannot be denied that in the process of its construction a considerable number of MSS. were more or less collated—some of them of great value—and a good deal of pains bestowed by several scholars in the task, especially by Beza; accordingly, criticism on the whole has since confirmed its readings in all essential points, but of course with many minute corrections. We think critical editors would still do well to treat it with some degree of deference.

The modern history of New Testament criticism may be said to begin with the publication (at Oxford) of the laborious researches of Dr. John Mill, in his New Testament of 1707. Before him, Bryan Walton had published a rich collection of materials in the London Polyglott; but Mill's was the first proper critical edition,—as such it deserves great praise, which "its painful accuracy in regard to trifles" should not be suffered to outweigh. Mill, however, did not attempt to *apply* these materials to the emendation of the text; this Bengel was the first to do, with some few additions, in his edition of 1734. Wetstein came next, with an edition in 1751–2, containing the fruits of untiring labour for thirty years. His work, although liable to much criticism, greatly advanced the department of Biblical science, and is still very valuable for philological purposes.

All preceding attempts at the revision of the Greek text, however, were thrown completely into the shade by the labours of Dr. John James Griesbach, a name that will ever stand conspicuous in the list of Biblical critics. His first edition of the New Testament was published at Halle, in portions, from 1774 to 1777; and contained a digest of all previous various readings, with an extensive collection of new ones, accurately noted and conveniently arranged, with a view to the restoration of the text, which was altered accordingly. Between this time and 1796, when the first volume of his second edition appeared, materials had been collected and published by Matthæi and Birch,—all which, with many new fruits of his studies meanwhile, were incorporated in this new work, on the same plan as the other. A third edition was undertaken by Schulz, containing the results of later researches, of which the first volume, consisting of the Gospels, was published in 1827; the remainder of the New Testament did not appear. The great merit of Griesbach lay, not so much in his amount of learned research, as in his tact and judgment in using the materials within his reach. In this respect he

Digitized by Google

has never had an equal; and it was the possession of these most essential qualities that constituted him a consummate critic. Later labourers have greatly enlarged the area of examination, and of course increased the foundation of a critical judgment; but in our opinion, no critical editor has ever shown so accurate an appreciation of the value of critical authorities, nor so great skill in applying them, as Griesbach. Nor were his researches very limited, nor his amount of authorities so meagre as to affect materially his judgment; he had all the main sources of criticism at his command, and he used with remarkable fidelity and diligence whatever had been collected from them. Especially was he free from those prejudices for a particular class of readings which has misled most critics. An example of this may be seen in his views of the *recensions;* he was so careful and judicious in the application of this system, that although the theory has been exploded, in the form in which he embraced it, yet his opinion of individual authorities is not particularly affected with the later critic; and his classification of codices is, after all, found to be too convenient to be entirely abandoned in its general features. It is because he neither leans unduly toward the uncial MSS. nor the cursive, toward the Alexandrine nor the Constantinopolitan readings, toward the harsher nor the more elegant forms, that he has won the confidence of the mass of students of criticism; and for these reasons we think no subsequent critical editor has been able to supersede him, nor even approach his high position. His opinion cast on the side of a reading continues to give it a weight which overbalances the critical dictum of more than one later editor. Yet his conclusions are not always correct; his materials were frequently defective, and his readings consequently erroneous: in such cases, he would himself have been the first to alter his opinion, as he not unfrequently did in his several editions. Occasionally, also, he appears to have argued inconclusively, and then we do not hesitate to depart from him.

The next great critical work on the New Testament was the edition of Dr. Scholz, the first volume of which appeared at Leipzig, in 1830, and the second in 1836. He made the most extensive travels in preparation for it; and it was a work of immense labour and research. Nevertheless, it disappointed the critical world, and has generally been regarded as a failure. The materials he gathered are large, fresh, and valuable—this is his great merit; but they were inaccurately noted and badly applied—these are his great faults. His design and mode of procedure were correct enough, but he lacked the judgment to carry them out satisfactorily. Hence his *text* was never extensively adopted.

Digitized by Google

In 1831 Lachmann published a small critical New Testament at Berlin; and in 1842–50 a larger one, with critical authorities added by Buttmann. Both these soon acquired extensive authority in Germany. The emendation of the text proceeds upon peculiar ground: the plan was to follow the authority of MSS. exclusively; but in doing so the editor selected only certain MSS. for his guide, deeming them the most reliable. His object therefore, as he himself admits, was not to furnish a general critical view of various readings, but to confine himself to a particular class, namely, those regarded as the best historically attested ones of the first four centuries. This plan has a certain distinctness about it which is very attractive and plausible; but it has also great defects, for which on the whole we should repudiate it. It is by no means certain that our present oldest copies contain all the oldest readings; later MSS. may have come through purer channels, and be really better authorities. Again; it unfortunately happens, that all the oldest codices extant are of the Egyptian family, and therefore afford only one class of readings. For instance we must, if we follow these, adopt the readings λήμψεται, εἶπαν, ν appended before a consonant, &c., which Lachmann actually does; whereas these are evidently mere peculiarities of the Alexandrine dialect, which could never have prevailed elsewhere, nor probably with the inspired writers. Moreover, Lachmann does not always adhere to his own rules; and this further betrays either their inadequacy or his.

The last critical edition that has appeared is that of Tischendorf, which has been published in several editions at Leipsig and Paris. The best is the second Leipzig edition of 1849. This edition proceeds upon the same principles essentially as Lachmann; he therefore in the main approves the same readings; but he has more strictly and faithfully applied his principles, and he has also given a more extensive view of various readings in all the critical authorities. In collecting these he has evinced great diligence and accuracy. His book is by far the most convenient critical edition that has ever appeared; it is at once cheap, portable, reliable, and sufficiently complete. The same objections, however, lie against its text as against that of Lachmann. It also betrays, if we mistake not, the influence of rationalistic prejudices, in the rash excision of such passages as John v, 4. The form of type, punctuation, and mode of abbreviating the critical authorities are peculiar. We doubt whether it will hold a permanent place as a critical manual.

On the whole, therefore, it is evident that the desideratum has not yet been obtained in New Testament criticism. The whole ground of authority has not been thoroughly explored, neither have the results

Digitized by Google

so far collected been adequately expressed nor justly applied. Another Griesbach is needed to do this. Whoever undertakes the task, must bring to it profound learning, unwearied patience, strict integrity, and large experience. Above all, he must possess a fine critical judgment; that sort of *instinct* that intuitively seizes upon the main points of evidence, and weighs them with unerring skill. No diligence nor acquirements can compensate for the want of this native tact. This is true to some extent in any study, but especially in those of an æsthetical nature; most of all is it true in Biblical criticism, in which nearly all the practical conclusions are based upon a balance of probabilities, or internal evidence. The different qualities above enumerated are thought by Dr. Davidson to be incompatible with each other, or at least hardly to be expected in a single person; but they may certainly coexist in some degree, and if the critic have only the proper acumen, he may supply the other qualities by exercise, or avail himself of them in others. That the work will be ere long performed by some one, we have every reason to believe: critics are labouring hard in various countries to bring together the materials, and they will not leave them unused. The prospectus of a new edition of the New Testament, with extensive critical apparatus, has lately been issued by Dr. S. P. Tregelles, for which he has made large preparations: that it will be a very valuable contribution we cannot doubt; but whether it will meet the want entirely, remains to be seen. The editor's competency we cannot doubt; but, from certain indications, we suspect he will incline to the plan of Lachmann and Tischendorf. Dr. Davidson thus speaks of the forthcoming work: "We look for the completion of his great undertaking with solicitude, hope, and high expectations; knowing that he unites in himself most of the qualities which will insure a critical edition worthy of comparison with any of the continental ones. We believe that his accuracy in making collations, and faithfully recording them, is superior to that evinced by any of the great editors—Mill, Wetstein, Griesbach, Lachmann, or Tischendorf." If his critical judgment and sagacity are equal, the result must be highly satisfactory to the critical public.

The two volumes now before us are calculated to give a healthful impetus to critical studies, and to furnish the student with important hints, as well as valuable information on the subject. So well-digested and full a treatise cannot elsewhere be found. We especially admire the liberal spirit and scholarly tone of the work. We are loth to say anything disparaging of a work which, on the whole, we so heartily welcome; but there are a few points on

Digitized by Google

which we must remark. In the first place, then, the *title* strikes us as rather ambitious, if not inappropriate. From the foregoing summary, the work will be seen to be rather an historical account of the sources of Biblical criticism, than "a systematic view of that science." By such a title we should have understood a more abstract presentation of the principles of criticism, and less of the outward helps and appliances to it. The work, however, may not be the less useful for this. The title may have had its reason in the author's wish to distinguish it from that of his "Lectures on Biblical Criticism," of which this is an enlargement.

But the most serious defects of the work lie in its style and manner. Dr. Davidson's habitual prolixity renders his books tedious and difficult of perusal. The topics may be appropriate, but, like the Germans, he cannot leave them without exhausting them. All that he says is good matter, and perhaps to the point, but it is too full of detail to sustain the interest of the reader. This is a fault in all the author's works that we have seen. There is sometimes as much skill in knowing what *not* to say, as in knowing *what* to say. As a result of this expansion, the author often shows a sort of indecision in his opinion, in consequence of having discussed opposite views, and pursued the conflicting arguments to such length, that both he and the reader are left in the fog as to the true merits of the case. No doubt his candour, and desire to present the subject fairly, have led him into this; but his usually good judgment does not always avail to extricate him from the labyrinth. A little positiveness is a good stiffener to the mind in passing through "doubtful disputations."

What contributes to this diffuseness is a peculiar mode of construction in the sentences. The ideas are expanded in a series of short clauses, each nearly repeating the meaning of the preceding, and broken into disconnected sentences by full stops. The whole book is thus jerked into fragments, in a way very unpleasant to the reader. We take an instance, almost at random, from vol. i, p. 374:—

"If *theological* conjecture were adopted it would soon open the door to corruption. Unscrupulous partisans would speedily introduce many changes into the Bible. They would give a bias to places, more or less marked in favour of their own creed. The number of passages supposed to need emendation would be increased. Many parts of the Bible would be suspected. The book would become an uncertain rule of faith. It would not be appealed to as a standard capable of settling all disputes in theology. Every one might then believe or disbelieve as best suited his own principles. The prejudices of party or sect would influence the treatment of the sacred records. According to the complexion of creed would be the character of the changes proposed."

Here the same idea substantially is drawn out in ten successive sentences in the space of twelve lines. The whole might have been

Digitized by Google

expressed by simply adding to the first sentence the following clause,—"for unscrupulous partisans; who would alter the Bible at pleasure according to their creed, until it would become useless as a general rule of faith."

As a whole, the style and general literary execution of this work is inferior to that of the author's recent "Introduction to the New Testament." Yet it is a book of so much merit, and of so great value to the Church, that minor blemishes are trifling. We join heartily in the author's prayer that the book "may help the cause of truth in the world, promote the progress of righteousness, and contribute to a better acquaintance with those divine writings which form the basis alike of social order and of personal happiness." We are inclined to think there would be demand enough for the work in this country to justify the publication of an American edition.

Art. V.—THE ORIGIN OF EVIL AND THE FALL.

[From the German of Rinck, in Theol. Stud. u. Krit.]

The difficulty of explaining the origin of evil from the pure creation, as it proceeds from the hand of God, leads to many untenable assertions. Thomas Aquinas, Beza, Leibnitz, Schleiermacher, Hegel and Rothe, by presupposing evil as fundamental, and its development as necessary, only avoid the difficult explanation of its origin, and in a greater or less degree attach blame to the Creator of the human race. It is as if an individual, to avoid deducing the finite from the infinite, should resort to the hypothesis of an eternal creation, by which the subject is rather obscured than explained.

Leibnitz assumes a metaphysical imperfection of the creation as the source of evil. According to Hegel, sin is a speculative, logical (intelligible) necessity, because without it the good could not realize itself: good had need of evil as a spur to its progressive movement. He regards sin as included in the very conception of humanity. Dr. Rothe (Ethik, vol. ii, p. 180) places the essence of sin not merely in self-seeking, but also and mainly in the necessity of matter. The passage through sin, in his opinion, is a metaphysical necessity. He conceives of our first parents not as mature at their creation, but destined to spiritual development; consequently their material part, in the absence of training, must gain the upper hand; and imperceptibly, and without blame, they found themselves, by their development, in sin. Hence evil lies

Digitized by Google

in the divine world-plan, not merely as something permitted,—it lies unavoidably in the creature, on account of his origin,—in the fact of *his coming into existence* in contradistinction from God: but as creature-evil has been ordained in the plan of the world, so also has its destruction, as it may come to light. Rothe (p. 204) openly declares that the "effort to separate evil from all connexion with the divine causality must ever remain an idle undertaking;" although even he himself, in a measure startled at this result, imagines himself to hold the causation of human sin entirely apart from God. He says: "The divine production of evil is at the same time its absolute destruction. Within the sphere of redemption the necessity of sinning is not entirely removed, but is conceived of as constantly vanishing."

According to Dr. Julius Müller, (Lehre Von der Sünde,) on the contrary, sin does not lie in the divine order of the world, but arises through man himself,—through his self-determination, and is not necessary, but evitable. Because he finds himself unable to fix in time the point at which evil begins,—unable to prove and comprehend it, he assumes a self-determination of the transcendental freedom before our individual existence,—a spiritual original evil: sin arose when the embryos of personal being yet lay, as it were, in the womb. Since no one knows anything of this original state, we may imagine many things therein, whose entrance into the sphere of reality we are not able to explain; but it is always perilous to imagine such a condition of our race merely for the purpose of solving a riddle,—especially such an ideal condition in which there must have been still less incitement to evil than in the material existence.

The Mosaic record, in its ancient simplicity, and in agreement with our knowledge of God and of ourselves, appears to explain the difficult question of the origin of evil much better than our philosophers and theosophists, with their dialectical wisdom. The question whether the Bible account of the fall should be taken literally or figuratively does not concern our argument; for should it be taken literally, there lies in the representation in the shell less than in the kernel; and this kernel is in any case a concealed meaning, which is to explain the origin of sin, and on which alone it depends.

God caused the tree of life and the tree of knowledge of good and evil to grow up in the midst of the garden, and commanded man: "Of the tree of knowledge of good and evil thou shalt not eat; for in the day thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die." This tree of knowledge, as planted by God, is not yet evil, but contains in

Digitized by Google

itself the *choice between* good and evil,—the innate possibility of sinning, which possibility is bound up with the very conception of a free being, whose liberty is not the divine necessity, but lies outside of it. It is a tree of divine commands and prohibitions,—objectively conceived, the object of knowledge; or, subjectively, the possibility of transgressing the command, the object of free choice. Alongside of this stands the tree of life; and both are united to prove that the mere possibility of evil, which is involved in the creation of man, is not yet anything evil or death-bringing. Only with the realization of the possibility does opposition to the tree of life arise; *i. e.*, the true life is forfeited, and death, curse, and destruction appear in its place. The tree of life which the *living* God had planted for man, and his expressed will not to eat of the tree of knowledge, presuppose the possibility of not transgressing: because God could neither require anything impossible of man, nor involve him inextricably in the meshes of a scheme which would certainly exclude him from the tree of life. The origin of evil from absolute good must forever remain inconceivable; not so with relative good. If we hold fast to this difference, the objection of Rothe will not hold: "The religious-moral perfection of the first parents of our race would exclude all psychological possibility of the fall." But this possibility is explained by the *creation* of man, who, as it were, stands out of God; not holy and perfect like God, and yet not a mere creature like the beast: he is not under and in the law of necessity, but possesses the likeness of God and freedom. The perfection of a creature is not divine, not absolute. The want of such perfection in a creature casts no shadow upon the Creator: if it did, we should be compelled to blame him for becoming a Creator. According to the doctrines of emanation and pantheism, which mix God and the world, the fall cannot be explained; but only according to the doctrines of God and of the creation. When, then, by the creation, God set free beings out of himself, then the possible departure from God was given, and the question, —Wherefore did not God hinder the evil that he foresaw? is entirely inadmissible. God does not prevent evil, because by so doing, contrary to his own will, he would injure and destroy the province of freedom (the divine image.) Thus, our Saviour did not hinder the murderous blows of his enemies, while at the same time he did not will or excuse them. In like manner, God was Lord over the parents of our race, and over the serpent: but if he by his own will restrained his highest power, and left free play-room to free created beings, and still retains the government, he is not therefore destitute of power, but only consistent, and worthy to be adored.

Digitized by Google

Dare the creature be so bold as to ask the Creator: Wherefore hast thou placed the tree of knowledge in the midst of Paradise, by the side of the tree of life,—wherefore hast thou given me the liberty, whose abuse thou foresawest? Shall the work speak to the master, and say, why hast thou made me thus? Man should rather complain of himself, but give thanks to God that he has endowed him with such prerogatives, and glorify him with soul and body, which are God's. There was no necessity at all to sin; that complaint can only be established on the ground that, as Rothe teaches, evil *inevitably* developed itself. Besides, from the beginning of the world God had provided for the human race, whose fall he foresaw, the most perfect means of grace and gifts, in order to make that injury abundantly good, and to lead back the fallen ones to himself and his kingdom. Indeed, as all evil, so also must the sin of our first parents redound to the praise of the merciful God; because by it was conditioned the mission of the second Adam as the Redeemer of the world. Now is he that is least in the kingdom of heaven greater than the greatest born of woman: for it is not with the gift as with the sin. (Rom. v, 12–15.) Let it therefore be far from us to complain of the Creator, on account of sin which he neither caused nor consented to, and which must only contribute to the glory of his unfathomable grace.

But the *possibility* of the fall without blame to the Creator being admitted, another question arises: Through what untoward incitement did it become a *reality?* Even to this question the Scriptures give a satisfactory answer: it took place through outward prompting, —through evil spiritual influence, which was already existing in creation. Upon the basis of a created but still spiritual existence, the possibility of being moved and poisoned by an influence at enmity with God must be admitted. The inexperience of our first parents, who were not isolated in the new world, corresponded exactly with the subtlety of Satan in the form of a serpent. The kingdom of Satan, as a spiritual power, and the peccability of the first pair, whose pure self-determination was ensnared and obscured through that power, furnish a satisfactory explanation of the fall. The fall itself was certainly a free self-determination, otherwise no blame could attach to it; but not altogether so: both the decision and the guilt were shared by the devil, as the murderer from the beginning: it was a coöperation of human freedom with the temptation of the evil principle himself. The power, however, of the spiritual contact and influence is great, and far stronger than that of the sun upon the planets in the kingdom of nature. The complete expulsion of the evil principle is reserved, according to the

Digitized by Google

Scriptures, until the last stage of the perfected development of the world,—until the judgment of the world, and the restoration of all things, when even the physical world shall be rescued from the control of him who has the power of the death. Now the power is still allowed to him, and the regular course of the world and history shows us the conflicts of light and darkness.

But according to the Scripture account, the temptation of our first parents was gradual, and the motives to the fall are thus psychologically clear. First of all, the serpent raised a doubt concerning the divine prohibition, and the ruinous consequences of sin: "Yea, hath God said, Ye shall not eat of every tree of the garden?" "Ye shall not surely die." Then he awakened pride, inducing man to overleap his appointed condition to become like God, and to use his freedom arbitrarily, and according to his own pleasure: "God doth know, that in the day ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall be opened; and ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil." After this preparation came the thought that the tree was good for food, pleasant to look upon, and to be desired to make one wise. The sensual desire would now naturally start up; and the woman seduced became the seducer. The powers of the soul were corrupted before the actual sin took place: the faculty of knowledge by doubt and unbelief toward God, the faculty of desire through unbounded striving and proud excess, as the Grecian fable of Prometheus represents it; and finally the faculty of feeling, through sensual longing, which propensity the religion of the Greeks sets forth by Epimetheus and Pandora. Thus did the possibility of the fall, which rests upon the freedom of the creature, pass over into reality under evil outward influences.

The conversation between Eve and the serpent shows how accessible she was; the woman, as the weaker part, is first approached and misled, and not till then the man,—and even then only through her: as also the apostle Paul expresses it, (1 Tim. ii, 14,) the woman was first in the transgression. Dr. Rothe, indeed, (p. 221,) thinks that the assumption of a Satanical temptation does not at all help the difficulty; because that assumption always presupposes a real susceptibility of being tempted, a sinful predisposition, a minimum of sin. But the possibility of being tempted to sin is not yet sin; with Rothe that predisposition is rather something already existing. It is certainly much more worthy of God to conceive of his creatures as pure and good,—they first determining themselves to evil, and the enemy active therein. If even the Son of God could be tempted without injury to his sinlessness, much more the first Adam, whose personality and divine resemblance were specifically

Digitized by Google

lower. The three temptations penetrated the mind of Jesus from without, according to the three principal divisions of sin. (1 John ii, 16.) He appeared in the likeness of sinful flesh; but while this gave the tempter a handle, it also occasioned his overthrow.

If, in fine, we compare the Scriptural theory, thus understood, with the modern philosophical explanations of the fall, the result will be that the former will be found to contain incomparably more truth and wisdom than the latter; although Rothe (p. 221) is of the opinion that the Biblical account of the fall can no longer be maintained, and that the fall cannot be explained from the Mosaic standpoint. If we desert the oldest record of the human race—instead of making it the starting-point—the attempt to solve the question in dispute will at once be given up; and we place ourselves more or less in opposition to the idea of God, to the conceptions of man and of sin. Only the Bible (and perhaps, agreeing with it, the mythology of antiquity) tells us of a man created in the image of God, in a paradisiacal state of innocence; and, in accordance with this fact, shows how this state was interrupted and perverted into one of guilt. Dr. Julius Müller, on the contrary, although Paradise has still a place in his system, places Adam in it as already a sinner. In the same way Rothe presupposes what he ought to show, since he assumes evil as original and necessary in the development of the world. We cannot see, either according to Müller or Rothe, whence it could properly come into the natural world. Rothe, with his presupposition, is obliged to assume one of two things: either he must dualistically establish an evil principle in matter, and deny the pure creation of God, or he must ascribe the origin of sin, not to the perverted will, but to God himself: in both cases he has a Manichean life-view of sentient beings. Sin with him is not a free act of man, proceeding out of the heart and will; it springs from the overmatching power of material nature subduing his personality with inevitable necessity. (P. 226.) "The origin of evil from pure good must forever remain inconceivable," (p. 222;) thus he establishes an impure material creation. Is anything explained by this means? Whence comes, then, impurity into the material creation before all acts of the will? Is not the question more easily explained by the abuse of freedom, than by metaphysics; more easily through the devil and man, than by the act of the Creator? The fall, according to the doctrine of the Church, says Rothe, (p. 220,) was a blunder in the work of the earthly creation, as it were, at the beginning. In order to avoid this, either an evil principle must have been coöperative in the creation, or else God himself must have ruined his own work at its

Digitized by Google

commencement. Shall we call this escaping the blunder made at the beginning? Is it not rather increasing it, and carrying it over into the region of the perfect and the holy? The latter of these two opinions, strictly taken, is that of Rothe, since he assumes matter as created by God, and from matter deduces sin. But the positions: Matter was created by God, and—Matter is the opposite of God, and hence the origin of sin, (pp. 194 and 221,) contradict each other. And every appearance, every open or concealed attempt to place the original cause of sin to the account of God, the Almighty Creator, must be rejected at once. It would be much better to let the great problem, which lies outside of our experience, go unsolved, than to prejudice the doctrine of the creation and the honour of God; and thus place ourselves in contradiction with the religious consciousness of evangelical Christendom, which has laid down its just understanding of the Holy Scriptures in the nineteenth article of the Augsburg Confession: "Although Almighty God created and upholds universal nature; yet still the perverted will works sin in all the wicked and despisers of God; for the will of the devil and of all the wicked, is such, that as soon as God hath removed his hand, it hath turned itself from God to evil." But it appears to us to be an entirely inadmissible kind of inference, to make this article, which expressly excludes sin from the divine causality, signify that God ought to be blamed for taking away his hand, and to say that it expresses the inevitableness of sin.

The removal of the hand of God clearly means nothing more than that God exercises no irresistible power in the circle of human freedom and personality. Just here the erroneous conclusions have their concealed seat. Because everything depends on the will of God, even that which is opposed to his will must have been ordained by him; because nothing is impossible with God, they ascribe evil to him also, in order to have a really omnipotent God. But there exists no longer an exclusive and absolute causality of God, so soon as by the actual creation of free beings he has renounced it, and we acknowledge its existence. There is no such thing as irresistible grace, to say nothing of irresistible sin; for the will of the devil is not irresistible, but, in opposition to God, impotent.

The doctrine of the inevitableness of sin wars against holiness—the fundamental conception of the revealed God of both Testaments. As certainly as it is true, (Deut. xxxii, 4,) "The work of God is perfect—a God of truth and without iniquity, just and right is he;" as certainly as we pray, "Hallowed be thy name;" so certainly must we repel every intimation that evil could proceed from God, or be ordained or willed by him. This doctrine also wars against the justice

Digitized by Google

of God; for he who punishes evil cannot produce it. Hence the principle remains firm: "Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap." It (i. e., the inevitableness of sin) is not a doctrine corresponding to our religious necessities; for redemption and divine grace would be brought into doubt, if sin were regarded as a blameless and unavoidable weakness of our race.* What is necessary to human nature at one time, must for the same reason always remain so; what has once been established in the world-order cannot indeed be destroyed. Again, this doctrine would raise doubts of the validity of the work of redemption. Where there is no guilt, there is nothing to destroy,—no possibility of repentance for the errors of the past. The doctrine which places the origin of evil in the sphere of necessity, mistakes, finally, the nature of sin as a free moral act, which proceeds from the will of man, and turns his heart away from God; it misunderstands the spiritual and ethical character of sin; it assails as well man's noblest distinction—his personality—as his guilt. Neither men of God, moved by the Holy Ghost, nor those touched and tempted by Satan, are or were automatons; but as spiritual essences endowed with the image of God, they coöperate with the one or the other; i. e., with God or Satan. And if they are in the first instance without merit, in the second, according to the testimony of their consciences, they are not without guilt; and even, although the activity of the will, in a state of transport or possession, may be repressed until it disappears, yet in no case is it possible to conceive of the two points, the original condition of innocence, and the fall, in a merely metaphysical way, and without ethical self-activity.

Regarded from this comprehensive point of view, the examination of this question has an important place in dogmatics, and furnishes one among many proofs that the doctrine of the Holy Scriptures is that of the Confession of the evangelical Church, and contains the only true theology and philosophy of divine things; and that every departure from it ends in irreconcilable contradiction.

* Thus the Hermes of Plato, which was found at Tivoli in 1846, had the inscription: "Guilt the result of our own election; God without guilt; every soul immortal: *αἰτία ἑλομένῳ· θεὸς ἀναίτιος· ψυχὴ δὲ πᾶσα ἀθάνατος.*" Comp. Plat. de Republ. x, p. 617, C.; Phaedr. p. 245, C. Comp. James i, 13: "Let no man say when he is tempted, I am tempted of God: for God cannot be tempted with evil, neither tempteth he any man."

Digitized by Google

Art. VI.—ANSELM, OF CANTERBURY.

Saint Anselme de Cantorbery. Tableau de la Vie Monastique, et de la lutte du Pouvoir Spirituel avec le Pouvoir Temporel au Onzième Siècle. Par M. Charles de Remusat, de l'Academie Français. 8vo. Paris, Didier; New-York, Bossange.

This is a work of a description coming recently much into vogue, if we may judge of the demand from the supply. The idea of the class is, that the leading minds of the several epochs of human history epitomize, in their biographies, the special features of the times. The principle is sound, undoubtedly, as well as modern in its conception; but the *purpose* to which these writers for the most part as yet apply it, is, although interesting, scarcely worthy of its scientific import. The object of the present author, one of the ablest of the number—the learned son of the illustrious Remusat—is given as follows in the second chapter:—

"It will not perhaps be without attraction to represent to ourselves an image of the age of feudal society in which St. Anselm lived; and to penetrate those gloomy monasteries, into which for several centuries fled for refuge the rarest intellects and purest characters of the times. The recital of an ancient past, when it does not sink into an arid chronicle, possesses an interest independent of the importance of the facts retraced. As the smallest vase, as the humblest utensil, when covered over with the rust of time, becomes an object of curiosity in our museums, so do events, however simple, when turned up at the distance of ages, in all their real and naïve character, acquire a singular accession of value, and even a certain charm for those who study history with some imagination, and who practise in its perusal the moral maxim of the ancient writer,—'not to feel indifferent toward any object which has regard to our common humanity.'"—Pp. 17, 18.

So we see that the author's purpose is merely moral and sentimental. In the reproduction of the past, he designs to gratify the curiosity, or at best to moralize the sentiments of the present: he does not think of *explaining* either, still less of indicating the future. He would, in short, have history, he says, perused with some "imagination." This word discloses the precise condition of his conception of the sphere of history. With M. de Remusat and his fellow-writers of this monographic class, the highest of sciences lingers still in what we may designate the *belles-lettres* stage; it is regarded as a theme of art, but scarce susceptible of science or system.

No doubt the former of these stages (that of art) must precede, and prepare the way for the stage of science in all things. In the case before us, it is to be noted that the art has reached

Digitized by Google

that confine at which the purpose passes from amusement or edification into explanation. The chronicle is culled at first for the personal characters alone, and the lawless fancy of the childish ages supplies the rest: the result is the *romance* proper, with its giants, dragons, and magicians. Afterward, the main events as well as characters are reproduced, but in colours less exaggerated, and with fewer arbitrary combinations, and fictitious details, deemed then less interesting than the real: this is the "historical novel," of which Scott is the British type. Last of these historian *artists* come the writers of the class in question, who are content to represent the facts in their full fidelity and particularity; and this, no doubt, because the public mind is now mature enough to find them interesting,—to study them (as M. de Remusat desires) with some "imagination," or, in philosophic language, with a *presentiment of theory.*

Books of this class are therefore evidently on the threshold of the science of history, and are supplying in fact the basis for its full establishment or illustration. It is not therefore of their confinement to this useful province that we complain, but of the strange unconsciousness of most of these writers as to the region which lies beyond them, or, at all events, their strict omission to suggest this outlet from the old routine. Having thus supplied it, for both the purposes of general indication and the occasional criticism of the book before us, as we proceed, our running analysis will now be confined to the author's platform, or point of view. And here our notice must be contracted to the leading personage of the narrative, to the character, career, and writings of Anselm. We must refer to the book itself for the countless episodes of feudal life and monastic manners which make the garniture, the filling-up of the social picture, and on which the intellect—a little languid—of the author loves to dwell with a reactionary affectation of liberality.

Anselm was born on the Swiss confines of Lombardy, in the year 1033 or 1034. His parents were rich and noble, like those of his episcopal predecessor, Lanfranc, who was also a fellow-countryman of his, having been born at Pavia. Both the nativity and the condition of these two personages are entirely consonant with the distinction which they attained in that rude age and in a foreign country. At that time, Italy was the most forward of European nations in civilization; or, to speak more strictly, was the land where the sacred fire of ancient learning and cultivation—in cooling inward toward the focus—had decayed the least in either brain or blood; and noble blood, at least in ages when nobles only were closely educated, would be also the most retentive of this hereditary capability. This remark may ex-

Digitized by Google

plain the contrast between the high philosophy of Anselm and the English barbarism of the epoch, which British writers would fain dissemble, by classing habitually in their national literature this earliest oracle of rational religion in the middle ages. As soon could England have then or now produced a centaur or a hippogriff. It was only through her conqueror that she received and rewarded the two Italian scholars, and that, too, when their years were advanced and their reputation established.

Is it not also characteristic, that while Italy supplied the birth, and England the dignities, of both adventurers, their intermediate education should be sought successively in Normandy? Normandy in fact, in those days, was the seat or cynosure of learning. For some hundred and fifty years before—since the conquest under Rollo—those dashing barbarians had bribed the clergy to consolidate their plunder, by the frequent establishment and large endowment of monasteries. But monasteries were the philosophic seminaries of those simple ages,—the aspiration as well as asylum of all who felt a *mental* mission. It was under this high impulse that Lanfranc—at first a lawyer—came, at the age of thirty-seven, to the famous schools of Normandy, and founded some twelve years later a monastery of his own. It was this also that inspired the gentle and still greater Anselm, at an age much greener, to quit his home on the like adventures, and reach the convent of his countryman—a convent of which he soon was to succeed him in the abbacy, as he again did, in later life, in the primacy of Canterbury.

Passing over his monastic sojourn at the Convent of Bec, in Normandy—where he was three years simple monk, fifteen years prior, and fifteen also abbot of the institution—we come at once to his passage to England, and his promotion to the See of Canterbury.

These two events, though not remote in time, were unconnected, it seems, in purpose. It was one of the Norman barons who persuaded Anselm to come over, for the purpose of supervising the foundation of a monastery. But at this juncture the See of Canterbury had been vacant some four years; and the Abbot of Bec, on his arrival, found the public mind disposed, through the preparation of his brother monks, perhaps, to name him successor to Lanfranc. This in our day looks undoubtedly like a contrivance of politicians; yet the supposition would give too much credit for combination to those simple ages, when men were actuated for the most part by present impulses and interests. In fact, the interests had been in this case of a sufficiently common urgency to give the concert the prompt alacrity of spontaneity. The barons wished a

Digitized by Google

check upon the frantic passions of the king, (the second William, surnamed Rufus,) and they felt it could be found only in his religion, or superstition, and by confronting his despotism with the spiritual terrors of the Church. The Churchmen, as well the regular as secular, wished an archbishop—the one to dignify their order, the other to multiply their benefices; and for the people, the conquered Saxons, it little mattered what they might wish: and besides, in those days their wishes were all in common with those of their spiritual and temporal guides. Moreover, a character such as Anselm's for gentleness and learning was then, as it is at all times, a commendation to the oppressed. Nor are these traits at all unacceptable, on the other hand, to the oppressors, who consider gentleness allied to weakness, and thus no obstacle to their iniquities; while, on the contrary, obsequious talent may supply an instrument for improved modes of plunder. This we think an explanation of the strange reception afforded to Anselm, which M. de Remusat has left his readers to interpret according to fancy.

However, it seems that all parties were for transporting the foreign monk, without delay, into the British primacy—all, at least, except the king; and this exception had, like the opposite dispositions, its sufficient reason. During the vacancy the king had pocketed the immense revenues of the archbishopric, and he much preferred to let things go on as they were. With a shrewdness inspired by avarice or incredulity, he therefore doubted the full sincerity of Anselm's protestations against such honours. When one of his courtiers, perhaps to sound him, remarked one day in conversation: "I know no man of equal holiness to that Abbot of Bec; he loves only God, and desires none of the goods of this world." "No," said the king, smiling, "not even the Archbishopric of Canterbury." "This the least of all," replied the other, "as is well known." "By the holy face of Lucca!" (the habitual oath of William,) "neither he nor any other shall be archbishop, except me."

This resolution was overcome, however, by a method worthy of the times. On occasion of one of the national councils (the prototype of the House of Lords) which were held at Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost, the "lords spiritual and temporal," then the bishops and the barons, in bemoaning the continued widowhood imposed upon their Metropolitan Cathedral, agreed to go forthwith in a body to the king, and *ask his leave to offer prayers for an alteration of his resolution!* "Pray as much as you like," said he, "but I will do what I please." The suppliants, nothing daunted, proceeded next to Anselm, and implored him to prescribe the proper prayers. With this he complied, after much reluctance, on account of his interest

Digitized by Google

in the issue. It was presently after these things were gone through, that the conversation above recited between the courtier and the monarch had taken place. No sooner had the latter made the impious answer which closed the dialogue, than he fell into a desperate fit of sickness. During this, which lasted some weeks, dukes, bishops, abbots, and monks, crowded daily to exhort his majesty to save his soul; and, as the means, to pay his debts, to refund the treasures which he had forced from the Churches, and, above all, to restore her liberty and her official to the Church of Canterbury. The dying reprobate refused nothing; he promised all they asked him, and had proxies sent to swear it upon the altars; he gave the bishops the full disposal of both his temporal and spiritual interests, and finally named Anselm Archbishop of Canterbury.

Anselm, who was then in the country, was called immediately before the king: and here the scene must be related, with some slight abridgment, in our author's words. The Archbishop elect refused the honour, whereon the monarch became alarmed at the thought of dying in the possession of a domain of the Church. The courtly bystanders assailed the recusant, by turns, with prayers and with reproaches. Did he want to ruin all things, the king and the kingdom? Was he then insane? Anselm could only turn to a brace of his fellow-monks, and exclaim: "Ah! brothers, why do you not sustain me?" "If it be the will of God," replied one of these, "what can we do to hinder it?" "The king then bade them all to implore him on their knees; but Anselm knelt also, and persisted in his refusal. In fine, the attendants, losing patience, exclaimed, A cross! a cross! Some took him by the hand, others shoved him along; and he was trailed to the bed of the king, who handed him the crosier. But he refused to seize it; and kept his right hand in his bosom, and firmly clenched besides. The bishops, pulling it out by force, and holding the left hand still, essayed to open the fingers with a pressure that made him groan. One of the fingers was at last lifted for a moment, and between it and the thumb was inserted the episcopal cross, while holding one against the other by main force. At sight of this the whole company raised the shout of *Vive l'évêque*, and the clergy intoned aloud the *Te Deum*. Then he was rather carried than conducted into a church, while, pale and trembling, he still endeavoured vainly to resist, and repeated ceaselessly: "What you do is null! what you do is null!" So the "*nolo episcopari*" for once at least was no farce!

Something more than personal modesty or ecclesiastical humility appears, however, to have dictated this pertinacity of abnegation. It is probable that Anselm knew his own character, as well as that of

Digitized by Google

William Rufus—the former as unfit for action, as averse to strife and brute contention, as it was adapted to meditation and abstract reasoning, and thus inflexible, like all such minds, upon the subject of its principles; the other blunt and brutal, with barbarous passions for its only principles, and powers unlimited save by the precepts of his predecessor. A collision between two such contraries, in any circumstances, must be obvious—since it seems Anselm reckoned nothing on a fatal issue to the king's illness, which he possibly knew to have been produced by the subornation of his cook or physician. But the encounter he must have seen to be inevitable at that juncture, when the pretensions of the Church of Rome to despotise the States of Europe had just concentrated upon the issue of the famous question of Investitures.

The king accordingly, upon recovery, resumed his position upon this subject, and repelled the notion that a foreign power should have directly, or even by deputy, the royal prerogative of giving bishops to *his* dominions. In this he was besides supported by the dying testament of his great father: for great undoubtedly the "Conqueror" of Britain might be styled, at least according to those rude times, and the common usage of the term. The anti-Romish policy, bequeathed by the prudent Normans, has been preserved to us substantially in three fundamental maxims. It may be useful to recall their spirit at a moment when the Protestant world is again invaded by the same usurper, and in a form not really different: "1. No one within the kingdom can, without the order of the king, recognise a Roman pontiff as Apostolic Pope, visit him without the royal authorization, nor receive letters from him without exhibiting them to the king beforehand. 2. A national council convened by the Primate can establish or prohibit nothing, but in conformity with the royal will. 3. No archbishop can, without the same authority—against any of the officers or the barons of the king, who should be charged with a capital crime—pronounce sentence of excommunication, or institute an action, or impose any canonical penalty whatever." Such were the cautious principles implanted by its founder to fence securely the independence of the infant monarchy—principles, moreover, which the wayward character of William Rufus was likely even to exaggerate.

The first, in fact, includes the cardinal question of Investiture. The *form* of expression bears a reference to the great schism throughout Germany and Italy, between the Empire and the Papacy, and which bred at that time a plurality of simultaneous Popes. But in forbidding to his clergy the recognition, without his order, of any Pope as "apostolic," that is, legitimate, the English monarch

Digitized by Google

of course prohibited, *a multo fortiori*, the valid reception of substantial places, at his own expense, from such unsanctioned sources. And if, besides, he did not make the prohibition in express terms, it was simply because the usurpation had not been pressed within his reign. The ripening sore came to a rupture, but in the hands of his violent successor; and Anselm was the passive instrument of the crisis.

We shall not dwell upon this long contention between the prelate and the monarch; the details may be seen in the English histories of the epoch. It will be pertinent to note, however, that, in consonance with the preceding, the first occasion of declared hostilities was provoked on the part of Anselm. On the return of William Rufus from an expedition against his brother in Normandy, he was informed by his Primate of Canterbury of a purpose of going to Rome to receive the *pallium* from the holy hands of the Pope. Which Pope? asked the king—for there were then two successors immediately to Hildebrand, and apostolically to St. Peter, namely, Clement III. and Urban II. Anselm named the latter; but the king exclaimed with irritation that he had not himself as yet recognised him, and that it was no more his custom than it had been that of his father to allow his bishops to intermeddle in such matters. "As well might you think," he added, "of depriving me of my crown." Anselm remonstrated. "No, no," he rejoined, "fidelity to me is incompatible with obedience to Rome." The prelate then requested that a national council might be called; and if it should decide against him, he would rather wait outside the kingdom until the royal recognition of the real Pope. The king consented, but with the hope of getting rid of this troublesome customer, through the complacency of his lords spiritual and temporal.

The barons, however, hesitated, on the pretext that it was not *their* affair, but in reality because they wished, as above suggested, to have the king restrained.* The bishops for the most part† were, on the contrary, found ready for the sacrifice of a brother dignitary in disgrace; but more especially in case of one whose renown for learning had given them umbrage, and the reversion of whose high position, with its vast possessions, might be hoped by each. Not, however, that these selfish motives do not often yield to the *esprit de corps*, in the peculiar organization of the Romish system. But the spirit of this system, in its full expansion at the time in Italy, had not as yet inspired the British clergy, either Norman or native. The latter were in those days—as well

* Hence the pretext and the purpose of the great rebellion against William.
† Out of twenty, only two adhered to Anselm.

Digitized by Google

in theology as in geography—the *penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos*. Between them and the cause of Anselm—which was the comprehensive claim of Hildebrand—there could therefore have been no sufficient sympathy, or "solidarity." And we may add that this double circumstance of deep disparity with those he lived among, and high conformity with the Italians in his theological maturity, affords a compound confirmation of the natal influence above attributed to the social condition of the nation upon the mental calibre of the individual.

The king, unwilling with the division in his council to proceed to extremities, bethought him of another method of bringing Anselm to submission. In the midst of the prolonged session, he sent messengers to Rome and bribed the Pope—the very Urban for whom Anselm had been suffering—with the price of a sum of money, and his recognition as the Vicar of Christ, to have the pallium transmitted to the king himself. Bestowed on Anselm by the royal hands, it would fasten fealty on the restiff prelate; just as Louis Napoleon, the other day, took care to do by some new archbishops, in conformity with the Concordat of his great uncle. The pallium was brought to William, but Anselm would not take it unless deposited upon the altar of the cathedral; just as the first Napoleon would not have his crown from the Papal hands, but had it placed upon the altar of Notre Dame; and as will be, too, we dare predict, the cautious course of his present successor. To this transaction the king assented, no doubt in part from utter weariness, but also because other projects were then engaging his attention, and to which Anselm might be serviceable, as well personally as officially.

In fact, the Pope—the aforesaid Urban—no doubt to show how well his zeal deserved the preference above his rival, which was just declared by the Western powers, had come to France, his native country, to preach in person a new Crusade. The feudal princes, no less barbarous than the serfish herds they swayed, were fired to rivalry in selling their property and shouldering the cross—*not* to follow Christ in the ways of peace, according to the meaning of his prescription, but to rush into the contrary course of slaughtering their fellow-men. On this occasion the hair-brained Robert passed the revenues of Normandy, during a term of three years, to his brother William for a sum of money. This amount had to be realized, as the secret purpose of the English monarch was to get a foothold in the coveted territory, which he meant to keep in any event; and as it was probable that the treasures of the Churches would be largely drawn upon, it was necessary to enlist the primate's co-

Digitized by Google

öperation, or at least connivance. Anselm gave both, in fact; and how indeed could he well refuse, when the assigned object of the contribution was the prosecution of the cause of Christ?

His complacency in a subsequent case is by no means equally excusable, although no less characteristic of the Christianity of the times. When Henry Beauclerk, the third son of the Conqueror, succeeded William, in the first place by usurping the previous title of his brother Robert, and then by purchasing the resignation of the latter for an annual stipend, that arch intriguer began forthwith to evade the payment of the money stipulated, and made the natural remonstrances provoked by his defalcation the pretext of plundering his simple creditor, moreover, of his principality. This, it is known, he finally accomplished; and, after robbing his own brother as well of Normandy as of England, incarcerating him for life, and *tearing out his eyes*, also manacling and mutilating other nobles—some his near kinsmen, and massacring several thousands of the Norman people—when Henry returned to England, both himself and *such* achievements received the blessings and congratulation of the saintly Anselm. To allow his king to lay a piece of cloth upon his shoulders would have been a sacrilege; to give the sanction of the Church and Heaven to these savage butcheries was a duty! M. de Remusat's solution of this monstrosity is not very profound: "The human mind had not then the assurance of undertaking to judge of all things; and state-reasons have but recently come to be looked upon as not imperative." The sneer is at once shallow and preposterous; for the pretension of the Church, and of Anselm as its organ, was preëminently at that moment "to judge of all things," and especially of state-reasons. But the *principles* on which they judged were the true occasion of the contrast noted. The first of these was, that the sole legitimate criterion of human conduct was its conduciveness, or otherwise, to the revealed ends of the future world; the second, that the propagation and the predominance of the Romish Church, as the only means to these exclusive ends, were of course of similar obligation; and the third, that all wrongful sufferings endured by men on earth—whether directly in the Church's cause, or indirectly through her connivance, and because it might be inconvenient not to lend her sanction or her silence—will be, in consequence, rewarded with ample interest in heaven; and are objects, therefore, *not of pity, nor of resentment, but of rejoicing*. We do not say, however, that these propositions, which explain consistently the conduct of Anselm, were distinctly before the intellect of either the prelate or his Church. When history is written competently, it will cease to seek its motives in the analysis of individ-

Digitized by Google

uals, instead of *epochs*. The motives, the morality, the Christianity of the eleventh century, then, were technical, theological, and conventional; they were not social, they were not rational, they were not real.

But to return for a moment to the strife of Anselm with William Rufus. The latter, on obtaining the contribution, left for Normandy. The primate, in his absence, and partly instigated by the papal legate, who loitered behind after bringing the pallium, began to meddle with some fresh investitures. The quarrel was of course renewed on the return of the king; and the ultimate result was that Anselm left the kingdom on a visit to Rome. No sooner was he gone than the monarch revoked all his past concessions, resumed himself the primacy and the possessions of the See of Canterbury, and retained them for some years after, till his violent death. His successor thereupon invited Anselm to return, as he, too, wished the consecration of the clergy for his usurpation: but he also wished the prelate to be reinvested by his own hands. Anselm declined, and the old quarrel was on foot again. This time it was more tedious and tergiversative, if possible; for Henry possessed a good deal of the tricky temper of the Church. The battle now went on in large part by texts from Scripture; and the opposite parties remained intrenched in these two antagonistic positions: "Give unto Cæsar," cried the one, "the things that are of Cæsar, but give unto God the things that are God's." "No one can obey two masters," was the equally evangelical, although apparently quite contradictory rejoinder. In fine, however, Anselm left for Rome a second time, and revisited his See of Canterbury some years after, but soon to die.

It is the nature of a war of words that both the combatants should claim the victory. Accordingly the Churchmen pretended then (and do so still) that the question of Investitures triumphed in the hands of Anselm; while it is certain that in practice (however it may be in principle) the privilege continued regularly in the hands of the English monarchs. Not the decision of the point, however, but its import, is our concern.

M. de Remusat is very right in representing this dispute as a contention for supremacy between the spiritual and temporal powers. Each would arrogate exclusively the arbitration of the same subject, the same aggregate of human actions, both political and individual; and a collision between the contrary jurisdictions was therefore inevitable. But the author is much mistaken in thinking that the conflict must be perpetual, and that the present separation of Church and State in certain countries—as, for example, in America and France

Digitized by Google

—is but a temporary compromise, a state of truce, that will be sure to cease when the Church is able to assert her principle. Ay, no doubt, *in that event;* but to think it normal is the author's error. It marks his notion, as before observed, of the philosophy of history, as still in the oscillatory or the chaotic condition. With the slightest knowledge of a law of progression he could not fail to have concluded otherwise, from even the statements which he makes himself upon the subject. Take for instance the following results of fact, remembering that by "the Church" is meant the Roman Church:—

"The policy of the Church (her predominance) has not succeeded; her power has gone on lessening in all the leading countries, and the progress of the ideas of government, of order, and of legality—the progress of civilization—has been marked by her reverses. The more political governments have passed for being advanced, the more are they emancipated from the spiritual. In proportion as the royal authority, the distribution of equal justice, the regulation of civil life, the direction of education, have been withdrawn from the domination of the clergy, it has been deemed that all these things were on the passage to improvement, and society seemed to show an upward tendency. All this is believed still, in spite of certain ingenious writers, and in spite of some reactions merely transient. Is it that the common instinct of the communities of entire Europe would then have been mistaken for the past four hundred years?"—Pp. 428, 429.

But might not these things, we would ask, in turn, have suggested to the author that the tendency he thus relates involves a necessary destination, which forbids relapsing into constant compromise or even collision with the Church? Yet he also goes still further without perceiving this clew of principle. By vast historical erudition he is led to sketch upon a much larger scale the very *modus operandi* of the progression. Having before noted that in primitive ages the clerical power embraced the State, he proceeds to say of modern times that, on the contrary, the "body politic comprises actually the Church within its bosom; and the temporal power, in its divers forms, is become the instituter and protector of all the guarantees of society." How this has come to pass he goes on to explain:—

"The progress of material labour, the developments of industry and commerce, have not come to us from the spiritual principle; and yet, while bettering men's conditions, they have softened and disciplined morals, and served, moreover, indirectly, to the advancement of the human intellect. The discovery, or rather the propagation of the Roman law, has introduced and accredited in modern societies the maxims and the sentiments of civil order. Hence, for a first effect, the entire destruction or the restriction of the various ecclesiastical jurisdictions. Justice was now inaugurated under its proper name, and apart from the theological tribunals of the clergy; and it is thenceforth that it has seemed to become justice in reality. Also ancient letters—better known and better cultivated—have incited those successive revivals which have marked the progress of intelligence, and prepared the emancipation of the human mind. In this way, by little and little, arose, in presence

Digitized by Google

of the Church, a political world wherein moral doctrines had come to hold an important place, and where were elevated gradually the mental interests of humanity. The Church continued to call herself the spiritual power, whereas she was no longer such alone, or at least no longer represented more than one idea of the human mind, not the mind in its totality. Thenceforth the only liberty which she defended was her own: she fell into distrust of every other social liberty. She recognised but with regret, she comprehended but imperfectly, the social duties which sprung around her for the first time. With eyes fixed upon the city of God, she disowned the city that arose on earth, and her ancient universality escaped her hands. All things expanded rapidly except her, and she remained unconscious of advancement. She thus unconsciously allowed to grow, outside of her precincts and at her expense, a novel power called the opinion of the world."—Pp. 424, 425.

It would not be possible, perhaps, to trace a closer picture of the truth, in utter ignorance of the philosophy of history. As a bare analysis of evident facts, the passage just quoted therefore yields a confutation of the author's own opinion on the confused provinces of Church and State, and at the same time a confirmation of the suggestions above adventured upon the mediæval notion of theology. As transmitted through Augustine, this was a pure theocracy; not a theocracy like that of the Jews, which was material, or based on the earth, but a moral theocracy—the *moral* phase of the same theocracy—with its pole in the future. Upon the world of the future was therefore founded its moral system. But as society and humanity proceeded in their developments, another system of moral ends began to undermine the former; and has succeeded, in much the manner above exemplified by M. de Remusat, in shoving finally its paralytic predecessor from off the track. The passage of the Christian mind from this mediæval and Romish theory—which placed the interests of heaven in antagonism with those of society—is marked progressively by all those sects denounced as "heretics" and "infidels," until the tendency attained maturity in the great Lutheran Reformation. The meaning of this vast event, then, was the recognition of a new basis for the theology, and of course morality, of the Christian system—a basis of conciliation (in place of the old repugnance) between our happiness and duties here and our spiritual destinies hereafter. And, accordingly, to vindicate this fundamental *change of views*, arose the equally opposite method of interpretation—"private judgment." It is only then the Christianity of Protestantism that has in future to come into collision with the State. But this it cannot do, for the reason just explained, that both the systems are brought to move in either the same or parallel planes. By this, of course, is meant no more than that the Protestants enjoy the glory of having moralised and civilised the old theology: we might also say philosophised it, if the expression was not deemed

Digitized by Google

equivocal. As to "*the* Church," it is henceforth destitute of any influence upon society, though it may clog the way (to resume our metaphor) among the baggage-lumber of humanity.

Now as Anselm was the organ of this theology, by his office, and by the eminent expression of its projects in his public life, so do we find no less distinctively its impress upon his *writings*,—in the bent of doctrines, the choice of subjects, and even in the order of chronology.

The theory being at that time, we have seen, an absolute theocracy, the *system* of Christianity was a deduction—a synthesis. To deduce all things from the single principle of the Godhead, or his revealed will, and then to harmonize the results in their practical application, there was also need of logic, or dialectics. Dialectics, the Holy Scriptures, and at last the divine attributes, should therefore form the successive subjects of the compositions of our saint-philosopher. Quite accordingly, one of the earliest of his treatises is entitled *De Grammatico*, and makes a strict and even technical application of the rules of logic. That its character is dialectical will be evinced by the mere thesis, which also gave the essay its unconsciously descriptive name: for the question is, Whether a grammarian be a *substance* or a *quality?* Here, in fact, we recognise the "asses' bridge" of the scholastic system, and the probable reason why it is that Anselm has been deemed the founder of the school. And the founder he might be called, but in the sense above explained, of applying logic to the *orthodox* doctrines of theology. Scotus Erigena and others had employed the art already; but it was to sap rather than support the established dogmas of the Church. With Anselm dialectics was the "*servant* of theology."

Accompanying the publication of this logical essay, and, like it, in dialogue, there were three others "On the *Scriptures*." The special topics are characteristic. They are: 1. On *Free-will;* 2. The *Devil's Fall;* 3. On *Truth*. Free-will was the antagonist principle to the omnipotence of the Divine will; the latter being the orthodox doctrine of Anselm. He would therefore encounter early the contradiction of this subtle adversary, which from Scotus to Roscellinus—his own contemporary and his combatant—had grown quite menacing in the disguise of Nominalism. What were Anselm's opinions on the subject of free-will, M. de Remusat—not seeing its import—does not give us the analysis of; but they were as adverse to it, at least, as those of Augustine.

The doctrine taught in the dialogue "De Casu Diaboli" is in close connexion, and, in fact, a consequence. He fell, as did Adam

Digitized by Google

after, through the *freedom* of the will. From this alone we must infer the doctrine to have been reprobated by St. Anselm, among the most rational—meaning rigorously logical—of theologians. The tract "On Truth" is judged to have been written at a later period; and is, at all events, a natural passage from the will of God, as revealed in the Scriptures, to his abstract nature and various attributes,—which are, moreover, according to Anselm, the sum and substance of all truth. Now these are just the subjects (in still strict consonance with our deduction) of the two other principal writings of Anselm, namely, the *Monologium de divinitatis essentia*, and the *Proslogium de Dei existentia*.

In like conformity with this progression the author's method, too, advances from mere technical dialectics to metaphysics. The Monologium is a species of ontological induction of the one from the many, and the permanent from the variable, the essential from the accidental, in the manner of the Platonists. Not however, of course, that Anselm could have known the works of Plato; nor was he, it is thought, even acquainted with the Greek language. Some of the doctrines he may have gathered indeed from Jerome, or from Augustine. But M. de Remusat calls in Dionysius the Areopagite—whose mystic writings, full of Platonism, had been long translated by the learned Erigena—to the end of accounting for the strange concurrence between the heathen and the Christian thinker. How utterly unphilosophical, and, so to say, one-sided is this! For unless Plato's system was an *accident*, there is the same amount of reason for insisting that he must have borrowed it himself; and so in turn with his original, and *his* again *ad infinitum*, as for supposing, without other evidence than the mere circumstance of a coincidence, that later writers may not think the same things independently. Had not Anselm a similar intellect and the same universe as Plato? and, we would add, a corresponding epoch of speculation? For the task of Plato was to synthetize unto a supreme term of generality the analytic anarchy of heathenism; and that of Anselm was precisely to do the same for Christianity. It was consequently even *necessary* that the *methods* should have coincided; although the results would of course differ, like the principles.

The difference of results is accordingly characteristic. Take for instance the cardinal question of the origin of evil. While Plato was enabled, by a second coëternal principle, to saddle matter with the blame of suffering and sin, Anselm was led implicitly to hold the Deity—who has made all things out of nothing—of course the author of evil, too, among the rest. He was forced, in con-

Digitized by Google

sequence, to such conclusions as the following: "That God is a sublime and universal *negation*. That as all being proceeds from Divine Goodness, it follows that evil is *not* a being, and has no real existence in creation; that it is merely a negation, or the absence of good."—P. 484. But to this metaphysical quibble it was of course easy to reply, that the good principle was still *responsible*, in having tolerated the defect, or was *imperfect*, if unable to prevent it,—a dilemma of which either horn ruined alike the author's system. Then, again, it might be asked, What becomes of the "devil and all his angels," if we concede the nonentity of evil? What a comment this upon the logical coherence of the public reason in those ages which deemed Anselm an oracle of orthodoxy!

Not only this, but (with a little unconsciousness, of course) the saint does something worse than proscribing the evil principle, in anticipation of the Universalists. If we mistake not, the following passage involves the rankest pantheism,—that amalgamation of the good principle with entire nature, including evil. Speaking of the Divine nature, "It is," he says, "the essence of the being, the principle of the existence of all things. . . . Without parts, without differences, without accidents, without changes; it might be said in a certain sense to alone exist, for in respect to it the other things which appear to be, have no existence. The unchangeable Spirit is all that is, and it is this without limit, *simpliciter*, *interminabiliter*. It is the perfect and absolute existence. The rest is come from nonentity, and thither returns, if not supported by God: it does not exist by itself. In this sense the Creator alone exists; the things created do not."—Pp. 478, 474. It is plain that these dependent and merely relative existences must be conceived as an emanation from the supreme and substantial essence—must, like the *qualities* of bodies, be in fact identical with the supposed substrata. In short, it is Anselm's "realism," carried also into theology; and theological realism is pantheism. M. de Remusat, with whose opinions we have not often, in the foregoing survey, had the good fortune fully to concur, ascribes in this point the same tendency to the theology of Anselm. He even goes on to trace the progress of the tendency to our own times, according to his notion of the merely personal transmission of ideas. Thus Descartes's famous demonstration of the being and attributes of God is, we are told, but a revival of the argument of Anselm. And then Spinoza, it is very certain, did no more than follow faithfully, into their ultimate conclusions, the Cartesian principles. The successive views of Leibnitz, Kant, Schelling, Hegel, &c., are also next examined upon the subject. And to all who like fine criticism—intelligent, impartial, eru-

Digitized by Google

dite, and wanting nothing but a better philosophy—the closing chapter will yield a treat.

The foregoing question was treated chiefly by St. Anselm in the *Proslogium*, which is the latest, as it is the maturest, of his works. The special topics of the *Monologium* were the Trinity, the Incarnation, Free-will, Original Sin, and the theory of Grace and Predestination. These questions lie all, we say, at the foundation of the revealed system of Christianity, and stood accordingly in Anselm's way, so to speak, in his progression to the Supreme Unity, which was the vision of his great intellect, because the yearning of his age. Anselm's career, then, in his life of *speculation*, was an exact counterpart, at least in object, to his life of *action*, or of endeavour. The endeavour was to make the Pope an absolute despot on the earth. To prove the Deity a despot also, of metaphysical illimitation, was the endeavour, more or less unconsciously, of all his writings.

This is, perhaps, the most curious of the many conformities which we have noted—although M. de Remusat, who states the proofs of the observation, *ne s' en doute pas*. It might however have, like the others, been conjectured *à priori*. Anselm was a man of genius; and of true genius it is the character to be a unity in conduct and conception: the definition will bo complete if we add, the unity must be a universality. This universal unity of genius is homogeneous, because it is a growth from within outward. The herd of minds are formed, on the contrary, from without; they are, therefore, (to take a term from the geologists,) conglomerates; or, as Paley has well expressed it, they are mere "bundles of habits;" which means mentally—of prejudices, passions, and traditions.

In 1843, Professor Hasse, of Bonn, published the first volume of his "*Anselm von Canterbury*," containing the life of Anselm. Following literally the Horatian rule *nonum prematur in annum*, he has just issued the second volume, containing *Die Lehre Anselm's*, (Leipzig, 1852, pp. 663,) which is characterized by Dr. Kling, in the Studien and Kritiken, as a *μνῆμα ἐς ἀεί*; combining a most thorough search into the sources, with a clear and sound historical knowledge and judgment, and a just and adequate appreciation of Anselm's theology. We hope, in connexion with Dr. Hasse's work, to give at some future day, a full account of Anselm's system.

Digitized by Google

Art. VII.—MISCELLANIES.

"*Exposition of* 1 *Corinthians* iii, 1–17."

TO THE EDITOR.

The paper in your July number, by the Rev. B. M. Hall, under the above title, though in many respects valuable, will not as a whole "abide" scrutiny. To Mr. Hall's position, except so much as relates to the metaphor of "God's building," and the inferences he draws from it, I have nothing to object. By this figure God's people are represented as compacted, or builded together, under the idea of a spiritual house, or holy temple. This is *God's* building. He is its originator and proprietor; and it rests on Jesus Christ as its foundation. This, by the grace of God, Paul had laid at Corinth. He had preached Christ there, and thus founded the Church—God's holy temple; he then left it for others to proceed with the building, but with the caution, "Let every man take heed how he buildeth thereupon." What authority has Mr. Hall for saying that *ministers* only are the builders here cautioned—that in that discussion the apostle says not one word of any work or labour performed by any but ministers? Are not ministers as really a part of God's building as the laity? Are not the latter as really, though not as prominently, co-workers with God as the former? This is confessedly true, and for this reason (commentators to the contrary notwithstanding) it must accord with Paul's representation. He says, "If any *man* build on this foundation," while Mr. Hall says, "any minister." Nor can we see why Paul does not mean "precious stones," instead of "valuable stones, such as are fit for building purposes." Are gold and silver any more fit for building purposes than precious stones? and yet they are first named, as if principally used in the building. It is not a common stone-house of which Paul speaks, but a holy temple, the materials of which are represented by things most valuable and precious.

"But what are we to understand by these metaphors?" is the main question. Mr. Hall, consistently enough with his restriction respecting co-workers with God, but not with the scope and design of the apostle, thinks that only *persons* are meant,—that "gold, silver, precious stones" represent real Christians, and "wood, hay, stubble," false professors; and that nothing else is included. A few objections to this view will show its fallacy. 1. It excludes all ministers from "God's building;" that is, from the temple or Church of Christ. They are workmen, and as such no part of the materials of the building. 2. It confines to ministers this whole matter of reward and loss, and at the same time makes it consist only in the satisfaction derived from "turning many to righteousness," and the disappointment and sorrow of seeing converts so spurious or unfaithful as to be "burned up" at last. 3. It holds the minister responsible for the character of his converts; for he only is the subject of reward and loss. 4. While it confines the reward and loss to the minister, and holds him responsible for the character of his converts, it applies the test—the "fire"—to the converts themselves. Hear Mr. Hall: "This house, as a whole, and every builder's part in particular, is to be inspected. The gospel, or the preaching of the gospel, including both public and private teaching, with all the means which a minister uses in the prosecution of his work, are his implements—his *tools*. These are not in this discussion considered as his work. His work

Digitized by Google

is seen as a result, and as such it will be subjected to the test. To speak metaphorically, the building is designed to be *fire-proof;* and the test must be applied to the materials which compose it, and not to the implements with which the labourers wrought." Here the materials—the converts—are spoken of as if mere inanimate matter, capable of standing the fire, or of being burned up, but in no other sense the subjects of reward or loss; and, indeed, as utterly irresponsible as gold, silver, or precious stones. But the *builder*—the minister—is responsible; is to receive reward, or suffer loss, according as he has erected a fire-proof building or otherwise. Yet this reward or loss is in no sense positive, but merely relative; the increase or diminution of satisfaction arising from the success or failure of his building. 5. Paul's rule is, reward according to labour; Mr. Hall's, according to success. "If any man's work *abide*," &c.; that is, says Mr. Hall, if any minister "turn many to righteousness," and they are saved, he shall receive a reward; and the reverse. But Paul says *every man* shall receive his own reward according to his own *labour*. If he labour as a co-worker with God, and if men are perverse, and will neither hear nor heed; or if, after converts "run well" for a season, they become "weary in well-doing," he is not to lose his reward.

The above sentiments are fairly attributable to Mr. Hall's exposition, but they vary widely from the sense of the text. I will not, however, seek to invalidate one exposition without attempting a better. The Corinthians evidently took wrong views, both of their ministers and of themselves. Of the former they expected too much, while they failed to recognise their own responsibility. In correcting these errors, Paul shows that their ministers, as to any abstract ability, were "nothing,"—that though he planted and Apollos watered, God only gave the increase, while themselves, as to purpose or aim, were "one." Attention is thus turned from the instruments to the great efficient Cause, as a means of healing their schisms. Then, to inculcate a sense of responsibility, he teaches,—you are of the Church, "God's building." Of this Jesus Christ is the foundation, which I have laid. I have preached Christ to you, and of you have founded the Church at Corinth. I now leave it for others to build on this foundation: and every one of you may be a builder—a co-worker with God—may be used as an instrument in rearing this building, and as such may receive a reward according to your labour. Added to this is the caution, "Let every man take heed how he buildeth thereupon," which is enforced, not only by the promise of reward, but also by the admonition, "The fire shall try every man's work, of what sort it is."

"Take heed,"—cease to listen to the perversions of false teachers, and to be split up about your ministers; and be no longer enervated and corrupted by carnal indulgences. On the contrary, believe in Christ, and build your faith and hopes on him as the only sure foundation. Then recognise and cultivate a sense of personal responsibility; co-work with God, and thus seek to do good. You will thus become a spiritual, useful people, instead of what your are—a carnal, divided, feeble people.

The above is the sum of the apostle's caution, which is enforced by the following motives:—1. God, whose is the building, and who employs human instrumentalities in its erection, will own your pious labours, and crown them with "increase," and then give a reward, not according to the increase, but to the labour. Whether men hear or forbear, is with themselves. So, likewise, with genuine converts; if they do not endure to the end, they must answer. *Labour* and reward is yours. Meet your responsibilities in your own proper sphere as a

Digitized by Google

minister or layman, believe in Christ, and co-work with God,—and beyond this you have no account to render. Your "labour" is to be the measure of your reward, not your success, only so far as your failures are your fault. 2. "Take heed,"—build on Christ, and co-work with God, seek the divine impress, and to meet your responsibilities; and do all in view of a severe scrutiny; for "the fire shall try every man's work, of what sort it is." Not only every minister's, but every man's; that is, each individual's work is to be tried. If it does not bear the test; if he has so far lost sight of the only foundation, and of his personal responsibility, as to remain carnal and feeble, a mere "babe in Christ," when he should have been "strong in the Lord," "he shall suffer loss." He is in Christ, and so shall be saved; "yet so as by fire:" like him who barely escapes with his life, while his house and its contents are "burned up."

The following, among many others that might be cited, are cases in point: A Romanist builds on Christ, and is saved; but is barely rescued from the ruins of that apostate Church. The system to which he subscribed, and his associations, prevent his doing any good, or becoming other than a babe in Christ. All is gone, "burned up," but simply himself.

Again: a Christian lapses into worldliness, so that his character and life exhibit the lowest Christian model: he falls and rises, sins and repents, but is finally saved; "yet so as by fire." He not only did no good, but much harm,—was a heavy weight and a stumbling-block,—his life wasted, talents buried, capacities undeveloped, so that he must suffer the loss of all, but his own rescue from the burning flames of merited wrath.

Once more: a man resists the convictions of truth and duty all his life. He neither builds on Christ nor co-works with God, but gives his whole influence to the spread of error and the ruin of souls, but finally believes in Christ, and is saved; "yet so as by fire." Beyond a bare deliverance, he has neither developed capacity nor title to reward; but time, capabilities, and influence, are all gone—everything "burned up" but himself.

What, then, is represented by "gold, silver, precious stones?" We answer, Not *persons* nor *doctrines*, as such, *but the aggregate of Christian character and influence*. If a man builds on Christ, and co-works with God, the result is a renewed heart and an upright life. Without the former, capacity is not developed; and without the latter, no salutary influence is exerted: the former makes future enjoyment possible, and the latter gives title to it. The "works" which issue from a devout, sanctified heart, will "*abide*,"—will not "*burn up*," will receive "*reward*." The "*increase*," in such case, will be modified by the capabilities, zeal, circumstances, and the extent to which efforts are resisted. But as character and pious labour shall bear the test of the "fire," so will the reward be measured. So, on the other hand, "wood, hay, stubble," represent erroneous views, and a consequent weak faith and faltering life. The result is small developments of capacity, and little or no co-labour with God, to entitle to reward. "Loss," therefore, must be suffered in the same ratio, and that by the burning, searching fire of scrutiny, that will sit in judgment on both heart and life.

G. R. Snyder.

Digitized by Google

ART. VIII.—SHORT REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

(1.) "*The Life of Alfred the Great*" forms the latest volume of Bohn's Antiquarian Library. (New-York: Bangs, Brother & Co., 13 Park Row.) It is a translation from the German of Dr. R. Pauli, who has gone to the sources of information and mastered them, with true German research. The character of Alfred is one of the most remarkable in all history; and this book affords the best view of it that has yet appeared in English. Appended to the life is given the Anglo-Saxon version of Orosius, commonly attributed to Alfred, with the literal English translation, and an Anglo-Saxon alphabet, glossary, and outline of grammar; so that the book affords a very good manual for beginners in Anglo-Saxon.

(2.) "*The Old House by the River*" (New-York: Harper & Brothers; 1853; 18mo., pp. 318) contains a number of sketches of nature, life, and manners, very beautiful in style and finish. The tone of the work is healthful rather than sentimental; it is pervaded by a fresh and genial feeling of sympathy "for man, and woman, and sun, and moon, and stars throughout the year."

(3.) MESSRS. BLANCHARD & LEA, of Philadelphia, have issued a new edition of "*Physical Geography*, by MARY SOMERVILLE," (12mo., pp. 570.) The work is so well known that it is only necessary for us to say that this edition is taken from the third and last London edition; and that the American editor has made many valuable additions.

(4.) "*Father Gavazzi's Lectures in New-York; also the Life of Father Gavazzi, corrected and authorized by himself.*" (New-York: Dewitt & Davenport; 1853; 12mo., pp. 299.) It might be inferred from the title-page that the lectures contained in this volume are published under the authority of Gavazzi; but he has expressly disclaimed them, as being so imperfect and inaccurate as to present a mere caricature of what he did say. Only the biography was revised by himself; and this may be relied upon as a fair and truthful account of the eventful career of the Italian priest and patriot.

(5.) "*Autobiography of Rev. James B. Finley; or, Pioneer Life in the West*, edited by W. P. STRICKLAND, D. D.," (Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern; 1853; 12mo., pp. 455,) is a book full of the stirring incident that characterizes every truthful record of American frontier life. It is among the many wonderful phenomena of this country's history, that the man is yet living and labouring, who was himself one of the pioneers in the colonization of the West—now the West no longer; for the region over which Mr.

Digitized by Google

Finley's graphic narrative carries his delighted readers is now the abode of a vast population, and supplies, of itself, large numbers of adventurous spirits, who go out in search of that ever-receding "West." Mr. Finley's account of his father's adventurous career, as a settler and pastor in Kentucky and Ohio, and of his own life in the woods, has all the interest of romance. He tells his story in a simple and straight-forward style, which carries one inevitably along with the narrative. Besides the history of Mr. Finley's early life, and of his ministry in the Methodist Episcopal Church, the work contains memorials of Asbury, M'Kendree, Young, Finley, (L P.,) Christie, and of the two Wyandott chiefs, Manuncue and Between-the-logs. The "old chief" tells us at the close of the volume that he has "many reminiscences concerning the Indians that have never yet been published." We trust that he will not abandon the pen until his whole stock is exhausted. We engage to read all the books he may write, and that our children will read them too. At the same time, we hope that he will omit all ill-authenticated or borrowed stories, like those of "Peter Cartwright," and "The Missionary and the Robber," in his present volume.

(6.) "*Class-book of Physiology*, by B. N. COMINGS, M. D., (New-York: D. Appleton & Co.; 1853; 12mo., pp. 270,) is an admirable text-book, for the use of schools and families, on the structure and functions of the organs of the human body, illustrated by comparative reference to those of inferior animals. It is largely illustrated by steel and wood engravings.

(7.) "*The Romance of Abelard and Heloise*, by O. W. WIGHT," (New-York: D. Appleton & Co.; 12mo., pp. 266,) gives a story whose hold upon human interest never flags. It has been told over and over again, in every language, and in almost every form of prose and verse; and yet every new recital of it is listened to with avidity. Mr. Wight's style is too florid and ambitious for a narrative which is so full of all stimulants to human feeling as to need no adventitious aids: such a tale is best told simply.

(8.) "*Narrative of a Journey round the World*, by F. GERSTÆCKER," (New-York: Harper & Brothers; 1853; 12mo., pp. 623,) is a true world-journey, by a man of cosmopolitan sympathies, and fine powers of observation and description. Sailing from Bremen he landed at Rio, sailed thence for Buenos Ayres, crossed the Cordilleras in winter, suffered more than the traveller's usual hardships in Chili, reached San Francisco at the time of its greatest fever of excitement, tried the gold-diggings and failed, sailed for the South-Sea Islands, and luxuriated among them for a while, thence to Australia, and finally to Java, with a vivid description of which island his adventurous story closes. The narrative is somewhat long-winded; but by the incident with which it abounds, the unfailing good-humour of the writer, and the clear

Digitized by Google

perceptive faculty that everywhere shows itself, its interest is kept up throughout the six hundred pages. It is our duty to say, however, that the writer's moral tone is not always unexceptionable.

(9.) "*The Pedestrian in France and Switzerland*, by GEORGE BARREL, Jr.," (New-York: G. P. Putnam & Co.; 1853; 12mo., pp. 312,) is an unpretending account of a foot-journey through by-ways in France into Switzerland. The writer is unskilled in authorcraft; but his book is interesting in spite of its clumsiness, because its track is so far out of the common way as to present many novelties.

(10.) "*Memorials of the English Martyrs*, by the REV. C. B. TAYLOR," (New-York: Harper & Brothers; 1853; 12mo., pp. 395,) describes the chief localities of the English martyrdoms as they were and as they are; and groups narratives and reflections around those memorable spots. Works of this class cannot be too widely multiplied, now that Rome is making so desperate a struggle to regain her former political ascendency throughout the world; while, at the same time, with a boldness springing either from despair or from assurance, she tells the world that her former bloody maxims are yet in force.

(11.) "*Civil Wars and Monarchy in France in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, by LEOPOLD RANKE." (New-York: Harper & Brothers; 1853; 12mo., pp. 484.) The well-known moderation and judgment of Ranke fit him well for writing the history of a period abounding in strifes of religion as well as of party. The present work is divided into six books, of which the first two treat of the earlier epochs of French history, up to 1550. This part of the work is, in fact, a series of dissertations, and requires for its comprehension a pretty good knowledge of the facts of the history beforehand. The best part of the work, as might be expected from Ranke, is found in the books which treat of the rise and progress of Protestantism in France, in which a large view is taken of that hopeless intermixture of political with religious questions, which hindered the wide diffusion of Protestantism in that country. As a whole, the work is a valuable contribution to political and ecclesiastical history.

(12.) MERE speculations about heaven are entirely worthless, and even worse. But Scriptural inquiries into the future life—its nature, its abodes, its bliss—are among the most delightful and profitable studies to which the Christian mind can apply itself. In this stirring and materialistic age we dwell too little upon these ennobling themes—

> . . . . "The world is too much with us;
> Getting and spending we lay waste our powers."

We are glad, therefore, to welcome such a book as "*The Heavenly Home*, by Rev. H. HARBAUGH, A. M." (Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston; 1853;

Digitized by Google

pp. 364.) This volume first states the notions of heavenly happiness that have prevailed among Pagans, showing the natural and traditional yearnings of the race for a better land. The Scripture view of heaven is then set forth with much beauty and clearness, and at the same time in a spirit of earnest reverence. We do not agree with all the author's positions, but heartily commend his book as calculated to stir up Christian souls to better and purer meditations, by fixing their thoughts upon the "many mansions" of their Father's house.

(13.) THE attention of the world has been called to the arrest and punishment of Professor Gervinus, in the Grand-duchy of Baden, for the publication of an historical essay, forming part of a work on which he has been long engaged. It is now published in English, under the title, "*Introduction to the History of the Nineteenth Century.*" (London: H. G. Bohn. New-York: Bangs Brother & Co.; 18mo., pp. 137.) The object of the treatise is to establish and illustrate the true law of historical development, namely, that from oriental despotism down to the states of modern Europe, a regular progress may be perceived from the freedom of *one* alone to that of the *few*, and then of the many. The application of this law shows that the tendencies of the times in every European state are inevitably democratic. *Hinc illæ lachrymæ.* The treatise abounds in large views of history and politics, and we hope it will be widely read in America.

(14.) WE have received the first part (containing Genesis) of MR. BLACKADER'S edition of "*The English Bible.*" (London: R. B. Blackader; small 4to.) It is published on the same plan as the "Chronological New Testament," of which we gave our readers so favourable an account some time since; but with some decided improvements, which make it, in all respects, the best and most convenient edition of the Sacred Word, for daily reading, that we have yet seen. Its main features are the following:—1. The *text* is divided into sections and paragraphs, with appropriate headings, dates, historical memoranda, &c., prefixed to each; 2. The most important *parallel passages* are quoted at length in the margin; 3. The poetical books, and all poetical quotations, are printed in rythmical form. There is also a brief, condensed *commentary*, containing the substance of the best commentators—especially the German—used, however, with nice discrimination; and putting the reader in possession of the latest discoveries—geographical, historical, or other. The work is beautifully printed, and deserves to be circulated in this country. We advise our readers, who can afford the expense, to import the work through Messrs. Carlton & Phillips.

(15.) "*Writings of Professor B. B. Edwards, with a Memoir*, by Professor E. A. PARK." (Boston: Jewett & Co.; 2 vols., 12mo.) Though this work has been some time published, our copy, by some mishap, has reached us so late that we can only announce it to our readers.

Digitized by Google

(16.) "*Journal of the Rev. Francis Asbury, Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church.*" (New-York: Carlton & Phillips; 3 vols., 12mo.) In the language of Mr. Hollingsworth, who transcribed most of Bishop Asbury's Journals for the press, "the identity of Bishop Asbury in the commencement, continuance, and the wonderful increase of Methodism in this country, will give a perpetuity of interest in the record here offered, which nothing else can give." The Journals have long been out of print. The edition now offered is far better than the old one: the dates have been carefully collated and rectified, and a careful index to the three volumes is given at the end. In these volumes will be found the beginnings (almost) of the history of Methodism in America; and, as such, their value is incalculable to the Church. But as a record of apostolic zeal and fidelity, of a spirit of self-sacrifice rivalling that of the saints and martyrs of the early Church, of an industry which no toils could weary, of a patience which no privations could exhaust, it is full of interest to every minister of the gospel, and to every Christian. We trust that it will find its way into the library of every minister, and of every family among us, that can afford the low price at which it is furnished.

(17.) "*History of the Reformation of the Sixteenth Century, Vol. V.—The Reformation in England*, by J. H. MERLE D'AUBIGNE." (New-York: R. Carter & Brothers; 12mo., pp. 518.) The unparalleled success of Dr. Merle's previous volumes, containing a history of the Reformation in Germany and Switzerland, was due, not so much to any special value in his labours in the way of originality of research into the sources of history, or, in fact, to originality of any kind, as to the graphic descriptive power of the writer, and the dramatic style of his narrative, combined with a thorough sympathy with the spirit of modern Protestantism, even in its extreme forms. The fifth volume will hardly reach the same popularity. The field is one not so familiar to the writer; and he has not had access to books working up the materials so thoroughly as those which gave him so much assistance in his former volumes. He has, nevertheless, produced a work thus far of great value; and especially of value in the present crisis of Protestantism, both in England and in the United States. It shows anew for this generation that Popery is anything rather than an exclusively spiritual power; and that "it is its very life and soul to pass beyond the boundaries of religion, and to enter into the fields of policy." It shows that the English Reformation was not, as the Papists assert, a political, but a religious transformation; and that the Popedom, "agitated by wholly political interests, broke of itself the chain with which it had so long bound England." On these, and many other accounts, we hope that this fifth volume may be as widely circulated as those which preceded it; in fact, it better deserves circulation.

(18.) THE second and third parts of "*Meyer's Universum*, vol. ii," (New-York: Hermann J. Meyer,) contain views of Passaic Falls, Lake Managua, (in Central America,) the Chapel of Mary of the Snow, (on the Rigi,) the

Digitized by Google

great Cathedral in Magdeburg, the Genesee Falls, (Rochester,) the Barberigo Palace, (Venice,) the Lake of Lowertz, (in Switzerland,) and of Harper's Ferry, (Virginia.) The letter-press descriptions are by C. A. Dana, Junius Fröbel, and others; and strike us as much better and less pretentious than those of the first volume. Taken as a whole, this is the best series of illustrations for its price (twenty-five cents a number) that has ever appeared in America. The same publisher has commenced a new and beautiful series on a larger scale, entitled "*The United States Illustrated, in Views of City and Country*," which will aim to lay before the American people "faithful and spirited illustrations of what is characteristic in the scenery and memorable in the public buildings of all parts of the country. It is in quarto form, and sold at fifty cents the number, each containing four finely-engraved views. The parts thus far issued contains specimens of really high art, and the letter-press descriptions are excellent. The work is every way worthy of national patronage.

(19.) "*Practical Drawing-Book for Schools and Self-Instruction*, by SIGISMOND SCHUSTER, Professor of Drawing." (New-York: Newman & Ivison; 1853.) This work contains an historical sketch of the art of painting, not of much value. It has great merit, however, in the series of lessons, beginning with simple lines, and geometrical figures, and going on to flowers, landscapes, animals, and ornamental drawings, with clear and useful instructions for imitation. The work is got up in very good style.

(20.) WE do not remember ever to have imagined that a mere "critical notice" in a contemporary journal could give us pain, or excite us to anger; but a notice of "*The Life and Letters of Stephen Olin, D. D.*," (New-York: Harper & Bothers; 2 vols., 12mo,) in the Christian Examiner, of Boston, has done both. The writer speaks of Dr. Olin, and characterizes the biography as follows:—

"We have here an adequate memorial, not of a man great or remarkable in any particular, but of one who had the distinction of goodness, and who deserves the praise of devoted usefulness. The record of his early and of his college life, the sketch of his ministerial labours in different regions of this Union, his journals and letters while abroad, and his services to the literary institution over which he presided, warrant the expressions of regard for him from friends, which are given in these volumes. We remember to have met with him in Italy, while he was struggling, as he did for years, with feeble health, and to have been pleasantly impressed by his sensible remarks on various subjects, and by his unpretending bearing. Such memorials of men who, after all, do the real work of a Christian life more effectively than do those of more shining endowments, are of value in quickening the right spirit, and in showing the way of right effort to all sympathizing readers."

We do not hesitate to say that the man who could write and print a piece of criticism like this should not be trusted to write in the pages of a respectable journal. Either he had read the Life and Works of Dr. Olin, or he had not. If he had read them, what he has written stamps him as an imbecile; if he had not, as carelessly indifferent to a great man's reputation. He probably be-

Digitized by Google

longs to that clique in and about Boston, which has been aptly called the "Mutual Admiration Society;" and can see no "shining endowments" except as reflected from a Boston looking-glass, or as displayed in attacking the verities of Christianity by diluted doses of borrowed infidelity, published every two months in the "Christian Examiner."

> "No place so sacred from such fops is barred,
> Nor is Paul's Church more safe than Paul's church-yard;
> Nay, fly to altars, there they 'll talk you dead;
> For fools rush in where angels fear to tread."

We hope to furnish in our next number an extended article on Dr. Olin.

(21.) THE latest product of the "Spiritual" laboratory is a volume of "Discourses from the Spirit-World," (New-York: Partridge & Brittan; pp. 197,) professing to be dictated by STEPHEN OLIN, through Rev. R. P. Wilson, who calls himself a "writing medium." Mr. Wilson tells us that the work was commenced "by the request of the spiritual author," and that "the process of writing was by the influx of the communications while the mind remained in a passive state; and at the same time the hand was controlled to write according to the dictation." Dr. Olin is made to treat of various important topics in this way,—such as the Ministry of Angels, the Kingdom of God in Man, the Origin and End of Evil, Education, Immortality, &c.; and on all of them it appears that his views are greatly changed from what they were while he was upon earth. He no longer believes the Bible to be divinely inspired in any special sense. He formerly held St. Paul to be an inspired apostle; now he speaks of him as "Paul, a distinguished Christian reformer, who flourished in the first century of the Christian era." While on earth, his main theme of preaching was the atoning sacrifice of Christ: now he holds that doctrine to be "revolting" and "cruel." He formerly warned men, with earnestness and tears, of the wrath of God: now he knows that God never was displeased with man. While losing these old beliefs on which his faith rested in this life, as on a rock, he has learned to believe some new things which he then despised. Mesmerism (clairvoyance and all) is a great revelation, though the Bible is not. Moses was very ignorant of physical science; but the author of the "Vestiges of Creation" is a great philosopher.

But Dr. Olin's losses and gains are otherwise illustrated in this book. While among men he wrote clear good English; now he does not observe the rules of grammar, and he uses words that would formerly have disgusted his refined taste. He speaks of the "resurrected" form of the human body, and of "happifying" consequences, with a most serene forgetfulness of the language he once could use so well. He confounds "shall" and "will" continually: but the confusion does not seem to trouble him. He tells us that man may be considered "chemically," or "magnetically," or "electrically." His taste, too, has been equally debased since he entered the "second sphere." He abounds in elegant commonplaces—formerly his abhorrence,—such as "expanding suns," (!) "shoreless oceans," and innumerable "gems." He tells

Digitized by Google

us to "inhale sublimities," as if sublimities were the laughing-gas. He informs us that "the sphere of science to the contemplative mind is an ever-increasing ocean of imperishable gems, whose beauties shine with an increasing brilliancy." He gives the following lines (and many more of the same sort) as poetry:—

> "Where, from the highest summit, he descries
> The distant town, the mountain range, the valley's
> Varying course, the river's leaping tide;
> And, further on, the distant spire of some
> Devoted shrine and hallow'd place, and from
> The whole review drinks inspiration and supreme delight."

Now it is a grave question for Mr. Wilson, and the spiritualists generally, to answer, If Dr. Olin's taste and cultivation have degenerated so sadly while he has only entered the second sphere, what *will* it be when he has reached the twelfth?

(22.) "*An Essay on the Pastoral Office, as Exemplified in the Economy of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, by Rev. J. H. WYTHES, M. D." (New-York: Carlton & Phillips, 1853; 18mo., pp. 109.) This treatise is designed to present a brief and summary view of the polity of the Church, so far as the pastoral office is concerned. The fundamental position of the work is that the pastoral office is not a matter of expediency, and that its nature and extent are not to be determined by conventional arrangement, but by divine authority. It is then shown that the office is not temporal, but spiritual; that it is not a priesthood, but an office of instruction and admonition; involving, however, in order to conserve the society of Christian people, the authority to administer the sacraments and to exercise discipline. The guards and limitations of this authority are then set forth as equally of divine appointment:—

> "The rights of the membership, therefore, require that they shall be permitted to recognise the divine call of each individual pastor; that every reasonable facility shall be afforded for the trial and expulsion of unworthy ministers; and that the membership themselves shall be permitted, in some way, to judge of the fitness of the cases to which Church censures, rebukes, &c., are to be applied."

It is then shown that these limitations form part of the organic law of Methodism, affording ample security against ministerial encroachments:—

> "As it is, the government of the Methodist Episcopal Church exhibits the most admirably contrived system of checks and balances of power ever seen in an ecclesiastical community. While a divinely-instituted ministry is recognised, and allowed the exercise of its legitimate functions, the rights of the membership of the Church are acknowledged and preserved. The Methodist people, on the one hand, while anxious to preserve a system which guards against human weakness, or the usurpation of power, have been ready to receive their ministers as the ambassadors of Christ; on the other hand, all that the Methodist itinerancy have ever asked, and all that they desire as ministers of God, is an untrammelled administration of the word of Christ in the pulpit, and such reasonable facilities for pastoral advice and instruction as are consistent with the itinerancy of their ministrations."

Digitized by Google

Dr. Wythes then proceeds to explain and vindicate the two chief peculiarities of Methodism, viz., Episcopacy and Itinerancy; and to set forth the Presiding Eldership and Class-meetings as necessary accompaniments of the itinerant system. The topics thus far named are treated in the first six chapters of the work. In the seventh, the Conferences are treated of as essentially *pastoral* bodies, with functions and duties strictly limited to pastoral ends. Under this view, of course, the author finds no place for lay-delegation: "If the authority of the General Conference be thus strictly *pastoral*, it ought certainly to be confined to those whom the Church has consented to receive as their divinely-commissioned pastors; and the desire of the laity (which has been expressed in some parts of the Church) to be admitted to a share in its counsels and authority, is a desire to assume the functions of the pastorate without sharing its toils, and without even the claim of a divine commission." A brief chapter on Pastoral Support closes this compact little treatise, which we commend (without endorsing all its positions) as worthy of general circulation among our people. It contains a great amount of valuable matter in a very small space.

(23.) "*The Boyhood of Great Men*," (New-York: Harper & Brothers; 18mo., pp. 385,) gives brief sketches of the early days of a number of men of eminence in the different walks of life—poets, painters, orators, editors, &c. It is well executed, and admirably adapted to stimulate young readers to industry. The characters are generally well-chosen; though we miss among the "classes" from which the selections are made the greatest of all, viz., the inventors and discoverers. The day of the "industrial classes" is rapidly approaching; and books will not omit them much longer.

(24.) "*Episcopal Methodism, as it was and is*, by the Rev. P. D. GORRIE." (Auburn: Derby & Miller; 12mo., pp. 354.) This volume is divided into four books, of which the first gives a sketch of the origin of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and of its history down to 1850. Book II. treats of the doctrines of the Church, following the order of the Twenty-five Articles; and giving, besides, a statement of the doctrines of the Witness of the Spirit, Justification, Possibility of Falling from Grace, and Eternal Punishment, as held by the Church. Book III. gives a full and thorough exposition of the Polity of the Church; and the fourth book affords a large and valuable collection of ecclesiastical statistics. This well-conceived and well-executed treatise, with Porter's Compendium of Methodism, furnishes almost everything that can be desired on the subject.

(25.) WE rejoice to see a growing tendency among our able ministers toward writing for the times. To prepare a good book of practical religion or biography is the *next* thing to preaching with the living voice; and the annals of Methodism furnish abundant material for this species of writing, large as our stock of books of this class already is. "*The Wesley Offering, or*

Digitized by Google

Wesley and his Times, by Rev. D. HOLMES, A. M., (Auburn: Derby & Miller; 1853; 12mo., pp. 308,) comes immediately after Professor Larrabee's "Wesley and his Coadjutors," and covers, to a considerable extent, the same ground; but so ample is the field, and so great the difference between the two writers, as to their mode of treating the subject, that the reader may go through the two books in succession without wearying of the topic or its treatment. Mr. Holmes's volume "does not claim to be a biography, in the full sense of that word, nor yet a detailed history of the Wesleyan Reformation, but is rather a collection of incidents in the life and labours of the Wesleys, and of the sort of religion promoted by them." It may be characterized as a series of thoughtful essays on the rise of Methodism, and its adaptation to the times, illustrated by well-wrought descriptions and narrations. We commend it to general notice. A hundred such volumes in the hands of our Tract Society would *tell* upon the coming generation.

(26.) "*A Manual of Biblical Literature*, by W. P. STRICKLAND, D. D." (New-York: Carlton & Phillips; 1853; 12mo., pp. 404.) This carefully prepared compilation is intended to furnish an elementary treatise on the topics properly belonging to that branch of theological study called Biblical Literature. Prefixed to the work is an introduction by the Rev. Charles Elliott, D. D., who remarks, that notwithstanding the number of copious treatises on the subject, a work was still needed "for private students, and literary men in general—the design of which would be to present, in one regularly-arranged view, the leading principles of all those topics which are necessary to the proper and systematic study of the Bible. The present volume is of such a character. The author has drawn his materials from the very best sources, on the different subjects of which he treats. On inspecting the table of contents it will be seen, that after showing the importance of the study of the Bible, the author brings to view the leading topics of Biblical Literature—such as Biblical Philology, Criticism, Interpretation, Analysis, Archæology, History, Ethnography, Geography, and Chronology. Of course, in embracing so vast a field of Biblical research, the work must be elementary. It is, however, sufficiently copious to give a full and clear knowledge of the essential principles embraced in the various topics connected with the study of the Bible. It is particularly adapted to all under-graduates in the ministry, and private theological students, as well as to the advanced classes in Sunday Schools, and to High Schools, Seminaries, and Colleges." The work is divided into nine parts, treating severally of Biblical Philology, Biblical Criticism, Biblical Exegesis, Biblical Analysis, Biblical Archæology, Biblical Ethnography, Biblical History, Biblical Chronology, and Biblical Geography. This enumeration will suffice to show the extent of the range of topics embraced in this volume. Of course they are treated summarily: but the very design of the author was to prepare a compendious *manual*, and he has succeeded excellently. The work is well adapted, not merely for the use of candidates for the ministry, and for Sunday Schools, but for general circulation in Christian families.

Digitized by Google

(27.) THE volume issue of the Methodist Tract Society is rapidly going on. The last that has appeared on our table is "*Memoirs of a Useful Man*," (New-York: Carlton & Phillips; 18mo., pp. 200,) containing a record of the life and Christian labours of Roger Miller, the founder of Ragged Schools, whose career, though beginning in the most humble way, affords, as the Introduction declares, one of the most extraordinary examples of Christian devotion and usefulness which the history of the modern Church records. In the London City Mission he found a field, in the full sense of the word, requiring missionary zeal and self-denial to a very large extent. The history of his personal as well as his more public career is full of interest; and the work will stand next to Father Reeves among the new publications of the Tract Society.

(28.) "*Startling Questions*," (New-York: R. Carter & Brothers; 1853; 18mo., pp. 370,) is the title of a series of practical religious lectures, by Rev. J. C. Ryle, whose pungent treatise, entitled "Living or Dead," we noticed some time ago. It puts such questions as, "Are you an heir?—shall you be saved?" &c.—with great earnestness, in a very pointed style. Mr. Ryle is a believer in what is called the Second Advent.

(29.) THE old Puritan divines were severe searchers of conscience. They sought, in their own phrase, to "bring their hearers to their own iniquity;" and this not merely when those hearers were supposed to be "sons of Belial," but also when they were "professors,"—to use another Puritan term. One of the most pungent of their practical writings has lately been reproduced by Messrs. R. Carter & Brothers, entitled "*A Gospel Glass*, by LEWIS STUCKLEY," (12mo., pp. 306.) Its design is to set forth and "push home the miscarriages of professors;" and it is indeed a mirror of all that are careless, or at ease in Zion. Its quaint language adds to its point; and in spite of the differences of the times, it may do good now as it did in 1658.

(30.) "*The Rum Plague*," from the German of Zschokke, (New-York: John S. Taylor; 1853,) is a story written twenty years ago, illustrating the evil of intemperance. It is just as applicable now as ever.

(31.) IT is singular that the best treatise on the English constitution—in fact, the only treatise proper on the subject—should have been written by a foreigner. A new and very neat edition of "*The Constitution of England: or an Account of the English Government, in which it is compared both with the Republican Form of Government and the other Monarchies of Europe*, by J. L. DELOLME," (New-York: Bangs, Brother & Co.,) has just been issued as a volume of Bohn's Standard Library. It is edited by Mr. Macgregor, who gives a brief biography of Delolme, and adds a number of illustrative notes.

Digitized by Google

Though the work is not profound, it is yet, as we have said, almost the only disquisition of the kind within reach, and is worthy of a place in every library.

(32.) THE last volume of Mr. Bohn's "Classical Library" that has reached us, is "*Diogenes Laertius*," (literally translated by C. D. Yonge,) whose History of the Philsophers is the source of most of our knowledge of the career of Greek philosophy. Bohn's series are kept constantly on hand by Bangs, Brother & Co., 13 Park Row, New-York.

(33.) "*Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon, being the Results of a Second Expedition*, by AUSTEN H. LAYARD." (New-York: Harper & Brothers; 1853; 8vo.) This second report of Mr. Layard's abounds, quite as much as the first, in that species of interest which we look for in a book of travels, while it has far more of antiquarian value. It does much more also for the illustration of the Bible; in fact, some of its contributions to that end are among the most valuable of recent times. The work is got up in excellent style, and is sold at a very low price. An extended review is in preparation, and will probably appear in our next number.

(34.) "*Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon, being the Results of a Second Expedition*, by AUSTEN H. LAYARD; *abridged from the larger work.*" (New-York: G. P. Putnam & Co.; 1853; 12mo., pp. 549.) The work of abridging (never an easy thing to do well) has been excellently done in this case. The more important and interesting parts of the work are retained in the author's own language; the omitted parts consisting mainly of minute details of description, tables of characters, &c. Everything illustrative of the Bible has been carefully retained. For those who cannot afford to purchase the larger work, this abridgment will be an admirable substitute.

(35.) "*The Lamp and the Lantern*, by JAMES HAMILTON, D. D.," (New-York: Carter & Brothers; 18mo., pp. 184,) contains a series of eloquent lectures and essays, mostly hortatory, in Dr. Hamilton's best vein, on subjects connected with the reading and propagation of the Bible.

(36.) WE noticed some time since, with commendation, DR. JOHN BROWN'S Expository Discourses on the sayings of our Lord. He must write very rapidly, for we have now another octavo volume from him—"*The Sufferings and Glories of the Messiah.*" (New-York: Carter & Brothers; 1853; 8vo., pp. 352.) But though the book may have been rapidly written, it has been long studied—the preface says, at intervals, for thirty years. It contains an exposition of the eighteenth Psalm, and of Isaiah lii, 13–liii, 12. Dr. Brown takes the Psalm to be exclusively Messianic, and builds upon it a view of the person

Digitized by Google

and work of the Messiah—very true, very edifying, and very rich in instruction. Nevertheless, we cannot think it successful as an *exposition*, because we cannot agree wholly with his fundamental view of the character of the Psalm. The exposition of Isaiah pleases us far better. As a whole, the work is a valuable contribution to the hortatory exposition and application of Scripture, and deserves a place in the minister's library.

(37.) MESSRS. CARTER & BROTHERS (New-York) have reprinted the "*History of the Westminster Assembly of Divines*, by REV. W. M. HETHERINGTON." (12mo., pp. 311.) It is a compact and elaborate work, prepared after a careful study of the sources of information; and is as impartial as could be expected from one who, to use his own language, does not hesitate to acknowledge that he feels deeply and warmly interested in everything that relates to Presbyterian principles and character. The book is published in a neat but cheap form, and should be read by every student of theology.

(38.) "*Water from the Well-Spring for the Sabbath Hours of Afflicted Believers*, by REV. E. H. BICKERSTETH," (New-York: R. Carter & Brothers; 1853; 18mo., pp. 254,) consists of a series of Sabbath meditations on select passages of Scripture, originally written by Mr. Bickersteth for the comfort and edification of his invalid sister. They are well adapted, by their brevity and tenderness, to the sick-chamber.

(39.) "*The Difficulties of Infidelity*, by GEORGE STANLEY FABER," (New-York: Wm. Gowans; 1853; 12mo., pp. 216,) is a work which has done excellent service in its day. It has long been scarce; and Mr. Gowans has done a very acceptable thing in reprinting it in the beautiful form in which it now lies before us. Appended to the work are Robert Hall's great sermon on "*Modern Infidelity*," and a copious list of books on the evidences of revealed religion—both valuable additions.

(40.) "*A Memorial of Horatio Greenough*, by H. T. TUCKERMAN," (New-York: G. P. Putnam & Co; 12mo., pp. 245,) contains a brief memoir of Greenough, a number of selections from his manuscripts, and several tributes to his genius, by various hands. The memoir breathes not only a genial sympathy with art, but the higher sympathy of humanity. It is itself a beautiful work of art. The selections reveal Greenough's genius as more versatile than we had supposed, and show that he had, indeed, "larger gifts than belong exclusively to the practical artist." Had he lived, he would have done much, with his large endowments and his high and varied culture, energized by a strong public spirit, and employed with fearless independence, to form what is most sadly lacking in America, a taste for genuine art. As it is, we can only mourn over his large plans and high aspirations for the public good,—all unrealized.

Digitized by Google

(41.) THE seventh and last volume of Professor Shedd's edition of "*Coleridge's Works*" (New-York: Harper & Brothers; 12mo., pp. 702) is before us. An extended article on the work is now in type, and will appear in our next number. In the mean time we have to express our extreme surprise and regret that an edition, in many respects so excellent, and professing to be *complete*, should be sent into the world without an index.

(42.) FOR breeders of poultry who wish to know the best breeds, as well as the best methods of managing fowls, there is no better or more compact work than "*Miner's Domestic Poultry Book.*" (Rochester: G. W. Fisher, 1853; 12mo., pp. 256.) It is the only book we have seen that gives a full account of the celebrated Brahma Pootra, or Burrampooter fowls—the largest, and in all respects the best breed that has yet appeared in this country.

(43.) "*Summerfield; or, Life on a Farm,*" (Auburn: Derby & Miller; 12mo., pp. 246,) is a very pretty set of sketches of the ordinary and extraordinary incidents of American rural and forest life—strung on a thread of narration pleasant enough to keep up the interest of youthful readers.

(44.) "*History of the Mormons, or Latter-Day Saints,*" (Auburn: Derby & Miller; 12mo., pp. 399,) is a reprint of an English work prepared by a reporter for the London Morning Chronicle. It contains a good deal of information about the Mormons, but lacks discrimination and thorough acquaintance with the subject. As proof of this we may state the simple fact, that the writer leaves it as an open question whether Mormonism tolerates polygamy or not!

(45.) "*Phaethon; or, Loose Thoughts for Loose Thinkers,* by Rev. CHARLES KINGSLEY." (Cambridge, 1852; pp. 100.) The author of Alton Locke will find readers for anything he may write; it is therefore vastly important that what he writes should be good. There has been much outcry about his Socialism. It appears that many good, conservative people think that any sympathy for popular sufferings—whether of white or black mankind—or any scheme for bettering the fortunes of the Pariahs of the race, must argue a man half an infidel. The present work will vindicate Mr. Kingsley's orthodoxy amply, and will testify that if he be a socialist, there can be such a thing as a Christian Socialist.

Phaethon is a dialogue after the manner of the Socratic. An American philosopher (!) visits England, gets an introduction to an English family of rank, flatters himself and them on his entrance into the "inner hearth-life of the English landed aristocracy," and doses them with Emersonian transcendentalism, *usque ad nauseam.* Never before had the respectabilities of Herefordshire been invaded by so "rampantly heterodox a spiritual guerrilla." He despises the Catholic creeds, contemns all ages but "our glorious nine-

Digitized by Google

teenth century," and holds in still deeper contempt all in that glorious century who dare to believe there is "any ascertained truth independent of the private fancy and opinion of Professor Windrush and his circle of elect souls." He professes to believe in physical science, and argues that Christianity is in a fair way to be crushed by that science; but his spiritualism is more materialistic than his physics. His notion seems to be,—

"—that it is the spiritual world which is governed by physical laws, and the physical by spiritual ones; that while men and women are merely the puppets of cerebrations and mentations, and attractions and repulsions, it is the trees, and stones, and gases, who have the wills and the energies, and the faiths, and the virtues, and the personalities." o o o o "He talks of God in terms which, every one of them, involves what we call the essential properties of matter—space, time, passability, motion; setting forth phrenology and mesmerism as the great organs of education, even of the regeneration of mankind; apologizing for the earlier ravings of the Poughkeepsie seer, and considering his later electico-pantheist farragos as great utterances: while, whenever he talks of nature, he shows the most credulous craving after everything which we, the countrymen of Bacon, have been taught to consider unscientific—Homœopathy, Electro-biology, Loves of the Plants *à la* Darwin, Vestiges of Creation, Vegetarianisms, Teetotalisms—never mind what, provided it is unaccredited or condemned by regularly educated men of science."

The author remarks on these ravings and their tendencies in language which many of our American youth, who stare in admiring wonderment at the bold balloonings of Professor Windrushes, would do well to heed:—

"This contempt for that which has been already discovered—this carelessness about induction from the normal phenomena, coupled with this hankering after theories built upon exceptional ones—this craving for 'signs and wonders,' which is the sure accompaniment of a dying faith in God, and in nature as God's work—are symptoms which make me tremble for the fate of physical as well as of spiritual science, both in America and in the Americanists here at home. As the professor talked on, I could not help thinking of the Neo-Platonists of Alexandria, and their exactly similar course,—downward from a spiritualism of notions and emotions, which in every term confessed its own materialism, to the fearful discovery that consciousness does not reveal God, not even matter, but only its own existence; and then onward, in desperate search after something external wherein to trust, toward theurgic fêtish worship, and the secret virtues of gems, and flowers, and stars; and, last of all, to the lowest depth of bowing statues and winking pictures. The sixth century saw that career, Templeton; the nineteenth may see it reënacted, with only these differences, that the nature-worship which seems coming will be all the more crushing and slavish, because we know so much better how vast and glorious nature is; and that the superstitious will be more clumsy and foolish in proportion as our Saxon brain is less acute and discursive, and our education less severely scientific, than those of the old Greeks."

It is not to be supposed that Professor Windrush passes in Herefordshire for a fair example of the American people:—

"God forbid that so unpractical a talker should be a sample of the most practical people upon earth. The Americans have their engineers, their geographers, their astronomers, their scientific chemists; few, indeed, but such as bid fair to rival those of any nation upon earth. But these, like other true workers, hold their tongues and do their business."

"And they have a few indigenous authors too: you must have read the 'Biglow Papers,' and the 'Fable for Critics,' and last, but not least, 'Uncle Tom's Cabin?'"

"Yes; and I have had far less fear for Americans since I read that book; for

Digitized by Google

it showed me that there was right healthy power, artistic as well as intellectual, among them even now,—ready, when their present borrowed peacock's feathers have fallen off, to come forth and prove that the Yankee Eagle is a right gallant bird, if he will but trust to his own natural plumage."

The "new" philosophers of England and America—the Emersons and Parkers, *et id omne genus*, on this side the water, and the Newmans, Gregs, &c., on the other side—are well hit off in the following paragraphs:—

"The knot of hapless men, who, unable from some defect or morbidity to help on the real movement of their nation, are fain to get their bread with tongue and pen, by retailing to 'silly women,' 'ever learning and never coming to the knowledge of the truth,' second-hand German eclecticisms, now exploded even in the country where they arose, and the very froth and scum of the Medea's caldron, in which the *disjecta membra* of old Calvinism are pitiably seething."

"Ah! It has been always the plan, you know, in England, as well as in America, courteously to avoid taking up a German theory till the Germans had quite done with it, and thrown it away for something new. But what are we to say of those who are trying to introduce into England these very Americanized Germanisms, as the only teaching which can suit the needs of the old world?"

"We will, if we are in a vulgar humour, apply to them a certain old proverb about teaching one's grandmother a certain simple operation on the egg of the domestic fowl; but we will no less take shame to ourselves, as sons of Alma Mater, that such nonsense can get even a day's hearing, either among the daughters of Manchester manufacturers, or among London working-men."

The main topic of the book is furnished by the theory started by Professor Windrush, that "*if a man does but believe a thing, he has a right to speak it and act on it, right or wrong.*" Alcibiades and Phaethon, walking into the Pnyx early in the morning, find Socrates there, with his face to the east, in prayer. They touch him on the shoulder before he becomes aware of their presence. They soon enter into a discussion arising—

"from something," said Alcibiades, "which Protagoras said in his lecture yesterday—How truth was what each man troweth, or believeth to be true. 'So that,' he said, 'one thing is true to me, if I believe it true, and another opposite thing to you, if you believe that opposite. For,' continued he, 'there is an objective and a subjective truth; the former, doubtless, one and absolute, and contained in the nature of each thing; but the other manifold and relative, varying with the faculties of each perceiver thereof.' But as each man's faculties, he said, were different from his neighbour's, and all more or less imperfect, it was impossible that the absolute objective truth of anything could be seen by any mortal, but only some partial approximation, and, as it were, sketch of it, according as the object was represented with more or less refraction on the mirror of his subjectivity. And, therefore, as the true inquirer deals only with the possible, and lets the impossible go, it was the business of the wise man, shunning the search after absolute truth as an impious attempt of the Titans to scale Olympus, to busy himself humbly and practically with subjective truth, and with those methods—rhetoric, for instance—by which he can make the subjective opinions of others either similar to his own, or, leaving them as they are—for it may be very often unnecessary to change them—useful to his own ends."

The scope of the dialogue can be well apprehended from this passage, and from a single quotation more:—

SOCRATES. "But tell me now, Alcibiades; did the opinion of Protagoras altogether please you?"

ALCIBIADES. "Why not? Is it not certain that two equally honest men may differ in their opinions on the same matter?"

S. "Undeniable."

Digitized by Google

A. "But if each is equally sincere in speaking what he believes, is not each equally moved by the spirit of truth?"

S. "You seem to have been lately initiated, and that not at Eleusis merely, nor in the Cabiria, but rather in some Persian or Babylonian mysteries, when you discourse thus of spirits. But you, Phaethon," (turning to me,) "how did you like the periods of Protagoras?"

"Do not ask me, Socrates," said I, "for indeed we have fought a weary battle together ever since sundown last night; and all that I had to say I learned from you."

S. "Let us see, then. Alcibiades distinguishes, he says, between objective fact and subjective opinion?"

A. "Of course I do."

S. "But not, I presume, between objective truth and subjective truth, whereof Protagoras spoke?"

A. "What trap are you laying now? I distinguish between them, also, of course."

S. "Tell me, then, dear youth, of your indulgence, what they are; for I am shamefully ignorant on the matter."

A. "Why, do they not call a thing objectively true, when it is true absolutely in itself; but subjectively true, when it is true in the belief of a particular person?"

S. "—Though not necessarily true objectively, that is, absolutely and in itself?"

A. "No."

S. "But possibly true so?"

A. "Of course."

S. "Now, tell me—a thing is objectively true, is it not, when it is a fact as it is?"

A "Yes."

S. "And when it is a fact as it is not, it is objectively false; for such a fact would not be true absolutely, and in itself, would it?"

A. "Of course not."

S. "Such a fact would be, therefore, no fact, and nothing."

A. "Why so?"

S. "Because, if a thing exists, it can only exist as it is, not as it is not; at least, my opinion inclines that way."

"Certainly not," said I; "why do you haggle so, Alcibiades?"

S. "Fair and softly, Phaethon! How do you know that he is not fighting for wife and child, and the altars of his gods? But if he will agree with you and me, he will confess that a thing which is objectively false does not exist at all, and is nothing."

A. "I suppose it is necessary to do so. But I know whither you are struggling."

S. "To this, dear youth, that, therefore, if a thing subjectively true be also objectively false, it does not exist, and is nothing."

"It is so," said I.

S. "Let us, then, let nothing go its own way, while we go on ours with that which is only objectively true, lest coming to a river over which it is subjectively true to us that there is a bridge, and trying to walk over that work of our own mind, but no one's hands, the bridge prove to be objectively false, and we, walking over the bank into the water, be set free from that which is subjective on the further bank of Styx."

Then I, laughing, "This hardly coincides, Alcibiades, with Protagoras's opinion, that subjective truth was alone useful."

"But rather proves," said Socrates, "that undiluted draughts of it are of a hurtful and poisonous nature, and require to be tempered with somewhat of objective truth, before it is safe to use them; at least, in the case of bridges."

We should be glad to continue our quotations, and to unfold the whole tenor of this beautiful and instructive dialogue; but we hope it will be republished in this country, that our readers may get it for themselves.

Digitized by Google

(46.) "*The Right Way; or, Practical Lectures on the Decalogue*, by J. T. CRANE, A. M., of the New-Jersey Conference." (New-York: Carlton & Phillips, 1853; 12mo., pp. 277.) As Mr. Crane remarks in his preface to this excellent volume, it is singular that while the *necessity* for a clear understanding of the law is acknowledged, "so little has been done to disseminate popular expositions of it." The present work is a contribution to this duty of the Church. It is designed as a brief explanation of the Decalogue, "for the use of those not familiar with libraries, and especially for the young," as the author modestly states. But it is fitted for the use of all classes of readers. The introduction treats simply, but in a clear and satisfactory way, of the nature of virtue and of the ground of moral obligation. We cannot quite agree with the author that the holiness of God consists in the fact that all the divine affections and acts are benevolent. It is true that God's holiness is LOVE; but it is love, not simply or chiefly as healing and beneficent, but as going forth to destroy and punish *evil*. Mr. Crane holds to the doctrine that conscience is a moral faculty, and urges the duty (1) of cultivating it; (2) of directing it; (3) of obeying it. We quote the discussion of the second of these, as an illustration of the clear and forcible style in which the book is written:—

"Rousseau apostrophizes conscience as a 'divine instinct, immortal and heavenly voice, sure guide of a being ignorant and limited, but intelligent and free; infallible judge of good and evil.' But in what human breast is such a conscience to be found? The existence of an innate infallible conscience can be demonstrated neither by the present experience nor the past history of our fallen race. Children, whose training has been neglected, are as ignorant of ethics as of natural science. Even the strongest advocates of the infallibility of the inborn moral sense, when their attention is drawn to some intricate question in casuistry, have recourse, not to their 'divine instinct,' but to acknowledged rules, and to their ordinary powers of reasoning and comparing; and the more judicious and reliable the Christian becomes, the more carefully does he disregard unaccountable impulses, and seek to conform his life to the revealed standard of duty.

"It is evident that there may be strong convictions of obligation, and strong desires to obey, where there are but confused and even totally incorrect views of the will of the lawgiver. The obedient son, who goes with cheerful step to labour in the vineyard, may mistake some noxious weed for the grape of Eshcol. Saul, breathing threatenings and slaughter against the saints, 'lived in all good conscience before God,' as well as when he laid down his life and won a martyr's crown at Rome. The follower of Confucius, offering sacrifice at the tomb of his ancestors; the Tartar, attaching his paper prayer to the windmill; the Hindu devotee, casting himself down before the murderous wheels of his idol's car, may all feel an approving emotion. Conscientiousness may help on the follies of the heathen, as well as the prayers, and praises, and good works of the Christian. The sense of obligation may be active and tender, and yet be so left in the dark as even to prompt to the wrong. It sounds a warning against sin, it demands that the supposed right be done, but does not inspire knowledge. If confused in his notions of duty, even the sincere follower of Christ may go astray in his ignorance, and thus his usefulness and his spiritual progress are obstructed, if not totally destroyed. Revelation, direct or traditional, is the only sure guide. If we turn away our eyes from its bright rays, we grope in uncertain twilight, or are lost in midnight darkness. Passion, appetite, interest, prejudice, may wrest judgment and darken counsel. The true standard, the law of right, and our only infallible guide, is God's word. The heathen may possess fragments of traditionary truth, but 'we have a more sure word of prophecy, whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place.' Conscience and revealed morality are correlative, as light and the optic nerve are created for each other.

Digitized by Google

"Every one then to whom the word of God is given is bound in reason and in conscience to 'search the Scriptures,' asking wisdom of Him who giveth to all men liberally and upbraideth not. He thus shall tread the noblest field of knowledge open to human investigation. Recourse should be had to every available means to gain clear ideas of what Jehovah demands. Reading, reflection, prayer, the advice of the pious and the judicious, may all be employed with advantage. The divine law must be studied diligently, perseveringly, and with sincere and eager desires to learn the whole truth, till its golden precepts are graven upon the memory, and its pure spirit fills the heart.

"Nothing is more common among men than perverted and defective conscientiousness. The ignorant Papist, who, apparently without any compunctious visitings, can drink to intoxication, fight, lie, and profane the Sabbath, is overwhelmed with horror at the idea of eating flesh on Friday; and if he has even tasted, is haunted by keen remorse till penance and priestly pardon have lulled his conscience to rest. But every branch of the Christian Church is shorn of a part of its strength, by the fact that some of its members cannot be made to see that to practise certain things which they neglect, and to abstain from certain others to which they are given, is a Christian duty. From the errors of early training, from personal peculiarities, or from the force of appetite, passion, and prejudice, they find it well-nigh impossible to reason correctly when certain moral questions are brought to the bar of judgment. Nay, the easily-besetting sin may be complacently exalted into a cardinal virtue—or, at the worst, the accidental excess of a virtue. A defect in temper or habit may hang like a millstone about the neck of a man, and he, nevertheless, be so infatuated as to pride himself upon it, and count it his strength. At the same time, he will reason very justly respecting the errors and defects of others; and the magnitude of the beam in his own eye does not prevent his detecting the smallest mote in his brother's. How common it is to see men in extreme distress about the sins of other people, while they bestow hardly a glance upon their own! A very tender conscience may be palsied on one side, and be totally blind in one eye. What we would denounce as avarice in another, in ourselves we defend and approve as prudence; that which in another we would style stubbornness and passion, we call, in ourselves, due firmness and generous spirit: and every moral deformity which we condemn and hate in others, we baptize by a very smooth name, when we detect its presence in ourselves.

"Again, men are acute in detecting, and severe in condemning, those sins to which they themselves are not given. The passionate man, forgetful of his fierce anger and its guilt, is zealous in his efforts to reform his neighbour, whom he suspects of being covetous. The volatile professor, whose endless levities render his sincerity questionable, lashes the more sober Christian for his gloomy repulsive countenance; while the sour ascetic frets even at the cheerfulness of youth, as if it were the worst of sins. The one who is careless in his business rails at the man who is careless in his language; and the one who is very slow to give his money to good objects, sees his brother's sin of pride in all its horrors; while the officious, censorious brother, by his unsparing reproofs, and ungenerous insinuations, keeps the whole Church in angry ferment, and atones for his own deficiency in spiritual things by calling attention to the spiritual defects of the rest. Thus it goes, through the whole round of peculiarity and circumstances, and each

> 'Compounds for sin he is inclined to
> By damning those he has no mind to.'

"This tendency to a one-sided conscience makes it the duty of every man to scan closely his opinions upon moral subjects, and see whether any error has been introduced by circumstances. Happy is he who has been able to escape the entanglements of passion and prejudice, and who, at all times, sees every sin in its deformity, and every virtue in its true beauty and glory."

We should be glad to give further extracts, but our limits forbid. We must content ourselves with commending the work as the best hortatory exposition of the Decalogue extant among us; and we earnestly hope that it will be widely read by our ministers and people.

Digitized by Google

(47.) "*The Cloister Life of the Emperor Charles the Fifth*, by WILLIAM STIRLING," (Boston: Crosby, Nichols & Co.; 1853; 12mo., pp. 322,) is a book which has had quite a run in England, and is reprinted now from the second London edition. It gives a very different notion of the way of life adopted by the royal recluse from that which we derive from Robertson's graceful pages. The subject is so interesting that we hope to return to it again at some length.

(48.) "*Notes on the Gospels, Critical and Explanatory*, by M. W. JACOBUS, Professor of Biblical Literature in the Western Theological Seminary." (New-York: R. Carter & Brothers; 1853; 2 vols., 12mo.) In many respects this commentary is an advance on all that have preceded it, in adaptation to the wants of Sunday Schools,—especially of those which use the questions of the American Sunday-School Union. It takes up the Union Question Book, and gives notes with reference to them; not, however, confining the commentary to them. A Harmony of the Gospels is incorporated with the notes.

(49.) "*A New Greek Harmony of the Four Gospels*, by WM. STROUD, M. D." (London: S. Bagster & Sons; 1853; 4to., pp. 384.) This ample and elaborate work combines both a synopsis and a diatessaron of the Gospels, prepared on a plan presenting some striking novelties. The Greek text has been revised, and the authorities for all alterations are given in the foot-notes. A copious preliminary treatise treats of the nature of Gospel Harmonies; of the character of the Four Gospels, as furnishing the materials of a harmonized narrative; of the principles and rules adopted in the present Harmony; and of the character of the Harmony itself. A number of chronological and other tables of great value are appended. The work reached us too late for the careful examination required for a thorough notice in this number: we shall, however, treat it more at length in our next.

(50.) "*The Lives of the Popes*, from *A. D.* 100 *to A. D.* 1853." (New-York: Carlton & Phillips; 1853; 12mo., pp. 566.) This neat and portable volume contains the whole matter of four small volumes, originally published under the same title by the Religious Tract Society of London. There is no work extant to our knowledge that covers the same ground. It gives in compendious form the history of the Papacy from its very beginnings, down to the pontificate of Pius IX.—a kind of information which the American people stand much in need of just now. The work is written in a strongly Protestant spirit. It would be very useful as a book of reference, if supplied with a chronological table and an index.

(51.) "*Lights of the World; or, Illustrations of Character drawn from the Records of Christian Life*, by the REV. JOHN STOUGHTON." (New-York: Carlton & Phillips; 1853; 12mo., pp. 305.) The aim of this work is to

Digitized by Google

exhibit the various phases of the Christian life as illustrated in the real characters of holy men. It contains a number of sketches of eminent men,—not, indeed, complete biographies, or even "full-length portraits of their spiritual excellence;" but each set forth in narrative and description, for the purpose of illustrating some single element of vital godliness. Thus William Tyndale is taken as the embodiment of "labour and patience;" Leighton, of "the peacefulness of faith;" Baxter, of "earnest decision;" and Fletcher, of "intense devotion." The book contains twelve such spiritual biographies. Its style is easy, sometimes eloquent, and always agreeable. The work is adapted to the times, and should be widely circulated.

(52.) "*Family and Social Melodies*, by W. C. HOYT," (New-York: Carlton & Phillips; 8vo., pp. 224,) contains an excellent collection of hymns and tunes, especially adapted to family and social worship. The want of such a work, as an aid especially to family devotion, has long been felt—the collections for congregational use not being suited to the purpose. The hymns are taken mostly from the standard Hymn Book of the Church, though selections are given from a variety of other sources. "The tunes in this work are for the most part plain and familiar airs, suitable especially for family and social singing. A large number of them are Chorals. They have been selected from the best composers of olden and modern times. Together they present a great variety of metres, and form a most choice collection of music. For the convenience of those who use the Piano, Melodeon, Seraphine, or Organ, in their family devotions, and are not professional players, the *Trebles* are written on one staff." Both in its matter and its form, we think this work meets precisely one of the Church's urgent needs. Family worship is incomplete without sacred song; and we trust this little book will cause many a family altar, heretofore silent, to become vocal with the praise of God "in psalms and hymns."

(53.) "*Philosophy and Practice of Faith*, by LEWIS P. OLDS." (New-York: Carlton & Phillips; 12mo., pp. 353.) This book belongs to a class that has been rare of late years. It is a calm, thoughtful, yet uncontroversial survey of a great Christian doctrine in its bearings upon theology in general, and upon the Christian life in practice. The writer thus states his object in the preface: "It would perhaps be difficult to mention a subject in any department of knowledge remaining untouched; but were we required to name one upon which such elaboration had not been practised, we should readily say that of faith. Not that it is a novel subject, for it is one of the oldest; nor because it has not been a theme of constant allusion—for who listens to a discourse without hearing it mentioned?—but that it has been too little discussed by *itself*, and therefore left to suffer by making it but the secondary matter under consideration. Hence there is no subject about which, when called upon, men cannot give more definite and satisfactory replies; the knowledge respecting it appearing detached and incomplete, and requiring reflection to shape into system the ideas entertained. It appears as a skeleton to the fancy, awaiting

Digitized by Google

some homogeneous matter to fill up the vacancies and make the body complete. It is to fill up this picture of the mind, in part, that the present volume has been designed; and while in this view of its purpose the work needs no apologist—the fact, as suggested, being admissible by every one giving the subject a moment's reflection—the *manner* in which the task has been performed must be submitted to the most charitable consideration of the reader." The work is divided into two parts, of which the first treats of the nature, source, and growth of faith; the second part illustrates faith as *exercised* in different ages, and under the various circumstances of human life. The book is one that cannot be characterized in a mere notice: we can only afford room for a single specimen of the author's style, and of his mode of treating the subject Under the title "Increase and Diminution of Faith," he remarks:—

"The bird learns to fly fearlessly by means of the pupilage of short and easy circles around its nest: the eagle that perches upon the dizzy height, or soars along the verge of the storm-cloud, at first plumed his delicate wing with trembling. The confidence at first wanting in these efforts was supplied by example and encouragement. Trial begat new energy and purpose, new strength of wing and heart, and the designs were daily matured.

"It is the beaming eye, extended hand, and inspiriting voice, that enables the child to take yet another tottering step—the process repeated, that gives firmness and assurance to the tread, and finally enables him to sally forth with all the buoyancy of manhood.

"It is ascertained that by use the muscles of the body have their size and strength increased. The arm that lifts the hammer at the forge, or swings the axe among the sturdy trees, will have more vigour than that of the student. Not only so, but the limbs mostly used increase in strength to the diminution in vigour of such as are comparatively idle.

"It is from similar causes that the organs of the mind derive strength and activity from exercise, and suffer a consequent diminution from disuse. So that while one mind develops astonishing vigour, another is only of ordinary strength, or dwarfed into distressing ignorance. The affections of the mind are governed by similar laws of growth or decay, and when brought into constant play become vigorous, whilst others, neglected, are weakened or destroyed.

"Now as the child has its energies increased by the confidence inspired by earnest and devoted teaching, so the mind of man goes on from strength to strength by reason of encouragement to action. The poet fancies he hears the troubadour chanting his lay to the anxious ear of beauty, and invokes anew the aid of his muse. The sculptor and painter imagine they see their living image in the niche and fane of proudest temples, and they continue their toils with renewed courage. The soldier dreams of embracing his far-absent wife and children, in view of his cottage home, and his affections grow stronger than ever, while he wakes to war with the tear in his eye.

"There is a confidence inspired from associating with our fellow-men. This is of every-day occurrence. He who never deceives is never doubted. The faithful friend of life is a source of constant and abiding trust. How much more is confidence in divine things enlarged by the daily observation of the course of nature, and the spiritual discernment of the mysteries of religion. The sun rises, and the eye beholds him go down in glory behind the western hills with a belief that he will rise again. The last rose of summer is plucked, and fades, with the persuasion that returning spring will again beautify the earth with the queen of flowers. The heart pines for tranquillity and peace, the Spirit soothes it with the balm of grace, and when sorrow returns, the heart flies to God for comfort again. Like as confidence is increased between man and man, the mind is linked to God in unyielding trust. And as the realization of promise after promise is enjoyed, the belief in the mercy and power of God is enlarged. By exercising faith in God, we therefore become more able and prone to believe. Though a law of being, it can never become a moral necessity for man to put

Digitized by Google

confidence in man; not because of innate suspicion that he may prove false, but that faith is voluntary and coercive; and though it may increase till apparently nothing can shake it, yet it is possible to withdraw it. But in the unchangeable promises of God there is a surer trust than anything earthly deserves, and the soul reposes with peculiar confidence in them; yet the belief is voluntary, and may by disobedience be destroyed. Were earthly friendship or love to God involuntary emotions, the one could never be broken nor the other fail. But it being otherwise, effort is needed to maintain both.

"By the exercise of an emotion it becomes easier to exercise it again, and by disuse the power to use it is diminished. This admitted, there is cause for confidence with the pious, as every effort at obedience but the better fits them for duty. So considering the traveller to eternity as making each act of faith and obedience a remove in the direction of heaven, and at the same time a like remove from destruction, the pilgrimage of the pious becomes exciting and hopeful, or harrowing and doubtful. The last step *must* be taken that effects deliverance or ruin. All have their faces Zionward, or are hastening toward destruction. Each of us is now at some point in this way to life or death!"

We hope that this thoughtful and discriminating book may find many readers.

(54.) "*A Theodicy; or, Vindication of the Divine Glory, as Manifested in the Constitution and Government of the Moral World.* By ALBERT TAYLOR BLEDSOE, Professor of Mathematics and Astronomy in the University of Mississippi." (New-York: Carlton & Phillips; 1853; 8vo., pp. 365.) A mere notice can do no justice to a work so important and valuable as this. The title reveals the greatness of the author's undertaking—nothing less than a reëxamination of the problem which has baffled both metaphysics and theology for ages. We can only now indicate the author's outline. The introduction treats of the *possibility* of a Theodicy, showing that the failure of Plato, Leibnitz, and others, is not properly a ground of despair; and that the attempt is justified by what we know of the moral universe and of the nature of the human mind. The work is, then, divided into two parts, of which the FIRST shows that "the existence of *moral* evil is consistent with the holiness of God." This topic is treated in seven chapters, whose titles are as follows: "Chap. I. The scheme of necessity denies that man is responsible for the existence of sin; Chap. II. The scheme of necessity makes God the author of sin; Chap. III. The scheme of necessity denies the reality of moral distinctions: Chap. IV. The moral world not constituted according to the scheme of necessity; Chap. V. The relation between the human will and the divine agency; Chap. VI. The existence of moral evil, or sin, reconciled with the holiness of God; Chap. VII. Objections considered."

The SECOND PART shows that "the existence of *natural* evil, or suffering, is consistent with the goodness of God." This is treated in five chapters, as follows: "Chap. I. God desires and seeks the salvation of all men; Chap. II. Natural evil, or suffering, and especially the suffering of infants, reconciled with the goodness of God; Chap. III. The sufferings of Christ reconciled with the goodness of God; Chap. IV. The eternal punishment of the wicked reconciled with the goodness of God; Chap. V. The dispensation of the divine favours reconciled with the goodness of God." The author gives, in conclusion, a summary view of the principles and advantages of the whole system.

Digitized by Google

Mr. Bledsoe writes clearly and well. His style is more *popular* than has been usual in discussions of this sort, so that his book, while it will necessarily draw the attention of the deepest thinkers, is yet adapted to the perusal of all cultivated readers. We shall return to it again, for a fuller examination, as soon as possible.

(55.) "*Handbuch des Methodismus*, von LUDWIG S. JACOBY." (Bremen: 1853; 12mo., pp. 388.) This work, prepared by our excellent missionary superintendent at Bremen, is designed to furnish the German nations of Europe with a better and more accurate knowledge of Methodism than has heretofore been diffused among them. It is divided into four parts: first, a brief history of Methodism from the beginning up to the present time, (pp. 1–198;) second, an account of the doctrines of the Church, (pp. 199–294;) third, the Church government of Methodism, (pp. 295–354;) fourth, the peculiar usages of Methodism, (pp. 356–388.) It is precisely such a compendium as is needed in Germany; and we should think it admirably adapted, also, for circulation among the Germans in this country. The work is not a translation, but is conscientiously and skilfully prepared from the original sources. We rejoice to see our system set forth before the scholars and Christians of Germany in a book so clear, sensible, and judicious.

(56.) Of the following serials, sermons, &c., we regret that we can give nothing more than the titles:—

Catalogue of White-Water College, Centreville, Indiana, 1852–3.

Catalogue of Ohio University, 1852–3.

Anniversary Address before the Union Missionary Society, in the University of Michigan, delivered at Ann Arbor, June 26th, 1853, by Professor E. O. Haven.

Catalogue of Danville Seminary, 1852–3.

Anniversary Address of the Freehold Young Ladies' Seminary, by Robert Davidson, D. D.

Catalogue of the Albion Female Institute and Western Seminary, 1852–3.

Catalogue of Rock-River Seminary, Mount Morris, Ill., 1852–3.

Circular of Genesee Model School for Boys, Lima, New-York.

First Annual Report of the New-York Young Men's Christian Association, presented May 16, 1853.

First Annual Report of the People's Washing and Bathing Association, 1853.

Thirty-Seventh Anniversary Address of the American Bible Society.

Thirty-First Report of the American Baptist Home Mission Society.

Ecclesiastical Opposition to the Bible: a Serial Sermon. By Thomas H. Stockton.

Thirty-Third Annual Report of the Mercantile Library Association of Boston, 1853.

The Cross of Christ. By Davis W. Clark, D. D.

Letters respecting the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and the American Tract Society. By W. Jay.

Digitized by Google

Art. IX.—INTELLIGENCE.

Theological and Religious.

EUROPEAN.

We have received the second part of Reuss's "*Geschichte der Heiligen Schriften Neuen Testaments*," (Braunschweig, 1853, 8vo., pp. 586,) completing the work. This second edition is brought down to the latest period, and affords the best compendium of the history of the literature of the New Testament of which we are aware. Like all other German books, it is most deficient in that part which treats of the works of English and American writers, of whom the author frankly confesses his ignorance.

"*Die Auslegung des Vaterunser*, von G. C. R. Matthaei," (Gottingen: 1853; 8vo., pp. 162,) is an interpretation of the Lord's Prayer, offered as an illustration and application of what the author calls the "highest principle of New Testament hermeneutics." According to his view, there never has been a satisfactory exegesis of the New Testament, and never can be, without the application of this principle; which is the interpreting Christ's word according to Christ's own self-consciousness, 1. As to God—Father—Son and Spirit; 2. As to Revelation, the Messiah, and the Future Life. A critique is afforded of the various interpretations of the Lord's Prayer, given by the allegorical, the rationalistic, and the supernatural interpreters, and each is shown to be defective. Certainly we have found no German writer of late years so straightforward, clear, and *trenchant*. *Matthäi* is a moderate Hegelian, we believe—at least we should infer so from this acute book.

A new volume of "*Theological Essays*," (London, 1 vol., 8vo.,) by Professor Maurice, has just appeared. Its contents are as follows: 1. On Charity; 2. On Sin; 3. On the Evil Spirit; 4. On the Sense of Righteousness in Men, and their Discovery of a Redeemer; 5. On the Son of God; 6. On the Incarnation; 7. On the Atonement; 8. On the Resurrection of the Son of God from Death, the Grave, and Hell; 9. On Justification by Faith; 10. On Regeneration; 11. On the Ascension of Christ; 12. On the Judgment-Day; 13. On Inspiration; 14. On the Personality and Teaching of the Holy Spirit; 15. On the Unity of the Church; 16. On the Trinity in Unity; Conclusion, on Eternal Life and Eternal Death.

Dorner's "*Lehre von der Person Christi*," though incomplete, is the most thorough and learned treatise on the doctrine of the Person of Christ that has yet appeared in any language. We are glad to see another volume announced as ready in Berlin, containing the history of the doctrine of the Trinity from the fifth century up to the time of the Reformation. The concluding volume of the work is promised before January, 1854.

We have received the first number of Herzog's "*Real-Encyclopædie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*," (Stutgard, 1853, 8vo.) The work is intended to form a complete cyclopedia of the sciences connected with theology, and has among the names of its collaborators a number of the most eminent men in Germany, namely, Ullmann, Tholuck, Umbreit, Hagenbach, Gieseler, Müller, and others. It is to appear in monthly parts, ten to form a volume, and the whole work to be completed in about ten volumes royal 8vo. The part before us contains eighty pages, and extends down to the word *Abraxas*.

The election of a new *General of the Jesuits* is matter of interest to the entire ecclesiastical world. The late General Roothan was perhaps the ablest head the Society was ever ruled by. Endowed with a mind of singular acuteness, he was a man also of great acquirements and skill: and the recent revival of Jesuitism in all lands is due mainly to his distinguished genius and industry. It is said that during the later years of his life he was not only General of his Order, but *de facto* Pope. It was also Roothan who authorized, presided over, and conducted to a successful issue, a scheme for adapting the course of studies in Jesuit schools to the actual requirements of the age, proceeding in the spirit of Dr. Wiseman's book on the connexion between science and religion. In other words, it was he who guided Jesuitism into its present position of educational power, and made it

Digitized by Google

possible for the successors of the men who imprisoned Galileo to exhibit themselves as teachers and advocates of modern science. The new General is PETER BECKS, a Belgian, and the third of that nation who has been counted among the successors of Ignatius. He is said to have (exoterically) as strong an admiration for saintish fables as Father Newman, and quite able to nourish the infatuated youth of this generation who go over to Rome to satisfy their morbid appetite. He can give them legend and falsification to their heart's content. He was born February 8th, 1795, and entered into the Order October 29, 1819. He subsequently filled the Rectorate of the Seminary at Löwen, and afterward the government of the Order in the Province of Austria. According to the *New-York Tribune*, "his character, his talents, his tried discretion in the most delicate emergencies, are a guarantee that he will prove a worthy successor to the distinguished Father Roothan. He was elected with great unanimity by the General Congregation, and his accession to office is hailed by the Society of Jesuits as giving promise of the richest fruits for the benefit of their Order." The same account states that the General Congregation which made the election was the twenty-second since the establishment of the Order, and consisted of fifty-two members—fifteen from the department of Italy, with the provinces of Rome, Naples, Sicily, Turin and Venice,—nine from France, including the provinces of Paris, Lyons, and Toulouse,—twenty from the department of Germany, with the provinces of Germany, England, Austria, Belgium, Gallicia, Holland and Maryland, and three from Spain. The number was completed by the addition of Father Pierling, the Vicar General, and one assistant from each department. The solemnities are opened by the celebration of mass by the vicar, after which the whole company of members of the Order present, with a crucifix borne before them, and singing the *Veni Creator*, walk in procession to the hall designated by the vicar, which, after the members have entered, is closed and guarded by some of the members selected for the purpose. The electors fast on bread and water, and are not allowed to leave the hall until the choice is decided. One of the members, appointed by the congregation, admonishes them in a Latin discourse, to keep a single eye to the glory of God and the benefit of their Order in making the choice. Each member then receives a card, on which he writes, in a disguised hand, the name of his candidate, adding his signature in a way that it shall not be read by those who count the ballots. After all the members have prepared their votes and returned to their seats, the vicar, the private secretary, and the assistant, take the following oath to make true declaration of the votes: "I call God to witness, from whom nothing is concealed, that I will truly receive and declare the votes, and will perform my duty with pure purpose. I also swear, in the view of the Divine Majesty and of the whole Order, that I will admit no one who has not a right to be admitted, and I will exclude no one who ought not to be excluded." The private secretary then turns to the vicar, with the words, "My father, give your vote in the name of Jesus Christ." The vicar rises, kneels before the crucifix, makes the sign of the cross, and takes the oath which is inscribed on the back of each ballot. I take Jesus Christ, who is Eternal Wisdom, to witness that I choose for the General-in-Chief of the Society of Jesus, him whom I regard as the fittest for the office." Then rising, he deposits his vote in the urn, showing it to the assistant. He then salutes the crucifix, returns to his seat, and says to the secretary, the assistant, and the members generally, "Let each now give his vote in order." The provincials sit on the right, the other members on the left, according to the date of their admission into the Order. When the members, in accordance with their oath, have all given their votes, the secretary takes them from the urn, counts them aloud, and hands them one after the other to the vicar, who examines them and reads them aloud, or causes the secretary to read them, giving only the name of the candidate, and concealing that of the voter. After all the votes are thus announced, if any one has more than half, he is elected. Otherwise, they proceed to a new balloting, which may be repeated four or five times, but after the fifth trial it is optional to continue the balloting, or to enter into a compromise. In the last case, electors are chosen from each department by an absolute majority, who elect the General by a simple plurality, being limited, however, to candidates who have received at least three votes on the former trials. The choice being determined, the vicar announces it, unless it has fallen upon himself, and in that case it is declared by the secretary, who makes out the decree, which receives

Digitized by Google

the seal of the Society. The whole company of the fathers, the vicar first, then the secretary, pay their respects to the new General, kneeling and kissing his hand. If the choice has fallen on a person out of the congregation, but present in the city, the assembly do not leave the hall until they have called him into their presence and paid him their fealty. If he is at the distance of eight or ten days' journey, he is sent for, the congregation suspending their labours until his arrival. It is not permitted to decline the choice. After the act of obedience, the father who has charge of the keys of the hall, announces that the election is completed, the ballots are burned, and the congregation return in procession to the church, singing the "*Benedictus Dominus*," when a *Te Deum* is performed, and the usual prayer said to the Holy Trinity and the Virgin. The election of Father Becks took place at Rome on the 2d of July. The following votes were cast:—

Very Rev. Father Becks	35
Very Rev. Father Pierling, Vicar-General	10
The celebrated Father Ravignon, Deputy of the Province of Paris	4
Rev. Father Rubillon, Assistant of France	1
Rev. Father Patrizi, Delegate of Rome	1
Rev. Father Ferrari	1

The thirty-seventh volume of the "Library of the Fathers," (published by J. H. Parker, London,) contains the translation of St. Augustine on the Psalms, Vol. V.

Tauchnitz, of Leipsic, has just published "*Canones et Decreta Concilii Tridentini ex Editione Romana A.* MDCCCXXXIV *Repetiti.* Accedunt S. Congr. Card. Conc. Trid. Interpretum Declarationes Ac Resolutiones ex Ipso Declarationum Thesauro Bullario Romano et Benedicti XIV. S. P. Operibus et Constitutiones Pontificiæ Recentiores ad jus Commune Spectantes E Bullario Romano Selectæ. Assumpto Socio Friderico Schultz, J. U. D. Edidit Æmilius Ludovicus Richter, J. U. D. Et In Lit. Univ. Berol. Prof. Publ. Ord." The work is published in imperial 8vo., and costs, in this country, about $4 50.

If it be true, as a recent earnest and well-informed writer remarks, that the Greek Church is eventually destined, chiefly through the power of Russia, "to regain the whole of the Græco-Eastern Empire, and even to cover Asia, and extend to the uttermost shores of the Eastern and Southern Ocean," the present character and condition of that Church becomes matter of the gravest interest. Great attention has been paid to the subject of late, and the following works are among its fruits, namely:—"Dissertations on Subjects Relating to the 'Orthodox' or 'Eastern-Catholic' Communion. By W. Palmer, M. A., Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. 1 vol., 8vo.:—History of the Holy Eastern Church. By the Rev. J. M. Neale, M. A. General Introduction. I. Its Geography. II. Its Ecclesiology. III. Its Liturgies, &c. In two large volumes, demy 8vo.:—Appendix to the Introduction to the Holy Eastern Church: containing a List of all the Sees in the Holy Eastern Church, with the Names of the Possessors as they existed in 1848. Translated from the original Russ, with Notes. By the same Author:—The History of the Patriarchate of Alexandria, from its Foundation, A. D. 44, to the death of Hierotheus, 1846. By the same Author. 2 vols., demy 8vo.:—The Doctrine of the Russian Church, being the Primer or Spelling Book, the Shorter and Larger Catechisms, and a Treatise on the Duty of Parish Priests. Translated from the Slavonic-Russian Originals, by the Rev. R. W. Blackmore, M. A., formerly Chaplain in Cronstadt. Demy 8vo.:—A Harmony of Anglican Doctrine, with the Doctrine of the Catholic and Apostolic Church of the East, which may serve as an Appendix to the volume entitled, 'The Doctrine of the Russian Church,' recently published by the same Author. Demy 8vo.:—A History of the Church of Russia. By A. N. Mouravieff, Chamberlain to His Majesty, and Under-Procurator of the Most Holy governing Synod, St. Petersburgh, translated by the same Author. Devotions Enjoined by the Holy Eastern Church, (pamphlet.)"

"*Lehrbuch der Katechetik, zugleich eine Apologie des Katechetischen Lehrverfahrens*, von G. I. Plato, Professor zu Leipzig." (Leipzig, 1853, 12mo., pp. 367.) This book is a repertory of valuable information on the subject of catechization, arranged in a clear and scientific order.

A brief treatise, exhibiting a parallel view of the theological systems of Romanism and Protestantism, is a desideratum in the English language. A valuable manual, in German, lies before us, entitled "*Das Bekenntniss der Evangelischen Kirche in seinem Verhältniss zu dem der Römischen und Griechischen*, von Dr. A. Hahn, Professor zu Breslau." (Leipzig,

Digitized by Google

1853, 8vo., pp. 192.) Dr. Hahn is a very careful writer, temperate in his feelings, and moderate in his language. After a brief introduction, defining the true Church, Dr. Hahn compares the doctrines of the three Churches, (drawn from the standard formulas of each,) first, with regard to the Object of Religious Worship; second, with regard to the doctrines of Sin and Salvation; third, with regard to the Means of Grace, (including the Word of God and the Sacraments;) fourth, with regard to the Future State. We should like to see a work prepared on such a basis for English readers.

Among the new theological works recently announced in Great Britain are the following:—

Dissertation on the Origin and Connexion of the Gospels; with a Synopsis of the Parallel Passages in the Original and Authorized Version, and Critical Notes. By James Smith, Esq., Author of the "Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul." 8vo.:—The Warburton Lectures of 1849–1853. By the Rev. E. B. Elliott, M. A. 8vo.:—The Jesuits; an Historical Sketch. By the Rev. E. W. Grinfield, M. A. Fcp. 8vo.:—Israel in Egypt. Illustrations of the Book of Genesis, from Egyptian Monuments. Crown 8vo., with engravings:—An Exposition of the Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Galatians, by Professor John Brown, of Edinburgh. Large 8vo.:—The Sufferings and Glories of the Messiah, signified beforehand to David and Isaiah: an Exposition of Psalm xviii, and Isaiah iii, 13; liii, 12. By Professor John Brown, of Edinburgh, 8vo.:—The Third Part of the Ecclesiastical History of John, Bishop of Ephesus, (the Syriac Text,) now first edited by William Cureton, M. A., F. R. S., Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen. 1 vol., 4to.:—The Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist. By Archdeacon Wilberforce. Demy 8vo.

Among the new works in theology and kindred topics, recently announced on the continent of Europe, are the following:—

Bernstein, G. H., Das heilige Evangelium des Johannes. Syrisch in Harklensischer Uebersetzung. Mit syrischem titel und vignette. Leipzig: 8vo.

Chalybäus, H. M., Philosophie und Christenthum. Ein Beitrag zur Begründung der Religions-Philosophie. Kiel, 8vo., pp. 188.

Ewald, H., Geschichte des Volkes Israel bis Christus. Zweite Ausgabe. 2 Bd. A. u. d. T.: Geschichte Moses und der Gottherrschaft in Israel. Göttingen: 8vo., pp. 566.

Meyer, E. J., Ueber das Verhältniss Jesu und seiner Jünger zum alttestamentlichen Gesetz. Magdeburg: 8vo., pp. 137.

Nägelsbach, Dr. C. W. E., der Gottmensch. Die Grundidee der Offenbarung in ihrer Einheit und geschichtlichen Entwicklung dargestellt. 1 Bd. Der Mensch der Natur. Nürnberg: 8vo., pp. 452.

Reuss, E., Die Geschichte der heiligen Schriften neuen Testaments. Zweite durchaus ungearbeitete und stark vermehrte Ausgabe. II. Abth. 8. Braunschweig: pp. 266–586.

Der Gottesdienst der Alten Kirche. Ein Vortrag von H. Abecken. 8vo. Berlin.

Die Gesellschaft Jesu, ihr Zweck, ihre Satzungen, Geschichte, Aufgabe und Stellung in der Gegenwart von F. J. Buss. In Zwei Abtheilungen. I. Abtheilung: Weltgeschichtliche Vorbereitungen, Stiftung und Satzungen der Gesellschaft Jesu. 8vo. (viii pp. and pp. 1–640.) Mainz. The second part (pp. 641–end) will be issued shortly. The author of this history of the Jesuits, though not avowedly belonging to the society, appears to embrace the Roman views.

Concordantiarum SS. Scripturæ Manuale, editio in commodissimum ordinem disposita et cum ipso textu sacro de verbo ad verbum sexies collata de Raze, de Lachaud et Flandrin. 8vo. (viii and 751 pp.) Paderborn.

Corpus Reformatorum. Post C. G. Bretschneiderum ed. H. E. Bindseil. Vol. XIX. Et. s. t.: Ph. Melancthonis opera quae supersunt omnia vol. XIX. 4to. Braunschweig.

Neue Untersuchung Ueber Entstehung und Anlage der kanonischen Evangelien von Prof. Dr. F. Delitzsch. 1. Thl.: Das Matthäus-Evangelium. 8vo. (112 pp.) Leipzig.

Compendium Ethicæ Christianæ Catholicæ. In usum lectionum academicarum. Ed. Prof. Dr. B. Dieckhoff. Fasc. II. Continens ex ethica speciali tractatus de religione interna et externa. 8vo. (vi pp. and pp. 149–264.) Paderborn.

Geschichte des Volkes Israel Bis Christus von H. Ewald. 2te Ausg. 2ter Band; a. u. d. T.: Geschichte Mose's und der Gottesherrschaft in Israel. 2te Ausgabe. 8vo. (ix and 566 pp.) Göttingen.

Digitized by Google

Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte von Dr. J. C. L. Gieseler. 3ter Bd. 2te Abth. 2. Thl. 8vo. (vi pp. and pp. 481–722.) Bonn.

Vita Jesu Christi A Paulo Apostolo Adumbrata. Commentatio a E. W. Kolthoff. 8vo. (55 pp.) Hafniæ, 1852.

Das Johanneische Evangelium nach seiner Eigenthümlichkeit geschildert und erklärt von Ch. E. Luthardt. 2te Abth. 8vo. Nürnberg.

Commentarius Criticus in N. T. quo loca graviora et difficiliora lectionis dubiæ accurate recensentur et explicantur Dr. J. G. Reiche. Tom. I. Epistolas Pauli ad Romanos et ad Corinthios datas continens. 4to. (vi and 409 pp.) Göttingen.

Die Christliche Religion von Dr. J. Scheinert. 1ster Bd. 8vo. (iv and 479 pp.) Königsberg.

We continue our summaries of the contents of the principal foreign theological journals:—

The "*Theologische Studien und Kritiken*," for July, 1853, (Hamburgh,) contains the following articles: 1. Confession and Union, by Professor Schöberlein, of Heidelberg, showing the difficulties and arguing the possibilities of union among the different branches of the Church; 2. An Inquiry into the question whether Cyrus the Great, the founder of the Medo-Persian monarchy, was identical with the Cyrus of Daniel, by Schulz, of Berlin; 3. A Homiletical Essay on the proper place of the exordium—whether before or after the text—of the sermon; 4. Review of Göbel's "Geschichte des Christlichen Lebens in der rheinisch-westphälischen Kirche," by Wachtler; 5. Review of Meyer's "Blätter für höhere Wahrheit," by Hamberger.

Christian Remembrancer, for July:—I. Recent Metaphysics: II. Miss Yonge's Novels: III. Palmer's Dissertations: IV. The Cloister-Life of the Emperor Charles the Fifth: V. Alford's Greek Testament, Vol. II.: VI. Modern Poetry: VII. Church Penitentiary Association: VIII. Spicilegium Solesmense.

Journal of Sacred Literature, for July:—I. The Rivers of Damascus: II. Armenian Translation of Eusebius: III. On the Samaritan Pentateuch: IV. The Sinaitic Inscriptions: V. Collation of the Gospels: VI. The Nestorians: VII. Syriac Metrical Literature: VIII. The Meaning of Scripture Silence: IX. On the "Running" of St. Paul.

Eclectic Review, for *July*:—I. The Reformation in England: II. Angling Literature: III. Popery—Its Genius and Policy: IV. Woodward's History of Wales: V. The Law of Mortmain: VI. The Art-Student in Munich: VII. Church Rates—Recent Parliamentary Debate: VIII. India—Its Government and Prospects. For *August*:—I. On Specimens of Natural History: II. The Kingdoms of Central Africa: III. The History of Trial by Jury: IV. Russell's Tour in Ceylon and India: V. Chesterton's Autobiography: VI. Stroud's Greek Harmony of the Four Gospels: VII. The Grenville Correspondence: VIII. The Turkish Question.

Prospective Review, (London,) for July:—I. Parker's Sermons on Religion: II. Religious Fiction: III. Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy: IV. Music in its Relations to Public Worship: V. Shakspeare.

Classical and Miscellaneous.

EUROPEAN.

LETTERS ON RECENT EUROPEAN LITERATURE.

LETTER I.

Paris, May 1, 1853.

As my arrangements are not yet complete for the prompt receipt of foreign works, I must confine myself, on this occasion, to the French. And here, as permanently, those alone will be selected for analysis which can commend themselves by *some advancement of the previous limits of their several subjects*, or by a *special adaptation to the wants or wishes of American readers.*

The first work to which I call your attention is a treatise on "*Climates and the Influence exercised by wooded and non-wooded soils*," &c. (*Des Climats et de l'Influence qu' exercent les sols Boisés et non Boisés. Par M. Becquerel, de l'Académie des Sciences et de l'Institut de France.* Paris: *Firmin Didot Frères.* New-York: *Hector Bossange*, 134 Pearl-street. Quebec: Buadestreet.) This is a book that falls fully under our second category of selection.

Digitized by Google

It treats of a subject that comes home peculiarly to the business and bosoms of American citizens, who have to cultivate a forest continent, and need to mitigate a violent climate. The author's plan is briefly indicated in the preface: "I will set before the reader's eyes," he says, "historical documents the most authentic as to the state of the primeval forests on the surface of the globe, as to the changes they have undergone from the waste of war and of civilization, and also what they are at the present day. I will present him, in the next place, while discussing their real value, the observations that have been made at divers epochs of the past, and by the aid of which it has been sought to demonstrate a change or permanence of climate in cleared countries which had been formerly wooded. In the third place, this exposition and this discussion will be preceded by an elementary treatise on climates, to the end of indicating the numerous causes which exert an influence in their constitution, and to show the nature of the changes wrought in them by clearage and cultivation."

Thus the scheme is, we see, abundantly comprehensive; while these departments are, all three, treated with great thoroughness. For instance, the division of elementary climatology commences, in this function, with the beginning: "The earth had an igneous origin, as witness the flatness at the poles, the increase of heat below the surface of invariable temperature, the thermal springs and volcanic phenomena. It must have passed successively from the gaseous to the liquid state; and its periphery, to a certain depth, from the liquid state into the solid. The gaseous matter not liquefiable composed about it an aërial atmosphere. From the solid crust, consisting of granites, porphyries, serpentines, were formed by attrition the primitive soils. The secondary soils were formed from sedimentary deposits. When the temperature fell low enough to leave the water liquid on the earth's surface, the streams began to rush along the crevices and the declivities resulting from the operation of the earth's cooling, wrought ravines among the rocks, and rolled the *debris* at the bottom, where were formed the first deposits of this second order. These deposits, at first level, then inclined to the horizon in consequence of new upheavals and overlappings, were composed of bowlders of sand, of chalky clay, with little or no limestone, which appeared not, in any abundance, until later. The action of the water was so far but *mechanical*. It operated also, however, *physically* and even *chemically* in the composition of the various sedimental series." The mode of operation is followed regularly by the author, until it ends with the last formations of the *inorganic* earth.

"But this," he says, "was not sufficient for the birth of vegetation. There was still necessary the detritus also of *organic* matter, or ammoniacal or azotized principles. These indeed might have been formed by electric discharges in the atmosphere. As to the organic matter, it could be furnished only by organized bodies. But how then has the vital principle made its appearance upon the earth? Science remains mute at this question: for if all the substances composing the earth and the organized bodies upon its surface should come to fall back into their elements, through some great catastrophe, as an excess of heat, and then a process of gradual cooling were to succeed, the inorganic compounds would be all re-formed by the agency of their affinities; while *we do n't see* how the germs of animals or plants could reappear. We must needs then admit the existence of a creative power, which has been manifested at certain epochs of the world's history, and which acts now in preserving the present species, not in forming new ones. Let us describe, then, only what takes place as vegetation overruns the earth as soon as the germs are transported thither by an unknown cause." P. 15. Yet this unknown cause, of which haughty science is thus compelled to confess its ignorance, is made familiar to our plainest readers by the light of religion.

The author sketches next the rise of the successive series of vegetation; from which he passes to the various soils, and thence in turn to the climates. Having laid down this grand speculative or scientific basis, he then proceeds to the attestations both of history and statistics. And in this consists the special value of the work. In the theoretic portion I find nothing quite original; but for utility, abundance, and the latest scientific accuracy, I believe its mass of *facts* without a rival on the subject. In fact, the writer is here esteemed the first authority in that department. The work (which is in one volume) is enhanced further by two fine maps; the one indicative of the oceanic currents over the whole globe, the other descriptive of the meteorology of France.

Digitized by Google

I am next to introduce to you a little volume upon Anthropology. (*De l'Homme et des Races humaines. Par Henry Hollard, Docteur en Medicine et Docteur es Sciences, Professeur d'Histoire Naturelle à l'Academie de Neuchatel. Paris: Labé, Libraire de la Faculte de Medicine. Hector Bossange*, New-York, 134 Pearl-street.) I do so the more freely, that the fervid author is a vehement advocate for both the unity and the divinity assigned our species by the Holy Scriptures. But he has also another merit more original than this. He thinks "the natural history of man requires a previous appreciation of the system of entire nature of which he forms an integral part." This preliminary requisite he furnishes accordingly in a very able and intelligent introduction. But is the notion quite consistent with his invectives against "Pantheism," of which this aggregate embodiment of man with nature is the vulgar principle? But not to judge from a mere expression, take the following statement from the introduction. He is speaking of the universal progression of nature:—

"This progression, which commences at the same point in all organisms, which proceeds through analogous phases in those of the same kingdom or the same type, which, in fine, from one being to another, varies chiefly in its superior and definitive term—this progression, what does it show us? An active cause, a force, appropriating to itself the formless matter which is supplied it, wrapping itself therein, not as if with a fixed envelop, but as with an organic medium which it elaborates and renews by an intimate and continuous movement of modification, manifesting it above all as an organizing force, then as a sensible being, in fine, as an intelligent soul, until it rises, conscious of itself, from the perception of particular phenomena to the conception of universal ideas. Thus is constituted that individuality, real, concrete, and living, called man. It is thus at first, and in the harmonic wholeness of his attributes, that we will study him, successively placing him in juxtaposition with other creatures and with his fellows." Pp. 4, 5.

At the same time that this passage serves to indicate the author's plan, it goes to show, I think, that he is treading on the utmost verge of materialism. The only doubt that can be entertained of his thus falling flatly into inconsistency, could turn merely on some mystic meaning of his organizing or active "force." Upon this, we see, he is not explicit above. But some pages after, there occurs a passage which unveils a little this occult cause, though the explanation was incidental, and no doubt unconscious. He is treating still of the progressive series of being throughout the universe:—

"What is indicated to us by this strict, constant, and universal dependence among all the phenomena of the physical world? That they are all resolvable into one general fact, and that they proceed from one and the same cause; in a word, that one common force is diffused throughout entire nature, and sets all its operations at work. Such is also the implied conclusion of modern physicists when, in their most accredited theory, instead of imponderable fluids, which pluralized the sources of physical phenomena, they substitute the doctrine which explains all those phenomena by the diversified vibrations of an etherial fluid diffused throughout all space and penetrating all bodies." P. 21.

Here, then, are all phenomena resolved into "vibration," MOTION.

At the same time I must say, the author protests expressly, over and over, that the human intellect or soul is *sui generis*. But here precisely is the contradiction whereby his treatise is best described. The book in truth is an amalgam, so to say, of Pritchard with Lamarck. The author, as a physiologist, could not deny the law of development, but thought of reconciling it with the antagonistic theory. The result is, however, none the worse for this common oversight, as it presents a clever survey of both the systems in convenient contrast.

This theory of Development is quite the order of the age. It is the subject, more directly, of still another publication, which bears the title of "*Profession of Faith of the Nineteenth Century.*" (*Profession de Foi du Dix Neuvième Siècle. Par Eugene Pelletan. Paris: Pagnerre. Hector Bossange*, New-York, 134 Pearl-street.) The author is one of the editors of the democratic *Siècle*, perhaps the ablest and most attically-written journal of Paris: for radicalism is not inseparable from vulgarity and crudity, as you might naturally think from some of its organs in America.

And as the journal, so the book in point of elegance of style. But, *en revanche*, the composition savours also of the journalist. It is the product of a general knowledge of the odds and ends

Digitized by Google

of all things thrown together, as alone materials acquired in this way can ever be. To hide this looseness, like Carlyle and Emerson, the author wraps it in a mist of sentiment, and casts, moreover, the exposition in a sort of melo-dramatic form. A recluse student, whom he encountered in an old hotel of Paris, is made the oracle of the new faith. This personage (a fresh edition of the *Vicaire Savoyarde*) is made to narrate how he passed from religion to scepticism and thence to science; and having sketched this merely personal and mental evolution, he launches back into primeval chaos, and traces upward the law of progression, until he reaches the final term of creation in the human intellect. "Life," says he, "was in the marrow of this the latest genesis but a vast metempsychosis, persevering, from form to form, from energy to energy, from aggregation to vegetation, from vegetation to sensibility, from sensibility to instinct, from instinct to intelligence—a final type which it had not hitherto attained: it was but a restless ascension toward a supreme incarnation; an infinite subordination of different functions exerted by a diversity of creatures, and destined to end in a superior being and a superior function of sovereignty." P. 49.

This extract also shows the tone and tenor of the writer to be Carlyleish, as I described it—that is, rhapsodical. It is but just, however, to remark, that the comparison is merely relative: M. Pelletan, in point of science, is the same to Carlyle or to Emerson as Paris is to London or to Boston. His conception of the law of progress has at least a head and tail to it, and these are linked, however loosely, by an intermediate series. Whereas his Anglo-Saxon analogues, so far as I have seen their lucubrations, give their effusions neither head nor tail, nor above all, *body*, nor even bones.

The *head*, however, of the present essay is very evidently monstrous. In the first place, individual man is made the supreme term of the cosmical series, while the development is also stated to have passed beyond him in its upward course. And then, again, these higher stages the incongruous writer points out expressly in the divers mechanical and other constructions of the civilized intellect. It must follow, then, that a machine would be a *higher* creation than a man!

From this vision of society in its future and its fair side, pass we now to some publications on its actualities and its realities. One of those entitled, "*On the Causes of Social Misery, both Moral and Physical, and the Means of providing them a Remedy*," (*Etudes sur les Causes de la Misère tant Moral que Physique et sur les Moyens d'y porter Remede. Par A. E. Cherbuliez, Docteur en Droit, Professeur de Sciences politiques à l'Academie de Geneve, &c.* Paris: *Guillomin et Cie. Hector Bossange*, New-York,) is a little work of great sagacity, suggestiveness, and good sense. It is quite worthy of both the calling and the country of the writer—of that Geneva which is the Scotland of the continent. It has, moreover, that first condition of every serious publication—a systematic coördination of its materials. The general order of the writer's ideas may be briefly analyzed as follows:—"Man has two tendencies, instinctive, indestructible, which take, in the state of society, the names of Liberty, and Equality. The social order compresses these tendencies by industrial labour and unequal ranks, which are two consequences of the institution of property. It therefore necessitates a coercive power, which employs the force of all, to guarantee the rights assigned to each. But this must be impossible, save in so far as the minds of all, or at least of the majority, concur with that guarantee; in other words, so far as the masses recognise as a *moral* authority that which constitutes the order of the State. Now history tells us that this moral authority, throughout its ages of greatest power, appeared in the form of certain organic groups, such as those of family, of landed property, of confraternities, of corporations, &c. The French and similar revolutions having broken up these combinations, the resulting individualism spread the plague of physical and moral misery. The remedy is to reconstitute them on the same principle, but on a larger basis—to construct a new synthesis for the popular mind. This cannot be done by law, which is a vague abstraction of the general will; whereas, to act upon men *morally*, the agent must be real and concrete. This direct and individual agency the author denominates *patronage*, and deems preventive of all the misery that is not naturally necessary. Its means of action would be charity, education, influence."

Of the power or the possibility of such a system I shall say nothing, save that, if ever realized, it will not be by express purpose. As presented by this writer, it is evidently a return to the clanship or

Digitized by Google

the clientage of primitive times. Not, however, that this is really an objection to its occurrence; it is rather the contrary, but with the diffusion of a new *principle*.

No, that is not the remedy, says another physician of the body social, and who finds the specific for "pauperism" in *Economy:—L'Economie ou Remede du Pauperism. Par M. L. Mezières.* Paris: *Renouard et Cie.* New-York: *Hector Bossange.* The composition of this book is also different from the preceding. It savours of the pamphlet or the newspaper. Entirely without system, it has no doubt a large collection of wise saws and modern instances about economy. But to make it meritorious or even excusable to reproduce them, they should be fused into some fresher forms, or founded on some deeper principle. I therefore notice the book at all only from a proper deference to the French Academy, which has, the cover tells us, "crowned" it with its prize or praise. I dare conjecture that this decision has, in some degree, depended on the virulent *conservatism* of the writer, and the constant fire which, as himself a property-holder, he keeps up against the hated Socialists. To me, however, this deprives the book of dignity as well as system.

At all events the publication might be mentioned, as an additional sign of the attention engrossed at present by this all-important question, throughout the countries of civilized Europe, and foremost of them in France.

But here is still another portly volume on the subject, and also "crowned," it should be added, by the same Academy:—*Etudes Historiques sur l'Influence de la Charité durant les premiers siècles Chretiens, et considerations sur son rôle dans les sociétés modernes. Par E. Chastel. Ouvrage couronné en 1852, par l'Academie Française.* Paris: *Capelle.* New-York: *Hector Bossange.*

The compliment in this case is undoubtedly well merited. It would be hard, I think, to name a work upon the social influences of Christianity so free, on the one hand, from cant or rant, and on the other from rationalism. The author, without being, or perhaps meaning to be, profound, is, from his fine historic spirit, quite a classic in composition: and, for the subject, its rich variety may be imagined from the mere theme, which, as proposed for competition by the French Academy, runs thus: "What influence did charity exercise upon the Roman empire? What institutions did it found there? With what new spirit did it interpenetrate it? What remedies did it apply to alleviate its evils?"

This group of questions, it is manifest, involve the fairest eulogy that has ever been written on the Christian religion. And such, in my opinion, is the simple statement of historic facts in this learned essay: "To collect from the original documents of the early ages of Christianity all the facts of any import which regard the influences of charity—to rise to the general spirit that presided over their occurrence—to render an exact account of their effects upon the Roman world"—such is the essential object of the author in his own words. None of mine need now be added to commend the result to your readers. To clergymen especially the work must seem invaluable. To students of history, also, it sheds a needed and steady light upon an aspect of the Roman empire not set sufficiently before in view. In fine, for the philosopher, it teems with matter for reflection. In the mass of misery which it exhibits as overwhelming the Roman people, and which in our day is perhaps utterly beyond the compass of imagination, the profane reasoner must recognise, that if the Christian system had not been revealed, the recuperative force of nature must have invented its boundless charities—or else society (a thing impossible) must have perished.

Now to works that view society, not on its side of misery, but that of money—a thing which most believe its best cure, and which some hold to be its worst cause. A treatise, in two volumes, has just appeared upon this subject, entitled, "*Money, Credit, and Taxation,*" (*De la Monnaie, du Crédit et de l'Impôt. Par Gustave du Puynode.* Paris: *Guillomin et Cie.* New-York: *Hector Bossange.*) The ambitious scope of the author's project will be perhaps conceived from the following strictures on the most celebrated of his predecessors, French and English:—"Money, credit, and taxation are the subjects I propose to treat of, and they are also the least known subjects of political economy, especially in France. For some years back, it is true, there have been publications, some quite remarkable, which have enlightened us upon the function of moneys and the services of banks; but in regard to public credit, and particularly taxation, we French are still immersed in complete ignorance. The English economists, too, who have

Digitized by Google

gone the deepest into these matters, are far themselves from having treated them with entire satisfaction. Smith, Ricardo, Malthus, Parnell, Buchanan, M'Culloch, Mill, have made them the subject of special works which evince great knowledge, and often genius. But to what system have they attached themselves, from what principle have they set out, to what end do they direct their labours? They are utterly destitute of any aggregate plan; and if we find in their works researches often ingenious and profound in the point of view of present and practical interest, never, or almost never, do they seem to take their views from either theory or equity and right regarded in their pure essence." Pref., pp. 5, 6.

This criticism on the English is no doubt just and characteristic; but the alleged ignorance of the French writers appears to be at least exaggerated. At all events the hardy critic incurs a large responsibility. How fully he has redeemed it I cannot undertake to say with confidence, having gone as yet but cursorily through the wilderness of his materials. My impression is, however, that the chief distinction of the work lies in being a repertory of the most correct and complete knowledge on the various questions connected with monetary, mercantile, and fiscal institutions. It adds, moreover, to the actual state of such institutions the world over, a succinct sketch of their historic origin and subsequent vicissitudes. In fine, the author's reliability in point of science would seem to me presumable from the following sentence alone: "The two ideas," says he, "which form the basis and the object of this book are *freedom of credit* and *direct taxation*." Pref., p. 8.

I find also lying before me, of the same genus, an *Essay on the Ultimate Consequences of the Gold of California and Australia*. The author is M. de Zegoborski, a Counsellor of State of his Russian Majesty. The book betrays its country, though presented in the French language—being indeed industrious, but rather heavy and common-place.

The book I next present supplies a gradual relaxation from the technicalities of money-making, by a touch of its romance:—*Jacques Cœur et Charles* VII., *ou la France au* XV. *siècle. Etude historique, &c. Par M. Pierre Clement, auteur de l'Histoire de la vie et de l'administration de Colbert.* Paris: *Guillomin et Cie.* New-York: *Hector Bossange.* The hero, Jacques Cœur, was a sort of Yankee of the fifteenth century, who made and lost repeated fortunes with a facility that then seemed magical, and the vicissitudes of whose wild life were no less prodigious than his possessions. Born in the country town of Bourges, of humble parents, he rose, by his own exertions, and at an early age of life, to be real controller and principal master of the entire commerce of the French kingdom, and to be patron, then banker, and at last minister, of the French king. But the wealth that caused his rapid rise, brought upon him often a ruin as rapid—not merely confiscating his possessions, but also menacing his life. Again, however, he escapes, and emerges soon to his former affluence, through struggles that would pass for fiction much more easily than for reality, if due attention were not bestowed upon the genius of the times.

It is this genius of the age, in fact, that gives its highest interest to the book—an age the most prolific of wild adventures all over Europe, and the most glorious for solid achievements in France. The king, of whom our hero had been such a mainstay, was Charles VII., who, after thirty years of warfare, expelled the English from the continent, and also founded the institution of standing armies. In these transactions the boundless wealth and patriotic liberality of Jacques Cœur bore a quite essential part; and so he is made, by no forced construction, to serve the purpose of a central figure, about which to group the French history of the epoch. And in his history, amid a multitude of personages the most singular, we also find a full-length portrait of the immortal Joan of Arc. The work besides has an introduction on the moneys of the Middle Ages, with some engravings appertaining to the same. The two finely-printed volumes blend utility and curiosity, to an extent and in a manner quite original.

We are come at length to a work on literature, pure literature:—*Tableau de la Literature du Nord au Moyen Age, en Allemagne et en Angleterre, en Scandinavie et en Slavonie. Par F. G. Eichoff, Professeur de la Faculte des Lettres de Lyon.* Paris: *Didier, Libraire-Editeur.* New-York: *Hector Bossange.* It is that of a period and a region of peculiar interest in America, the literature of the four countries from which its miscellaneous people derive almost exclusively their origin and inspiration, and this literature at an epoch which makes it most longed for, because least known.

Digitized by Google

The scheme of Professor Eichoff is outlined in the following terms. After sketching the transformations of the ancient world to the date in question, and noting the leading features of these times, he confines himself to the development of but one point in the vast perspective: "My sole aim has been to bring together whatever relates to the manners, idioms, and primitive creeds of that robust Germanic race, of which the influence has transformed Europe, and given birth, by a happy contrast, from the fifth to the fifteenth century, to fruits so various and so invaluable. Classical by taste as well as profound conviction, a warm admirer of Homer and of Virgil, full of respect for the noble models which have been bequeathed us by antiquity, I shall not sacrifice their glory, after the prejudices of our day, to the caprices of uncultivated genius, to the exciting but barbarous idols which were incensed by the northern nations. But I will also say, and seek to prove, that the ancient literature, like ancient society, exhausted by its labours and its successes, had stood in need of a violent crisis whereby to temper anew its vigour; that the deadly strife between the north and south, which proved so desolating in its first effects, has in its final results been both salutary and prolific, and that it is the union of these two contraries, combined and crossed in a thousand forms, as they rolled along the revolution of ages, that has given origin, in Italy, in Spain, in Germany and England, but above all in France, the intellectual centre of Europe, to those lights of the new civilization which are now irradiating the entire globe." Pp. 9, 10. Such is the pregnant theory and ample project of the author. I have not space of course to speak of the execution of such a work. As some guarantee, however, I may mention that his pen had been already practised upon kindred subjects, both historical and philological.

The name of John Bodin, and his immortal writings, require no "bush." *J. Bodin et son Temps—Tableau des theories politiques et des idées economiques au seizième siècle. Par Henry Baudrillart, Professeur au College de France.* Paris: *Guillomin et Cie.* New-York: *Hector Bossange.* And yet it is remarkable that the present editor has deemed it requisite to bring to the support of both a historic survey of the "times." This indeed is getting common with the French writers of the day. A bare biography is deemed no longer a thing to occupy a serious writer, however celebrated or significant the personage. There is, moreover, a dawning sentiment, if not as yet a distinct conception, that even such personages are a *fragment* of both their country and their age, and that the latter must be therefore studied in conjunction with the former. This correlation is the mother-principle of the new order of historical writing, which at last is touching on its fundamental installation. It had been seized, indeed, some three centuries since by the great subject of these remarks, who was the first to consider in politics the influence of *climate* and *of race.* But he saw it only in the large aggregates called nations; and even in these he saw it so imperfectly as to attempt, in contradiction, to determine, like his predecessors, a certain *absolute* republic, which should be the "best" for all ages, all races, all countries. It was accordingly, by mere correction of this logical inconsistency, that his great countryman and pupil has also made an epoch. For Montesquieu applied the climatory principle to constitutions—that is to say, instead of absolutely, viewed them *relatively.* This, however, is his main title to the strangely presumptuous motto of *prolem sine matre creatam.* But the slow progression has been labouring downward from Montesquieu to the present day, when we see this notion of *relativity* extending to epochs, to individuals.

But to return to the book before me; its general character is briefly this. It commences with an able survey of the various theories or systems, political and economical, of the sixteenth century, as properly preparatory to appreciation of Bodin's writings. A second part relates his life, describes the character of all his works, and translates, for the first time, I think, his essay on "Historical Method." The third part gives an analysis and commentary on the treatise *De Republica.*

Here is another work, of which the author and the subject are both still surer of winning American attention: I mean the *History of the People,* by Augustin Thierry: (*Essai sur l'Histoire de la Formation et des Progres du Tiers-état. Par Augustin Thierry.* Paris: *Furu et Cie.* New-York: *Hector Bossange.* Without a rival in the two essentials of arrangement and expression, the illustrious painter of the Anglo-Norman Conquest would attract your public upon any theme. But when he traces the most continuous and complete series of evolutions, from extreme serfdom up to ex-

Digitized by Google

treme freedom, which the popular classes have as yet achieved, no doubt the result must be more than interesting to the only nation upon the earth which has been founded through the like triumphs, and consists exclusively of the same classes.

M. Thierry gives a much larger than the usual amplitude to the *Tiers-etat*. He extends the name to the entire nation, less the clergy and the nobility, and thus of course embraces what we call in English the middle class. In this way he is enabled to claim the glory for the *people* of producing almost all the greatest intellects of French history. For example, in the so-called Augustan age of Louis XIV., there were but three in the entire galaxy of noble origin, namely, Fenelon, Larochefaucauld, and Madame de Sevigné. The rest were all plebeians, to wit: Corneille, Pascal, Moliere, Racine, La Fontaine, Boileau, Bossuet, Bourdaloue, Flechier, Massillon, La Bruyère, Arnaud, Nicole, Domat. In short, this volume is the strongest vindication of, and noblest tribute that has hitherto been paid to, the oppressed portion of humanity.

I give the last position to a religious publication:—*Saint Paul et Sénèque, Recherches sur les rapports du Philosophe avec l'Apotre, et sur l'Infiltration du Christianism naissant a travers le Paganism. Par A. Fleury.* Paris: *Librairie Philosophique de Ladrange.* New-York: *Hector Bossange.* Its object is to prove the stoic Seneca not only to have been a Christian, but moreover to have been made a convert by an alleged intercourse with St. Paul. The work is valuable, as well as curious, for its immense hoard of learning. But the argument is as invalid as the retort that has been made to it, that Christianity is a merely modified continuation of Stoicism.

O.

A LARGE undertaking is commenced in a work entitled "*Geschichte des Heidenthums, in Beziehung auf Religion, Wissen, Kunst, Sittlichkeit und Staatsleben*, von Dr. A. WUTTKE," (Breslau, 1853,) of which the first part, containing 356 pages, 8vo., lies before us. This part gives what the author calls the "first steps of the history of humanity," in a survey of the ethico-political history of the Huns, the Mongols, the Mexicans, and the Peruvians. The plan is a vast and comprehensive one.

THE "*Museum of Classical Antiquities*," (London, T. Richards,) for April and May, 1853, contains a copious dissertation "On the True Site of Calvary," with a restored plan of the ancient city of Jerusalem. We regret to see, from the publisher's announcement, that this excellent journal is not patronized as it should be. We call the attention of the scholars of our country to the work, and urge them to sustain it.

MESSRS. Garrigue & Christern (4 Astor House, New-York) have commenced the issue of a "*Monthly Bulletin of German Literature*," in a form very convenient for use. It will not be a mere list of books published, but a classified report of new publications, with brief statements of their contents and value, and extracts from the leading literary journals, in order to afford as "precise characteristics of new books as are compatible with their recent appearance." Omitting entirely the vast amount of merely local literature constantly issuing from the press in Germany, it will give more minute information about all works of interest to scholars than can be afforded by miscellaneous catalogues.

WE have received the supplementary volume of Engelmann's "*Bibliotheca Scriptorum Classicorum et Graecorum et Latinorum.* (Leipzig, 1853, 8vo., pp. 120.) It contains an alphabetical list of all editions and translations of the Greek and Latin Classics that have appeared in Germany between the years 1847 and 1852. The former volume extended from 1700 to 1847; and the two, taken together, form the best manual of classical bibliography in compact form now extant.

AMONG the new works in classical and general literature, recently published on the continent of Europe, are the following:—

Das Theseion und der Tempel des Ares in Athen. Eine archäologisch-topographische Abhandlung von Ludw. Ross. Mit einem Plane des Marktes. Halle, 1852: 8vo., pp. 88.

Alciphronis Rhetoris Epistolae. Recensuit, cum Bergleri integris, Meinekii, Wagneri, aliorum selectis suisque annotationibus edidit, indices adjecit E. E. Seiler. Lipsiae, 1853: 8vo., pp. 500.

Akademische Vorlesungen über indische Literaturgeschichte. Gehalten im Wintersemester 1851–52, von Dr. Alb. Weber. Berlin: 8vo., pp. 290.

Avesta, die heiligen Schriften der Parsen. Aus dem Grundtexte übersetzt, mit steter Rücksicht auf die Traditionen von

Digitized by Google

Dr. Friedr. Spiegel, Prof. zu Erlangen. 1 Bd. Der Vendidad. Leipzig, 1852: 8vo., pp. 303.

We continue our summaries of the contents of the principal foreign journals of general literature:—

Westminster Review, for July:—I. John Knox: II. Over-Legislation: III. Pedigree and Heraldry: IV. Sects and Secular Education: V. Young Criminals: VI. The Life of Moore: VII. India and its Finance: VIII. Balzac and his Writings: IX. The Turkish Empire: X, XI, XII, XIII, Contemporary Literature of England, America, Germany, and France.

Edinburgh Review, for July:—I. The Austrian Court in the Eighteenth Century: II. The Nations of India and their Manners: III. Lord Grey's Colonial Administration: IV. Relations of England with China: V. Lives of the Devreux Earls of Essex: VI. Popular Education in the United States: VII. Quarantine, Small Pox, and Yellow Fever: VIII. Larpent's Journal in Spain: IX. The French Navy.

London Quarterly Review, for July:—I. Annals of Ireland—by the Four Masters: II. Baron Haxthausen's Notes on Russia: III. Writings of Professor Owen—Generalizations of Comparative Anatomy: IV. Shepherd on Ecclesiastical Forgeries: V. Autobiography of Signor Ruffini: VI. Count Fiquelmont on the Palmerston Policy: VII. The Oxford Commission: VIII. Memoirs of Thomas Moore.

British Quarterly, (London,) for August:—I. French History for 1853: II. Critical Editions of the Greek Testament: III. Electricity and Magnetism: IV. The Crusades as described by Crusaders: V. Hypatia; or, New Foes with an Old Face: VI. The Alleged Successes of Romanism: VII. Present Relations of Employer and Employed: VIII. Horace: IX. Russia and Turkey: X. Our Epilogue on Affairs and Books.

North British Review, (Edinburgh,) for August:—I. Theories of Poetry and a New Poet—Dallas's Poetics and Smith's Poems: II. Our Colonial Empire and our Colonial Policy: III. Dr. Henry Marshall and Military Hygiene: IV. The Text of Scripture: V. Free and Slave Labour: VI. The Early Christian Life and Literature of Syria: VII. The Grenville Papers and Junius: VIII. Germany in its Relations to France and Russia: IX. The New India Bill.

Revue des Deux Mondes, (Paris,) for *May*:—I. Nuances de la Vie Mondaine, par M. Octave Feuillet: II. La Monarchie de 1830, Derniere Partie, par M. Louis De Carné: III. Un Moine Philosophe du Onzième Siècle (Saint Anselme de Cantorbéry, de M. Ch. De Rémusat,) par M. Emile Saisset: IV. Souvenirs D'Une Station Dans les Mers de L'Indochine, par M. E. Jurien de la Gravière: V. Beaumarchais, Sa Vie, Ses Ecrits et Son Temps, D'Après des Papiers de Famille Inédits, par M. Louis De Loménie: VI. Promenade en Amérique; Philadelphie, par M. J. J. Ampère: VII. Chronique de la Quinzaine. For *June*:—I. L'Art Français Au Dix-Septième Siècle, par M. Victor Cousin: II. Le Roman Social en Angleterre: III. La Télégraphie Electrique, Ses Développemens en France, en Angleterre, en Amérique et sur le Continent Européen, par M. Babinet: IV. Du Drame Moderne, par M. Edgar Quinet: V. Papiers D'Etat.—Louis XIV. et Guillaume III. Leurs Négociations Secrètes pour la Succession d'Espagne, D'Après le Recueil de Leurs Lettres Publié en Angleterre, par M. Louis de Viel-Castel: VI. Promenade en Amérique.—viii, Washington, le Congrès et les Partis Politiques, par M. J. J. Ampère: VII. Beaumarchais, Sa Vie, Ses Ecrits et Son Temps, D'Après des Papiers de Famille Inédits, par M. Louis De Loménie: VIII. Chronique de la Quinzaine, Histoire Politique et Littéraire. For *July*:—I. Souvenirs D'Une Station Dans Les Mers de L'Indochine, par M. E. Jurien de la Gravière: II. La Hollande Sous Deux Règnes, Souvenirs Historiques Sur Le Roi Louis et Guillaume I., par M. Vivien: III. La Dernière Bohémienne, Deuxième Partie, par Mme. Ch. Reybaud: IV. Un Hiver en Corse, Récits de Chasse et Scènes de la Vie Des Maquis, par M. Charles Reynaud: V. Du Mouvement Poétique en Angleterre Depuis Shelley, par M. Arthur Dudley: VI. San Francisco A Ripa, par M. De Stendhal: VII. Les Protestans Français en Europe, Recherches Nouvelles de M. Weiss Sur L'Histoire des Réfugiés Depuis la Révocation de L'Edit de Nantes, par M. Ch. Louandre: VIII. Chronique de la Quinzaine.

AMERICAN.

We continue our summaries of the contents of American Theological Journals:—

Southern Presbyterian Review, (Columbia, S. C.,) for July:—I. The Principles of Moral and Political Economy: II. Orthodoxy in New-England: III. The Necessity

Digitized by Google

and Importance of Controversy: IV. The Philosophy of Life: V. The Relation of Justice to Benevolence in the Conduct of Society: VI. The Secondary and Collateral Influences of the Sacred Scriptures: VII. The Final Destiny of our Globe.

Christian Review, (New-York,) for July:—I. Christian Supernaturalism: II. Schools in the Turkish Empire: III. Hope for our Country: IV. The King and the Preacher: V. Scripture Facts and Illustrations, collected during a Journey in Palestine, by Professor Hackett: VI. Hippolytus, and his Age: VII. The Catholics and the School Question.

New-York Quarterly, for July:—I. Cuban Question: II. John Randolph: III. Music a Language: IV. Marie Stuart: V. Recent Progress of the Sciences of Astronomy and Physics: VI. The late Sylvester Judd.

Bibliotheca Sacra, (Andover,) for July:—I. Characteristics, Duties, and Culture of Woman: II. Lucian and Christianity: III. The Relation of the Grecian to Christian Ethics: IV. The Religion of Geology: V. On the Use of the Preposition εἰς in Romans v, 18: VI. From Antipatris to Emmaus: VII. The Law of Remorse and the Law of Repentance; or, the Passage from Natural to Revealed Religion: VIII. The Certainty of Success in Preaching: IX. Bretschneider's View of the Theology of Schleiermacher.

North-American Review, (Boston,) for July:—I. Recent English Poetry: II. Political Philosophy: III. The Eclipse of Faith: IV. Sparks's Correspondence of the Revolution: V. Recent Social Theories: VI. France, England, and America: VII. Modern Saints, Catholic and Heretic: VIII. The Life of St. Paul: IX. Thackeray, as a Novelist: X. The Writings of B. B. Edwards: XI. Schoolcraft on the Indian Tribes.

Christian Examiner, (Boston,) for July:—I. Spiritual Mechanics: II. Religion, Civilization, and Social State of the Japanese: III. Poetry: IV. The Errors and Superstitions of the Church of Rome: V. The Character of Archbishop Cranmer: VI Heresy in Andover Seminary: VII. The Doctrine of Regeneration: VIII. Crusades: IX. Professor Farrar.

Brownson's Quarterly, (Boston,) for July:—I. The Spiritual Order Supreme: II. Mother Seton and St. Josephs: III. Philosophical Studies on Christianity: IV. Wallis's Spain: V. The Fathers of the Desert.

Free-Will Baptist Quarterly, for July:—I. Biblical Criticism: II. The Herodian Family: III. Science and Revealed Religion: IV. Lectures—Their Position and Influence: V. Minister and Pulpit: VI. Names of the Soul: VII. Biblical Theology: VIII. Immigration.

Theological and Literary Journal, (New-York,) for July:—I. Dr. G. P. Smith on the Geological Theory: II. The Rev. Albert Barnes's Notes on Revelation xx, 4–6: III. The Princeton Review on Millenarianism: IV. The Distastefulness of Christianity: V. English Universities: VI. Dr. Nevins's Pantheistic and Development Theories.

Mercersburg Quarterly Review, (Mercersburg, Pa.,) for July:—I. The Strong Character: II. The Communion of Saints: III. Paracelsus and his Influence on Christianity and Medicine: IV. The Island of Ægina: V. Franklin and Marshall College: VI. Rationalistic Poetry: VII. Reflections on the History of Civil Liberty.

Universalist Quarterly, (Boston,) for July:—I. Historical Sketch of Interpretations of 1 Peter iii, 18–20, and iv, 6: II. Character and its Predicates: III. The Ministry: IV. Agencies in Salvation.

Biblical Repertory, (Princeton,) for July:—I. Idea of the Church: II. Boardman's Bible in the Counting-House: III. Journal and Letters of Rev. Henry Martyn, B. D.: IV. Theology in Germany: V. Proceedings of the last General Assembly.

Southern Quarterly Review, (Charleston,) for July:—I. State of Parties and the Country: II. College and University Education in America: III. Aboriginal Races of America: IV. Secondary Combats of the Mexican War: V. Trench on Proverbs: VI. The Iroquois Bourbon: VII. The Student—Love of Study: VIII. Stowe's Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin.

New-Englander, (New-Haven,) for August:—I. Abbott's Napoleon: II. Is the Soul Immortal?: III. Redemption as Related to the Fall of the Angels: IV. Reforms in Austria, under Joseph II.: V. Life and Character of Professor B. B. Edwards: VI. Corruption of the Lord's Supper into the Mass: VII. Dr. Grant and the Mountain Nestorians: VIII. Layard's Discoveries.

Presbyterian Quarterly Review, (Philad.,) for September:—I. Thoughts on Theology: II. The "Presbyterian Magazine" and the "Spirit of American Presbyterianism:" III. Historical Development of the Doctrine of the Atonement: IV. Chillingworth: V. The General Assembly: VI. Dr. Skinner's Translation of Vinet's Pastoral Theology.

Digitized by Google

INDEX.

Abbott, (Rev. Benjamin,) early preaching of..... Page 9
Abelard, his position in philosophy 345–354
Action, motives of human..... 13
Adam and Eve, paradisiacal state of.... 269
Age, character of the present..... 427
Alford's Greek Testament..... 318
America, Chateaubriand's writings on. 108
——, influence of, on the political world..... 435
American Christians, duties of..... 441
—— patriots, duties of..... 440
Amos, traces of Pentateuch in..... 79
Anachronisms, seeming, of the Pentateuch considered..... 92
Analogies and analogical reasoning..... 220
——, etymological..... 227
—— of the "Vestiges of Civilization," fanciful..... 224
Annihilation of the wicked after the general judgment, held by Dr. M'Culloh..... 276
Anselm, of Canterbury..... 479, 576
——, birth of..... 577
——, education of..... 578
——, inconsistency of..... 584
——, made Archbishop..... 580
——, quarrel between, and Henry..... 585
——, quarrel between, and William II 581
——, theology of..... 588
Apostles, the, emulated by early Methodist preachers..... 14
Apostolic succession..... 542
Architecture, church, in the United States..... 280
Aristotle..... 342
——, comprehensiveness of his philosophy..... 509
——, his intellect, philosophy, and labours in behalf of logic..... 343
——, his writings imbued with a religious spirit..... 344
Arminius, Works of Dr. James..... 472
Arnauld, M. Agnes..... 203
——, Marie Angélique..... 193
Asbury, Journal of Rev. Francis..... 599
Asia, absence of rising sects..... 49
——, as a mission field, openings, encouragements, difficulties, and wants of..... 47
——, climate of..... 53
——, European colonies and possessions in..... 50
——, existence of ancient, though corrupt, forms of Christianity in, a promising indication..... 48
——, extent of territory and population of..... 51
Asia, inhabited by seven races.... Page 45
——, number of languages and dialects of..... 51
——, number of the population of, to which the Church has access.... 47
——, proportion of missionaries to population in..... 55
——, recent improvements in ocean navigation furnish new facilities for the evangelization of.... 49
——, religions and languages of..... 46
——, science and literature of, barren and shallow..... 53
——, social condition in, corrupt and barbaric..... 54
——, superficial area, general divisions, and population of..... 44
——, superstions of, becoming effete... 49
——, wholly possessed by heathenism in various forms..... 52
Athanasius on the Christian festivals.. 155
Athens during the youth of Socrates 375–377

Bacon, Francis..... 351, 489
——, influence of his labours..... 494
——, the, of the Nineteenth Century.. 489
——, conditions which must be satisfied by any philosopher who may claim to be the..... 496
Baconian reform, characteristics of:—1. Universality of, 490; 2. Manner in which undertaken, 491; 3. Christian spirit of the, 494; 4. Dependence of, on previous forms of philosophy..... 495
——, conditions of any new reform that can take rank with the..... 496
——, narrowed and dwarfed by the successors of its founder..... 508
Barnes's Commentary on the Revelation..... 138
Baumgarten on the Acts..... 315
Becks (Peter) General of the Jesuits... 620
Becquerel's Des Climats et de l'Influence qu' exercent les sols Boisés et non Boisés..... 623
Bible, circulation of the..... 489
Biblical criticism..... 549
——, the design of..... 550
Bibliotheca Philologica..... 486
Biography-writing..... 364
Blackader's Chronological New Testament..... 317
Bledsoe's Theodicy..... 617
Bodin et son Temps..... 629
Bohemia, tendencies to reformation in, treated by Neander..... 104
Bohn's Classical Library..... 135, 306

Digitized by Google

"Book-revelation"..... Page 172
Boone, Daniel..... 364, 367–372
Brace's Home-Life in Germany..... 469
Brodhead's History of New-York..... 466
Brown's Sufferings and Glories of the Messiah..... 606

Calvinistic view of original sin..... 271
Cannon's Lectures on Pastoral Theology 470
Catechism of the M. E. Church..... 476
Chalmers, Memoir of the Life and Writings of..... 141, 469
Characteristics of the Baconian reform 490
Chastel's Etudes Historiques sur l'Influence de la Charité, &c..... 627
Chateaubriand, a picture in the Louvre 107
——, his enthusiasm, and romantic traits of character..... 112
——, his nationality, and Gallic egotism..... 121
——, his political career..... 114
——, his reminiscences of travel..... 113
——, his style..... 120
——, his writings on America..... 108
——, intense personal identity preserved throughout his writings, and constituting them an autobiography of..... 108–111
——, practical character of his authorship..... 117
Cherbuliez's Causes de la Misère tant Moral que Physique..... 626
Christ, Dr. M'Culloh's view of divinity of..... 272–275
Christian character, the times call for a higher type of..... 442
—— Examiner and Dr. Olin..... 600
Christianity and mysticism..... 161
——, Lectures on the Evidences of..... 312
Christians, duties of American..... 441
Church architecture in the United States..... 280
—— Catechisms of the M. E..... 476
——, constitution of the primitive..... 277
——, difficulties in the way of..... 51
——, duty of, with respect to Asia 44, 48, 57
——, encouragements for the..... 50
—— government, principles of..... 147
——, hereditary wrongs and traditional errors of..... 130
——, influence which the, may exert upon reforms..... 130
——, ministerial education in the M. E. 464
——, most of Asia open to the..... 47
—— of England, abuses in..... 157, 478
——, sixth volume of Neander's history of the..... 103
——, Tract Society of the M. E..... 485
Circulation of the Bible..... 439
Circumstantial testimony the only sure demonstration of the credibility of the Scriptures..... 316
Civilization defined..... 405
——, the heathen and mediæval, of Ireland..... 404
——, Vestiges of. (See *Vestiges.*)
Clark's Theological Library..... 318, 479
Clemens Alexandrinus, Reinkens on... 155
Clement's Jacques Cœur et Charles VII. 628
Climate of Asia..... Page 53
Coleridge, (S. T.,) complete works of... 315
Commentary, Barnes's, on the New Testament..... 138
Comte's ambition and failure..... 507
—— claims tested..... 497
—— exclusion of logic and metaphysics from his speculations..... 505
—— philosophy..... 513
—— philosophy not universal..... 510
—— relations to Bacon..... 510
—— standard of morality..... 501
Conscience, a good, necessary to a useful and vigorous exercise of the intellectual faculties..... 547
Constitution of the primitive Church... 277
Conybeare and Howson's Life and Epistles of St. Paul..... 316
Credibility, historic, involved in the theory of Strauss..... 184
—— of the Christian writers..... 259
—— of the Scriptures, only sure ground of demonstration of..... 266
Cyclopædia Bibliographica..... 486

Darling's Cyclopædia Bibliographica... 156
Davidson (Dr.) on Biblical Criticism 475, 549
——, style of..... 567
Demon of Socrates, the..... 379
Descartes..... 493, 511
Discourses from the spirit-world, by Stephen Olin..... 601
Divinity of Christ, Dr. M'Culloh's view of..... 272–275
Dusterdieck's Die drei Johanneischen Briefe..... 316
Duty of the Church with respect to Asia..... 44, 48, 57

Education, ministerial, in the M. E. Church..... 464
——, Thirteenth Annual Report of the Wesleyan Committee of..... 479
Eichoff's Tableau de la Literature du Nord au Moyen Age, &c..... 628
Eleatic school of philosophy..... 335
Eliot's Discourses..... 467
Eloquence, select British, by Dr. Goodrich..... 150
Encyclopædia Britannica..... 326
Enthusiasm of Chateaubriand..... 112
ἐπιλαμβάνεται, in Hebrews ii, 16, meaning of..... 301, 453
Eras of nations..... 433
Ethical science, a reform needed in.... 510
European literature, letter on recent... 623
Evangelists, agreement of the..... 355
——, a supposition by which to account for coincidences among the..... 361
——, John's Gospel compared with those of the other..... 357
——, similarity in diversity, and diversity in similarity of..... 360
Evil, origin of. (See *Origin of Evil.*).
Ewald's Jahrbücher der Biblischen Wissenschaft..... 316
Exegesis of Hebrews ii, 16..... 301, 453
Exposition of 1 Corinthians iii, 1–17..... 394, 592

Digitized by Google

Faith, according to the teachings of the "Spiritualists" ..... Page 174
——, the Eclipse of..... 169, 464
Fall, the..... 568
——, though possible, not necessary ... 571
Father Reeves..... 446
——, a model class-leader..... 447
Finley, (Rev. J. B.,) autobiography of. 595
Formation of a Manly Character..... 311
Freedom, advance in human..... 432, 434

Garden Walks with the Poets, by Mrs. Kirkland..... 141
General of the Jesuits, mode of electing a..... 620
Genuineness of the Pentateuch, acknowledged by the ablest historians..... 76
Geographical science..... 249
Geschichte der Reformation in Schottland, by Rudloff..... 161
God, attributes of, attempt to prove from *design*, considered 35
——, Clarke's (Dr. S.) argument for the existence of, drawn from our ideas of *space* and duration, considered..... 32
——, does nature lead us to the idea of a..... 39
——, existence of, not assumed, but recorded by the Scriptures..... 41
——, names of, in the Pentateuch..... 83
——, the *a posteriori* argument for existence and attributes of, considered..... 35
——, the *a priori* argument for existence and attributes of, considered 31
——, triune nature of, attempt to prove by reason, considered..... 32
Gorrie's Episcopal Methodism as it was and is..... 603
Gospel, nearly the entire globe open to the preaching of the..... 438
Gospels, Strong's Harmony of the..... 354
Government of Japan..... 292
——, principles of Church..... 147
Greek and Roman mythology..... 471
—— Church, works on the..... 621
Griesbach, (Dr John James,) his editions of the New Testament..... 563
Guizot, recent publications of..... 305

Habits, intellectual and physical, which should characterize a minister... 548
Hagenbach's Christliche Kirche der drei ersten Jahrhunderte..... 477
Haldane, brothers, Life of..... 154
Hart's Epitome of Greek and Roman Mythology..... 471
Hassé's Anselm von Canterbury... 479, 576
Hebrew MSS. as a means of correcting the text..... 556
Hedding, (Rev. Elijah,) birth and early years of..... 9, 10
——, character as a bishop..... 16
——, closing scenes of his life..... 20–29
——, his catholicity..... 18
——, his energy of character..... 12
——, his success..... 12
Hedding, (Rev. Elijah,) intellectual character and literary attainments of..... Page 17
——, is admitted by N. Y. Annual Conference, June 16, 1801..... 10
——, licensed to exhort in 1799..... 10
——, licensed to preach..... 10
——, ordained bishop, May 28, 1824... 15
——, ordained deacon, 1808..... 12
——, ordained elder, 1805..... 12
——, self-distrust..... 16
——, severe illness, 1832..... 19
Hengstenberg (Dr.) on the Pentateuch 75
Hengstenberg's Hohelied Salomonis... 479
Henkle on Church Government..... 147
Hetherington's History of the Westminster Assembly of Divines..... 607
Hilgenfeld der Galaterbrief..... 318
Hirscher's Sympathies of the Continent 156
Hollard De l'Homme et des Races Humaines..... 625
Holliday's Life and Times of Rev. Allen Wiley..... 461
Holmes's Wesley Offering..... 604
Hosmer on the Higher Law..... 143
Hudson's Shakspeare..... 467
Humanity, an object of adoration, as held by M. Comte..... 508
Humboldt, Lives of the brothers Alexander and William..... 475
Huss, Neander's opinion of..... 105
Hyperides, the New Fragments of..... 58

Idolatry, according to the teaching of the Spiritualists..... 174
Immigration into this country..... 437
Immortality of the soul, not demonstrable apart from Scripture..... 33
Infidelity..... 180
Inquisition, the..... 306
Instauratio Maxima, what may be expected from the..... 512
Instauration, universality contemplated by the Baconian..... 490
Intellectual regeneration demanded by the times..... 510
——, how only it can be achieved..... 511
Intelligence, defined..... 123
——, influence of, on personal piety.... 128
——, relation of, to the efficiency of the Church in aggressive operations 131
——, relation of, to the efficiency of the Church in her coöperation with the world..... 129
——, relation of, to the piety and efficiency of the Church..... 123
Investiture, quarrels respecting the right of..... 581, 585
Ireland, early arts of,—1. Poetry, 411; 2. Architecture..... 422
——, early authors of..... 406
——, early laws of..... 424
——, early literature of..... 410
——, the heathen and mediæval civilization of..... 404
Itinerancy at the beginning of the present century, trials and labours of, 11
—— introduced into the Prussian Church..... 160

Digitized by Google

Jacobi, (Prof.,) letters from... Page 157, 480
Jacobus's Notes on the Gospels 614
Jacoby's Handbuch des Methodismus... 618
Jansenius, Cornelius..... 192
Japan and the Japanese..... 282
——, commercial importance of..... 288
——, foreign intercourse with, not tolerated 287
——, government of 292
——, persecution of all foreigners and Christians in 285
——, position of woman in..... 288
——, printing, when known in..... 289
——, prospect of commercial and social intercourse with, and its probable results..... 297–301
——, religion of..... 295, 297
Jesuits, mode of electing a general of the..... 620
——, the, and their hostility to the Port Royalists 200
——, the, in Japan..... 283
John the Baptist, was he, or Elijah, with our Lord on the Mount of Transfiguration..... 456
Journal of Rev. Francis Asbury..... 599

Kingsley's Phaethon 608
Kitto's Daily Bible Illustrations..... 139

Law as the ground of moral obligation 519
Laws, the early, of Ireland..... 424
Layard's Monuments of Nineveh 326
Learning as a sign of the times 431
——, influence of, on personal piety ... 128
—— in the Church 125
—— in the clergy..... 126
Literature, early, of Ireland..... 410
Logic excluded from Comte's philosophy 505

Manners, the book of..... ... 309
Marie Angélique Arnauld 193
——, death of..... 203
——, letter by..... 199
——, saying of, respecting the sufficiency of Scripture..... 202
Materials for a critical investigation of the Old and New Testament 551, 558, 559
Matter, created or eternal, reason unable to determine..... 85
Matthäi's Die Auslegung des Vaterunser 619
Maurice's Prophets and Kings..... 317
M'Clure's Memoir of the Translators... 470
M'Culloh on annihilation of the wicked 276
—— on the divinity of Christ..... 272–275
—— on the resurrection 275
—— on the Scriptures..... 257
Mère Anastatie..... 209
Metaphysics excluded from Comte's speculations..... 505
Methodist Episcopal Church, extent of the, at the present time 18
——, extent of the, half a century since 18
—— property case 136
—— missions 322
Microscopist, the..... Page 140
Ministerial education in the M. E. Church 464
Miracles..... 181, 462
Miscellanies of Neander 106
Missionary labour, nearly the entire globe open to..... 438
——, wants of the present age 443
Missions, Methodist..... 322
Monarchy, restoration of, in France 313, 468
Monastery of Port Royal 191
——, demolished by the Jesuits, 1710.. 208
——, founded in 1204..... 193
Morality, Comte's standard of..... 501
Moral obligation, benefit received, the ground of..... 513, 516, 522, 526
—— declared by the New Testament... 530
—— imposed out of regard to the well-being of its subjects..... 521
——, insufficiency of all other reasons which can be assigned for..... 516
—— shown from the divine law 526
——, substitutes for the true ground of..... 516–526
Morell's Analysis of Sentences 166
Motives, as affecting the freedom of the will..... 262
—— of human action 13
Mystics of the fourteenth century, Neander's essay on 105
Mythology, Hart's Epitome of Greek and Roman 471

Names of God in the Pentateuch 83
National Magazine, noticed..... 146
Natural theology, limits and embarrassments of 36
Nature, does it lead us to the idea of a Creator 39
Neander, aim of, in the sixth volume of his Church History 104
——, his essay on the Mystics of the fourteenth century..... 105
——, his miscellanies 106
——, his opinion of Huss 105
——, his opinion of Wiclif..... 104
——, Krabbe on..... 156
——, plan pursued by, in the former volumes of his Church History .. 104
——, recently published writings of.... 102
Necessitarians, fallacy of, on the subject of motives..... 262
Nero 595
Newman, (Mr.) dogmas of.... 171, 172, 177
——, dogmas of, carried out 173
New Testament, ancient versions of 560
——, Barnes's Commentary on..... 138
—— criticism, history of modern..... 563
——, materials for a critical investigation of the..... 559
—— MSS., the uncial and the cursive 560
——, present received text of the..... 562
——, Scholz's (Dr.) critical work on.... 564

Olds's Philosophy and Practice of Faith 615
Old Testament, materials for a critical investigation of the..... 551, 558
Olin, (Dr.) Life and Letters of..... 600

Digitized by Google

Olin, (Dr.,) "Spiritual" Discourses by..... Page 601
Oracula Sibyllina 167
Ordination not a Christian, but the continuation of a Jewish civil practice..... 278
Original sin, Calvinistic theory of..... 271
Origin of evil 568
——, Hegel's theory of..... 568
——, Leibnitz's assumption respecting the..... 568
——, Mosaic account of the..... 569
——, Müller's theory of..... 569, 573
——, Rothe's theory of..... 568, 573

Pantheism, rise of 335
Paradisiacal state of Adam and Eve 269
Parallel Passages in the Old Testament 556
Parker (Theodore) and the new school "Spiritualists"..... 169–185
Pascal's Provincial Letters 156
Pastoral Theology, by Vinet..... 307
——, Cannon's (Dr.) Lectures on 470
Paul, Life and Epistles of..... 316
——, Second Epistle of, to Timothy.... 534
Platonism..... 341
Peck's Formation of a Manly Character 311
Pelletan's Profession de Foi du Dix Neuvième Siècle 625
Pentateuch and the art of writing in the Mosaic age 87
—— and the times of the Judges..... 88
——, genuineness of the, acknowledged by the ablest historians..... 76
——, Hosea's allusions to the, 785 B.C. 78
——, names of God in the..... 83
—— possessed by the Samaritans..... 77
——, seeming anachronisms of the 92
——, statements of the, respecting its author..... 91
——, summary of arguments for the genuineness and authenticity of 99
——, theology of the, in relation to its genuineness 96
——, traces of the, in Amos, 787 B. C.. 79
——, traces of the, in Books of Kings.. 80
—— written prior to the Babylonian captivity 77
Philosophy, comprehensiveness of Aristotle's 509
——, Eleatic school of..... 335
——, Ionic school of..... 332
——, Italic school of..... 334
—— of Comte..... 513
—— of Comte not universal..... 510
Poetry of the vegetable world..... 468
Port Royal..... 191
——, valley of, in 1824..... 211
Port Royalists, persecution of, by the Jesuits..... 200, 204, 207
Positive Theology, by Lowry 464
Positivism of M. Comte..... 498
——, a mutilated fraction of Baconian philosophy systematized 504
——, examined at length..... 499
——, standard of morality in the system of 501
Potts's Preacher and King 466
Present age, character of the..... 427
Probationary state, the ..... Page 261
Prussia, the Church in..... 157, 480
——, the Jesuits in 159
Puynode's De la Monnaie, du Crédit et de l'Impot..... 627

Quarrel between William II. and Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, respecting the right of investiture..... 581, 585

Races, the seven, of Asia 45
Rationalists and spiritualists answered in "The Eclipse of Faith"..... 170
Reason and faith, antagonism of..... 39
—— and revelation, respecting the nature of man and the origin of evil 42
——, the *a posteriori* process 35
——, attempt of, to demonstrate the existence of God, *a priori*..... 31
——, attempt of, to demonstrate the existence of God from our ideas of *space* and duration 32
——, attempt of, to prove the immortality of the soul 33
——, attempt of, to prove the triune nature of God 32
——, efforts and results of, as shown in history..... 36, 38
——, incompetence of, in matters of religion..... 29
——, unaided by revelation, retrogressive..... 36–38
Reasoning, analogical 220
——, method of, pursued in "Vestiges of Civilization"..... 231–235
Reeves. (See *Father Reeves.*) 447
Reform, an intellectual, demanded by the civilized world 510
——, needed in ethical science..... 510
Reformation, D'Aubigne's History of, Vol. V..... 599
Reforms, as conducted by irreligious men 131
——, influence which the Church may exert upon..... 130
Regeneration, Sears on 467
Religion, practical bearings of the question 43
——, reason incompetent in matters of 29
Religions of Asia 46
—— of Japan..... 295, 297
Religious spirit pervading the writings of Aristotle..... 342
Remusat, as a historian..... 577
Resurrection, as held by Dr. M'Culloh 275
——, the human body at the..... 471
Reuss's Geschichte der Heiligen Schriften Neuen Testaments..... 619
Revelation does not fear investigation 351
——, how to conduct an argument on the truth of 263
——, impossibility of a, debated... 171, 178
Rogers's Eclipse of Faith 464
Romans, Epistle to the, examined 40
Rome: its Edifices and its People 458
Roothan, late general of the Jesuits.... 619

Digitized by Google

Rudloff, Geschichte der Reformation in Schottland..... Page 161
Rule's Brand of Dominic..... 165, 306
Russia, growth of..... 437

Samaritan Pentateuch, the 553
Samaritans, the Pentateuch in Greek, Samaritan, and Arabic, possessed by the..... 78
Schneider, (K. F. T.,) a student of Neander's, and editor of his posthumous works 103
Scholz, (Dr.,) critical work of, on New Testament 564
Science, new discoveries in, and new applications of..... 429
——, the, of geography and statistics... 249
——, triumphs of, in the domain of commerce..... 429
Septuagint, the 552
Signs of the times..... 426
——, as seen in the political world..... 432
——, as seen in the religious world 437
——, as seen in the world of learning.. 431
——, as seen in the world of nature ... 428
——, as seen in the world of science and art 428
Smith's History and Religion of the Gentile Nations..... 478
Society, American Geographical and Statistical..... 255
——, moral and religious tendencies of, apart from a saving knowledge of divine truth 90
Socrates..... 373
——, accusation of..... 388
—— as a teacher 384
——, birth and early years of..... 374
——, causes of the unpopularity of..... 387
——, death of..... 392
——, demon of..... 379
——, his views of his mission..... 382
——, method of, with a sophist.... 339, 385
——, personal appearance and habits of..... 383
——, trial of 389
Socratic age, the..... 332
Sophists, the..... 336, 376
——, Socrates's method with the.. 339, 385
Spicilegium Solesmense..... 481
Statistical science..... 249
Steam, applications of..... 430
St. Cyran..... 192
Stoughton's Lights of the World..... 614
Strauss's theory of historic credibility. 184
Strickland's Manual of Biblical Literature..... 604
Strong's Harmony of the Gospels 354
362, 474
Strong's Manual of the Gospels... Page 474
Stroud's New Greek Harmony of the Four Gospels 614
Suidas, Bernhardy's new edition of..... 327
Sunday-school books 142

Tauchnitz's Canones et Decreta Concilii Tridentini 621
Targums..... 553
Telegraph, the magnetic..... 431
Temptation, the, of our first parents... 572
Thierry's Essai sur l'Histoire de la Formation et des Progres du Tiers-état..... 629
Times, signs of the..... 426
Timothy, Second Epistle of Paul to..... 534
Tract Society of the M. E. Church..... 485
Transfiguration, presence of John the Baptist at the 456
Translators, M'Clure's Memoirs of the..... 470

Unitarian view of the unity of God and regeneration 467
United Church of Prussia..... 158
Urban, Pope, bribed by William II..... 583

Vail on Ministerial Education in the M. E. Church 464
Versions, ancient, of the New Testament..... 560
——, of the Peshito, or old Syriac version 555
——, of the Samaritan Pentateuch 553
——, of the Scriptures..... 551
——, of the Septuagint..... 551
——, of the Targums, or Chaldee versions..... 553
——, of the Vulgate..... 555
Vestiges of Civilization, reviewed..... 213
——, aim and premises of..... 238
——, fanciful analogies in 224
——, infidelity of the..... 247
——, method of reasoning pursued in the..... 231–235
——, style of the..... 215
Vinet's Pastoral Theology 307
Vulgate, history of the 555

Wardlaw on Miracles 462
War of the Fronde..... 198
Wiclif, Neander's opinion of..... 104
Wiley, (Rev. Allen,) Life and Times of..... 461
Woman's Record 308
Worship, the mode of..... 280
Writing, the art of, known in the Mosaic age 87
Wythes's Essay on the Pastoral Office. 602

Digitized by Google

INDEX OF TEXTS.

OLD TESTAMENT.

Gen. i, 1..... Page 41
—— ii, 1–4 85
—— ii, 17..... 527, 569
—— iii, 5 574
—— iv, 1, 16..... 85
—— v, 24 86
—— vii, 16 86
—— xii, 6..... 92
—— xiii, 6, 7..... 92
—— xiv, 14..... 92
—— xvii, 1..... 527
—— xxii, 18..... 304
—— xxxvi, 31..... 93
—— xlix, 10..... 546

Exod. iii, 23..... 98
—— vi, 2..... 84
—— vi, 26, 27..... 94
—— xii, 4, 7 88
—— xvii, 14..... 91
—— xxxiv, 6, 7..... 43

Num. xxiii, 19..... 97

Deut. i, 1..... 95
—— vi, 3 528
—— ix, 22–24..... 94
Deut. xvii, 18 ..... Page 91
—— xxix, 21 91
—— xxxi, 24–26..... 91
—— xxxii, 4..... 574

Josh. v, 5 89
—— xvi, 10..... 94
—— xxiv, 26..... 89

Judg. i, 20 90
—— i, 22–25 93

2 Sam. v, 7–9..... 99
—— xxiv, 6 93

1 Kings iv, 24 96
—— ix, 16..... 94
—— xii, 28, 33 ..... 80, 81
—— xvi, 34..... 94
—— xvii, 1..... 80
—— xviii, 23, 33..... 80
—— xx, 42 80
—— xxi, 3, 10..... 80
—— xxii..... 98

2 Kings iv, 1, 16, 23 80
—— xvii..... 77
1 Chron. i, 43..... Page 93
—— xx, 8..... 100

Job xiv, 14..... 43

Psa. ii, 2–4..... 53
—— ii, 8..... 50
—— xvi, 1..... 530
—— xvi, 2..... 526
—— xxiii, 2..... 447

Prov. xvi, 4..... 526

Isa. xxxv, 8..... 43
—— xl, 3..... 456
—— xlix, 6..... 303

Ezek. xxv, 23..... 543

Amos ii, 10–12..... 79
—— iii, 2..... 79
—— iv, 4, 5..... 79
—— v, 21 79
—— v, 22..... 79

Mal. iii, 1 456
—— iv, 5 456

NEW TESTAMENT.

Matt. iv, 25 ..... Page 357
—— xiii, 3 127
—— xiii, 31..... 52
—— xiii, 33 52
—— xiv, 31..... 302
—— xv, 1 357
—— xvi, 3..... 426
—— xvii, 3..... 456
—— xviii, 19 84
—— xxiii, 37..... 357
—— xxv, 46..... 43
—— xxviii, 15..... 96
Mark xii, 27..... Page 43

Luke vi, 1..... 357
—— ix, 51..... 358
—— x, 16 359
—— x, 17 359
—— x, 22..... 273, 275
—— x, 27 531
—— x, 38, 39..... 358
—— x, 38–42 357
—— xi, 13, 14..... 359
—— xiii, 9..... 359
Luke xiii, 10, 22... Page 359
—— xiii, 24 270
—— xiii, 34..... 357
—— xvii, 11–19 359
—— xviii, 14 359
—— xviii, 15..... 358
—— xix, 13..... 447
—— xx, 38 43

John iii, 16..... 531
—— v, 1 357
—— vii, 2, 10 358

Digitized by Google

John viii, 59..... Page 358
—— x, 21 358
—— x, 22..... 358
—— x, 40..... 358
—— xi, 1–46..... 359
—— xi, 7, 54..... 358
—— xii, 1 358
—— xx, 28..... 274

Acts xvii, 25..... 526
—— xxi, 33..... 302

Rom. i, 20–22 40
—— i, 21..... 38
—— v, 12–15..... 571
—— viii, 38..... 303
—— xii, 1..... 91
—— xv, 4 36

1 Cor. iii, 1–17..... 392, 394
—— iii, 11..... 532
—— vi, 3..... 303

Gal. iii, 16 ..... Page 304

Eph. ii, 20–22..... 398

Phil. ii, 7 302
—— iii, 10..... 126

Col. i, 16, 17 274

1 Thess. v, 23, 24..... 450

2 Thess. ii, 11 98

Heb. ii, 16 301
—— ii, 16..... 453
—— v, 4..... 453
—— xi, 26 528
—— xii, 14 258

1 Tim. ii, 14 572
—— iii, 16..... 273
—— vi, 12, 19 302

2 Tim..... Page 534
—— i, 5, 6, 14 540
—— i, 8..... 542
—— ii, 1, 6 545
—— ii, 2..... 543
—— ii, 9..... 545
—— ii, 10 545
—— ii, 14, 15..... 545
—— iii, 10, 11 540
—— iii, 14, 15 540
—— iv, 6..... 549

1 Peter ii, 5 398

1 John ii, 16..... 573
—— iv, 19..... 531
—— v, 4..... 444
—— v, 7..... 273

Rev. iv, 8, 11 43
—— iv, 11 526
—— xiii, 8..... 533

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

AUG 3 ? 1966

Digitized by Google